



Legislature of Ontario Debates

Fourth Session of the Thirty-First Parliament

April 25-May 26, 1980

HON. ALAN POPE



Legislature of Ontario Debates Official Report (Hansard)

the International Red Cross program for Afghan refugees in Pakistan. The government is contributing \$100,000 to the program through the Ontario branch of the Canadian Red Cross. I will be presenting the cheque this morning to Red Cross representative Mr. Paul Richards who is in the gallery today along with members of the Pakistani community in Toronto.

The International Red Cross Society has launched an appeal for an estimated \$10 million which the Pakistani Red Crescent Society requests to be used in the refugee relief effort. It is estimated that at least a half a million Afghan refugees are in the mountains of Pakistan awaiting the invasion of Afghanistan by Soviet troops. The money raised will be used by the Red Crescent Society to provide medical assistance as well as other necessities such as medicines, blankets, foodstuffs, and appliances.

It should be noted the Red Cross Society here in Ontario is also helping and trying to promote fund-raising activities to help the refugees. In fact the first fund-raising event was held in the Grand Ballroom at the Sheraton Hotel in April 1980. I am confident that further fund-raising efforts will be undertaken in the future.

Fourth Session, 31st Parliament

Friday, April 25, 1980

Speaker: Honourable John E. Stokes

Clerk: Roderick Lewis, QC



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Hansard subscription price is \$15.00 per session, from: Sessional Subscription Service, Printing Services Branch, Ministry of Government Services, 9th Floor, Ferguson Block, Parliament Buildings, Toronto M7A 1N3. Phone 965-2238.

Published by the Legislature of the Province of Ontario.
Editor of Debates: Peter Brannan.

LEGISLATURE OF ONTARIO

FRIDAY, APRIL 25, 1980

The House met at 10 a.m.

Prayers.

STATEMENT BY THE MINISTRY

INTERNATIONAL RELIEF

Hon. Mr. Wells: Mr. Speaker, I would like to inform the House this morning of the government of Ontario's contribution to the international relief program for Afghan refugees in Pakistan. The government is contributing \$100,000 to this program through the Ontario division of the Canadian Red Cross. I will be presenting the cheque this morning to Red Cross representative Mr. Paul Richards who is in the gallery today along with members of the Pakistani community in Toronto.

The International Red Cross Society has launched an appeal for an estimated \$10 million which the Pakistan Red Crescent Society urgently needs to accomplish its part of the refugee relief action. It is estimated at least half a million Afghans took refuge in the mountains of Pakistan following the invasion of Afghanistan by Soviet troops. The money raised will be used by the Red Crescent Society to provide medical assistance as well as large quantities of medicine, tents, blankets, clothing and appliances.

It should be noted the Red Cross Society here in Ontario is also helping local groups to promote fund-raising campaigns to aid the refugees. In fact, a major rally was held by these groups on March 23. I had the honour of attending and I would like to commend all those hardworking people of the community here in Toronto for the tremendous job they are doing in support of the refugees. It is my hope the government's contribution will further assist the valiant relief operations in this area.

ORAL QUESTIONS

AID TO PENSIONERS

Mr. S. Smith: Mr. Speaker, I have a question for the Treasurer which requires, by way of response, basically two numbers.

The first number I would appreciate receiving from the Treasurer is the amount of money the government expects to save as a consequence of the new pensioner assistance which it has announced, the money it intends to save by giving some people less. The Treasurer will recall that some people will get less money. How much will that mean to the government as a consequence of those people not getting as much as they got before?

The second number I would appreciate receiving from the Treasurer is what I asked for yesterday, the dollar cost of administering the program in the new way, with the cheques and so on, as opposed to leaving it under the previous income tax agreement with the federal government.

Hon. F. S. Miller: Mr. Speaker, as I told the Leader of the Opposition yesterday, the net amount change was \$75 million in addition. We have pointed out that this was a combination of Ontario's three programs, that is, Gains, tax credit and sales tax credit. Within that, there were certain people who found themselves eligible for a property tax credit who were not paying any. We have targeted to help people who incur the expense. We then assisted those people who have low incomes in the proper way.

When one adds to that something we already knew before we started working on our budget, that there would also be \$35 per family in additional assistance from the federal government level for low-income people, we can safely say that even those people who will now get \$420 more from the federal government, plus \$240 from us per year, regardless of property tax credits, are all ahead on that basis.

Mr. S. Smith: What about the second number I asked for?

Hon. F. S. Miller: This is one case where the member is quite right. It will cost us more to administer this program. The Minister of Revenue (Mr. Maeck) will give me those details, because he will tell me what complement is required to do it.

One of the things government is created for is to provide services to its people. We are providing a service to our people after years

of cutting back on staff because we believe paying promptly in the year the cost is incurred, not once but twice, to help these people stay in their homes, is worth some Ontario money. Many people have appeared on television in the last few days saying they will now be able to do just that because of Ontario's program.

Mr. S. Smith: The question is how much will the administration cost? It is a straight question.

Hon. F. S. Miller: The member has not asked a straight question in his life and he knows it.

Mr. S. Smith: Mr. Speaker, I realize the Treasurer is allowed to answer questions any way he likes or not answer them. I will repeat both questions, because they request very straight numbers.

Leaving aside the federal contribution, in certain instances—

Mr. Laughren: The member is being repetitive.

Mr. S. Smith: I would have thought the member for Nickel Belt would be interested to know how much the government is going to save on the backs of the poor pensioners in Ontario.

I am asking for two straightforward numbers. The Treasurer admits that, leaving aside the federal contribution, some people in Ontario, for whatever reason, will get less from Ontario under the new program than they got under the old program.

My first question is, how much will Ontario save as a consequence of giving those people less under the new program than they would have got under the old program? It is a straightforward question, for a number. The second question is, how much will the administration cost? If the Treasurer does not know, how come he introduces a program without knowing what the cost is?

Hon. F. S. Miller: I can understand why the member stuck to his medical career rather than a financial career.

Mr. S. Smith: Personal insults are no replacement for an answer.

Hon. F. S. Miller: The member has been dishing them out for a long time and he does not like taking them. I have never had to go after anybody in this House before him.

Mr. S. Smith: I asked the Treasurer for two numbers.

Hon. F. S. Miller: Any time a government program is changed, there are always ups and downs.

Mr. S. Smith: What are the numbers? That is all we want.

Hon. F. S. Miller: The fact remains, in toto, everyone in this province on the combination of four programs will be doing at least as well—

Mr. S. Smith: Not from the Treasurer.

Hon. F. S. Miller: The member criticizes us by specifically targeting property tax. He is trying to take that out of a package—

Mr. S. Smith: I am asking the Treasurer for the numbers.

Hon. F. S. Miller: People were entitled to get it who were not paying it before. Now they are not.

Mr. Cassidy: Mr. Speaker, I thought I understood from the motions announced yesterday that the Liberal Party wanted an election rather than to give these benefits to senior citizens. The senior citizens need them now.

My supplementary question to the Treasurer is this: I understand that last evening, at a time when most of us had left this House, the Treasurer made a major concession to the member for Downsview (Mr. Di Santo), who had been pressing the government to ensure that senior citizens not eligible for the old age supplement would be eligible for the entire amount of the new property tax credits and other benefits announced by the province for senior citizens. Since all of us are now together in the House, would the Treasurer confirm that the government has gone along with that very constructive proposal by the member for Downsview, which will benefit many people from the ethnic communities across Ontario?

Hon. F. S. Miller: Mr. Speaker, the members opposite are very quickly trying to get the credit for something. Let me go through carefully what was said last night.

The member for Riverdale (Mr. Renwick) was listening carefully. I always have admired his ability to look at the law and the way to apply it. We were talking of this in our discussion last night in a very nonpolitical way, simply in terms of how to help a group of people who, by definition, are not currently eligible. We pointed out that the intent of this government, if we can find a practicable administrative technique, is to do just that.

We had let them into the Ontario tax credit to make sure that they remained eligible for the basic Ontario programs, but there were certain problems in matching reciprocal rights without negotiation that could, in fact, take away from potential Canadian citizens who may have moved some-

where else rights they might have got through negotiations.

10:10 a.m.

We needed to be aware of that kind of thing while we had time to look at this bill. I said I was quite pleased to have the time between now and the time the bill came in to look at those ways and to take along any suitable amendments at that time that met the needs of the people on both sides of that argument.

Mr. S. Smith: Would the Treasurer not agree that the people who are going to get less from Ontario are the people who have little or no taxable income and who are in low rent accommodation? By and large, that will be the group of people who will get less from Ontario under the new scheme.

If the Treasurer agrees with that—and I'm sure if he does the mathematics he will see it is true—could he give a guarantee in this House that he will change his scheme so those people who are, after all, among the very poorest of the pensioners in Ontario will not receive any less under the new scheme than they would have received under the old scheme?

Hon. F. S. Miller: I have a hard time getting it through the Leader of the Opposition's head that there were four component parts to this scheme, and the total of those parts I am told, in virtually every instance—

Mr. S. Smith: In total, except for the federal.

Hon. F. S. Miller: I'm sure the member will find where I am wrong. In virtually every instance in this province the sum total of all four assistance programs will exceed—

Mr. S. Smith: Not federal, provincial.

Hon. F. S. Miller: I have to count federal moves in. If I didn't, the member would tell me I was throwing away money without paying any attention. Our job in this province is to work with federal governments, no matter what their stripe, in the interests of the people of the province, and we're doing that.

Mr. Di Santo: Mr. Speaker, I have a supplementary question of the Treasurer. May I ask—if I can articulate clearly the question the Leader of the Opposition is trying to ask, because he hasn't got the guts to say he opposes this scheme—if the government of Ontario—

Mr. Speaker: Order. If I heard the honourable member correctly, that is not parliamentary language. I would ask him to rephrase his comment.

Mr. Di Santo: I withdraw the word. I will say he hasn't got the courage to say openly that he opposes the rebate of \$500, for which we have been fighting for a long time.

Can I ask the Treasurer if the government, finally, at this stage, after so many studies have been done, can undertake to propose a progressive system of taxation which will remove property taxes?

Hon. F. S. Miller: Mr. Speaker, parts of the move on the budget were progressive, parts were not progressive. I think that's understood. Those that dealt specifically with dollar for dollar payment on property taxes and the sales tax credit could not be called progressive in the economic sense because, in fact, there wasn't a salary offset against them. We recognize that, but we also had to recognize that definitions of income don't always tell one the real economic state of human beings out there.

Mr. Laughren: Carry on.

Hon. F. S. Miller: No, they don't. On that basis we should all live on \$12,000 a year. If somebody else can do it, why can't I?

Mr. Laughren: When it suits his purpose he can use that argument.

Hon. F. S. Miller: I do. I live on \$9,500.

Mr. Gaunt: What does he do with the rest?

Hon. F. S. Miller: I invest it in guaranteed interest certificates.

The fact remains that a number of senior citizens have moved into their retirements living in homes that perhaps were up to their income at the time of retirement and have found inflation catching up with them, and really have an attachment to their home. Their taxes, admittedly, are higher than for somebody else who was not living at the same level. They have been caught in the web of inflation, and I believe they deserve the support of this government.

Mr. S. Smith: Is that money, the \$500, going to be taxed by the federal government? The Treasurer doesn't even know if it will. He doesn't know.

Hon. F. S. Miller: I don't know if it will be taxed, because I have no ability to read the minds of the federal Liberal government. They change the rules every day of the week.

Mr. Speaker: Order. I call on the member for Ottawa Centre for a new question.

Mr. Cassidy: I have a new question, Mr. Speaker, for the Premier—

Mr. S. Smith: On a point of order, Mr. Speaker—

Mr. Speaker: If the Leader of the Opposition has a new question I will allow him to place it.

ASBESTOS HAZARDS

Mr. S. Smith: I have a question of the Minister of Labour, Mr. Speaker. The minister may have heard on the radio, or perhaps by some other means, about the memo written in 1948 by an official of the Johns-Manville Canada Incorporated, a man who became president of the company, saying there was known to be evidence of asbestosis among the workers of that company, but the policy was that nothing should be said to the workers because as long as the people felt well there was no point in telling them of this news. It might depress them. It might cost them the benefit of having experienced, long-service workers at the company and so on.

Remembering the question which I asked the minister and which he and I then discussed privately back in November 1978, when evidence appeared in the United States that Johns-Manville had deliberately withheld information by way of labelling here in Canada when they were already forced to warn their workers in the United States, does the minister now have an answer to the question I asked him back then as to whether a lawsuit or charges of negligence should be launched against that company for withholding information from the workers which was very important to their health and wellbeing and, in fact, to their lives?

Hon. Mr. Elgie: Mr. Speaker, as the member knows and as we discussed, under the present Workmen's Compensation Act such a suit is not permitted. On the contrary, it is in the United States. I know this is a question we have discussed and it is a matter that I have put directly to Professor Paul Weiler to consider in his review of the Workmen's Compensation Board and its functioning. I think if the member feels strongly, as many of us do, that situations where there has been a wrongdoing deserve that there be a remedy, then he should meet with Professor Weiler and discuss this with him too.

As to whether there should be any other sort of charge laid, I would suggest the member discuss that with the Attorney General (Mr. McMurtry).

Mr. S. Smith: By way of supplementary, may I ask whether the minister is prepared to recommend certain changes which would allow an action to be taken against the company, since there is some evidence that in-

formation regarding safety was deliberately withheld in the full knowledge of what the possible ramifications of that withholding might be? Is he himself prepared to recommend a change in the law to permit such lawsuits, if they are not now permitted; and can he say whether the board itself can take action on behalf of workers? Would he ask the Attorney General for an opinion as to whether charges of criminal negligence could or should be laid in this instance?

Hon. Mr. Elgie: With regard to the second part of the question, certainly I am prepared to discuss it with the Attorney General. As to the first part of the question, the member knows, as I think I just told him, I am equally as concerned as he is about the fact that there may be in society, particularly in this particular issue, a wrong that has not got a remedy. That is a matter that I will be raising with Professor Weiler. I would suggest, since I know the member feels strongly about it, that he do so too.

Mr. Cassidy: Supplementary, Mr. Speaker: Since a lawsuit would probably take years, and under this government might take centuries if we take the example of Dow Chemical of Canada Limited, would the Minister of Labour tell the House whether he has taken any steps to accelerate the registry of former Johns-Manville workers, which we discussed in this House last week and which we discussed in this House many times before?

Would he also tell the House whether his ministry has now brought the Canadian Chemical Workers Union into its confidence in order to have its assistance and support in establishing a register to trace the workers who were exposed to asbestos at Johns-Manville?

Hon. Mr. Elgie: Mr. Speaker, as I said last week and as I said before, surely the most obvious place to look for a register of workers is to look at the employee list of a corporation. That is what we have done. We have gathered together the names of those people who have been employed back to 1950—it may be a little earlier than that—and those names have now been checked out and have been sent to Statistics Canada. They have been there for some six months.

As soon as the information arrives from Statistics Canada, I have instructed my staff to sit down and meet with the union to see if it has any comments, additions, suggestions or alterations to make. It is going to be a wide and open discussion about that list.

10:20 a.m.

Mr. B. Newman: A supplementary question, Mr. Speaker: Would the minister consider adding to that list, workers in plants that used asbestos in the manufacturing process, such as Bendix Eclipse that manufactures brake linings and so forth?

Hon. Mr. Elgie: Mr. Speaker, we talked about that last week and I indicated I would discuss that with my staff to see if it was possible to do that.

Mr. Cassidy: The minister's lack of urgency in this question is absolutely incomprehensible. If Statistics Canada insists on waiting for six months while the names of workers are on a computer, the minister should take action. I would like to ask the minister this: Is he not aware that in the case of the sinter plant workers at Inco Limited in Sudbury, it was the union which had to take the initiative and many names were not on the company's lists until they were put there from union records? If they were able to be helpful in that situation, why does the minister not call in the union and get the names of all the Johns-Manville workers, using union as well as company records?

Hon. Mr. Elgie: I think that is just what I said. When the list returns we will sit down with the union and if it has any alterations, additions or suggestions, there will be no problem about that.

Mr. Cassidy: Why doesn't the minister stop defending management and start working for the workers?

Mr. Speaker: Order.

NIAGARA ESCARPMENT HEARINGS

Mr. Cassidy: I have a question for the Premier, Mr. Speaker. On Monday, the Premier told this House he did not want to see a resolution on the boundaries for the Niagara Escarpment planning area until the hearings had been held in terms of the local municipalities and the people affected. Can the Premier tell the House if he supports the ruling the hearing officer brought down on Wednesday of this week that only representations concerning a reduction of the planned boundaries were in order, despite clear indications to the contrary in the Niagara Escarpment Act, and despite the fact that the boundaries in the proposed plans have not been subject to any formal public hearings?

Does the Premier support the hearing officer, who was restricting any representations if they concerned an addition to the boundaries and was only prepared to hear

representations concerning a reduction in the boundaries?

Hon. Mr. Davis: Mr. Speaker, I am not in a position to make any judgement as to what the hearing officer is saying. I was responding, as I recall it, to the member for Welland-Thorold (Mr. Swart) who was raising the question of the procedure. That is all I was dealing with and I was going only by memory, because he was calling for a resolution of the House which would, under the act as I recall it, establish the plan.

It is my understanding the hearing is to come up with recommendations which would form the basis for a resolution in this House that would determine the plan. What the hearing officer is saying, what areas he feels he can or cannot deal with, surely are matters for him to consider. It is not a matter for me to pass judgement on.

Mr. Cassidy: The area of the plan within the original Niagara Escarpment planning area has been reduced from 2,000 square miles to about 742 square miles, or about 37 per cent, by administrative decree which has not been backed up by orders in council tabled in this House since 1974. Does the Premier not feel that public hearings about the proposed plan should be able to hear questions when people think the area could be expanded to preserve a part of that unique natural environment and should not be confined to reductions in the planning area?

Will the government ensure those hearings are open to that kind of representation, or is the Premier intent on leaving it to members of this caucus or interested citizens to do the government's job in protecting the Niagara Escarpment from the depredations of developers?

Hon. Mr. Davis: I have to go back in my memory very briefly, but, subject to correction, they weren't hearings in the sense that they are now being held. We debated this in this House and I don't recall what the member's colleagues said on this then, but my recollection is that members of the Liberal Party were leading the crusade for a significant reduction in the planning area of the Niagara Escarpment.

I recall the discussion here in the House. My recollection is that the commission itself had hearings—not in a sense of, shall we say, a legal nature, but there were public meetings in all areas of the escarpment. I can recall one which I wasn't able to attend in Orangeville, orchestrated probably by a couple of members opposite, when large numbers—

Mr. Hall: Jack Johnson was one of them.

Hon. Mr. Davis: Yes, he was there. But I know who initiated it.

All I am saying to the member for Ottawa Centre is that in terms of the general planning area this was a matter of some public debate. In fact, I think it was debated here in this House. The commission made a determination to reduce, for the purposes of moving ahead with what will ultimately be the plan, the size of the planning area. I would have no hesitation in saying to the honourable member that when the recommendations come through from the hearing officer, if there are some areas within the escarpment which some members feel should be included, these would be proper matters for discussion here in the House.

But I wouldn't want the member to feel there hasn't been some public debate on these issues going back several years. I can recall them, not in detail, but in terms of public involvement. I can recall some discussion here in the House about them.

Mr. Swart: Supplementary, Mr. Speaker: I would like to ask the Premier if he would try to distinguish clearly between the plan which is ultimately going to come back and the planning area. According to the act the latter must be established by this Legislature and it was established by this Legislature back in 1974. There was a further amendment made in 1975. Does he not realize that act clearly requires that if there be a change in that planning area it must come before this House? If this is the case, how can he justify the fact that the hearing officer is limiting submissions at the hearings to discussions of an area which is only 37 per cent of what this Legislature decided? Shouldn't it be the full planning area?

In view of this, would the Premier be willing to ask the Attorney General to have this matter referred to court so that it can be cleared up and people will not be denied their rights at this hearing?

Hon. Mr. Davis: I think we have to be careful with the terminology. The member says that people are being denied their rights, but I think the point he is making is that there are some individuals or groups who would like to see certain properties included—not their own properties, because they can voluntarily do that. The rights I think we are talking about are the rights of the people who have property within the planning area.

I think it is a different issue when certain groups say, "I would like to see that 100 acres owned by John Jones included in the planning area," even though John Jones may

not want it in the planning area and even though the commission may not recommend it be in the planning area. I think they are two separate rights.

I would defer to the member for Riverdale (Mr. Renwick), who always gives us good legal advice, but I think there is a distinction. I don't think it is fair to state that rights in the sense of rights of ownership—which is a part of this great discussion going on before the hearing officer—are being negatively denied in terms of not having a chance to be heard.

That is different from a group, say, in the town of Caledon, which is outside the planning area, wanting to come before the hearing officer and say: "So-and-so's property should be included in that area," when they aren't owners of the property. That is a different right in my humble opinion.

The law officers who have advised us on this process say that what is being done is consistent with what is required in the act. If this turns out not to be the case, of course I am prepared to listen to any such argument. But that is the advice we had. I think most members would acknowledge the hearing officer is a man of some considerable experience. I don't think the honourable member is suggesting he isn't competent to conduct these hearings. I wouldn't say that.

SALE OF MACMILLAN COMPANY

Mr. Cassidy: I have a new question for the Minister of Culture and Recreation. Has the government studied the very serious implications of the proposed sale of Macmillan Company of Canada Limited to Gage Publishing Limited? In particular, has it considered that this sale will destroy Macmillan's contribution to general publishing in the country and also its service in providing a distribution network for small publishers in Canada? What action does the government intend to take?

10:30 a.m.

Hon. Mr. Baetz: Mr. Speaker, we have been very actively studying this possibility. I am meeting with Macmillan on Monday, and I can report further following those discussions.

Mr. Cassidy: Supplementary: If the minister intends to meet with Macmillan on Monday, is the government prepared to ascertain from Maclean-Hunter Limited what other offers were made for Macmillan besides the offer from Gage, and whether any of those offers would have entailed maintaining the general publishing of Macmillan which has such a distinguished history in

this country. Is the government prepared to participate financially if another group is prepared to keep the services of Macmillan both in terms of the general publishing list and also in providing distribution facilities for small publishers?

Hon. Mr. Baetz: I am not prepared to make any specific promises as to what we will or will not be doing. I will be reporting to the House following our meetings.

Mr. Cassidy: Final supplementary:

Mr. Speaker: Obviously, the honourable minister has said he is not prepared to say anything further until he has had the meeting, and perhaps when he does report back to the House there will be an opportunity for further questioning.

BUDGETARY DEFICIT

Mr. Peterson: Mr. Speaker, I have a question to the Premier in the absence of the Treasurer (Mr. F. S. Miller). I refer him to page 18 of the budget, where it says: "Also, part of this enriched package was transferred in advance of the normal schedule, as part of the province's 1979-80 spending, to reduce, if not eliminate, the need for local governments to engage in short-term financing."

Would the Premier agree with me that in fact what happened was the province prepaid about \$200 million of legitimate expenses, under at least generally accepted accounting principles, that would normally have been incurred in the fiscal year 1980, so that it would appear the deficit was less? Would he agree, in fact, his deficit is about \$200 million higher than shown in the budget and that brings his net cash requirements to an astounding 150 per cent increase this year? Would the Premier agree with that?

Hon. Mr. Davis: No, Mr. Speaker, I don't.

Mr. Peterson: Does the Premier understand the matter, for a start, because he obviously does not. Would he look into this—

Hon. Mr. Davis: The member asks me if I understand it and then makes the statement that I don't. Why would he ask me if I understand?

Mr. Peterson: I want to keep the Premier of this province from perjuring himself in this House, and I want to assist him so he won't say something he regrets.

Would the Premier look into this matter and have his Treasurer or himself report back on Monday about how, in fact, these figures have been obfuscated and what the real deficit, according to generally accepted ac-

counting principles, is this year, because it is much higher than he has shown?

Hon. Mr. Davis: I am sure the Treasurer will be delighted to deal with that. The honourable member, who I assume will lead off the very constructive debate on Monday, can make these observations. He might also, at the same time, say that we should not have prefloxed to the municipalities and to the school boards of this province funding which reduces their interest costs which, in turn, saves the taxpayers of this province money.

If he wants to make that statement and say, "This is the official position of the Liberal Party," on Thursday evening when he attempts to defeat the government, that will deprive the senior citizens of their assistance, and deprive small business of their assistance, and all of those things in the budget he wants to terminate. If he wants to force the people of this province into an election, please make those observations very clear on Monday so that we will know exactly his position on Thursday night at 10:30.

Mr. Peterson: If the Premier wants to take the position that he wants to cook the books to put a better face on a dismal position, then that is his prerogative. He can take that position to the people of the province, too.

ECONOMIC PROSPECTS

Mr. Laughren: Mr. Speaker, I have a question for the Minister of Industry and Tourism, in the absence of the Treasurer who I know would like to be there.

Has the minister seen the Conference Board in Canada's latest figures for Ontario, released yesterday, which show that rather than the 0.3 per cent growth the Treasurer predicted, we may very well have a negative growth rate of 0.6 per cent in Ontario this year, one of only two provinces in Canada to have a negative growth rate?

If he has seen that, or even if he hasn't seen it now that he is aware of it, does the minister agree with the optimism of the Treasurer that investment plans by manufacturing are going to be up some 40 per cent this year? If that is true, following his slide show on mining machinery last year, can he give us any assurances that one of the manufacturing sectors in which there will be significant investment will be mining machinery so that we can get on with building that very important sector?

Hon. Mr. Grossman: Mr. Speaker, as the member well knows, mining machinery and pulp and paper machinery are both sectors we have been paying some special attention to over the last period of time. Specifically, mining machinery is an area to which we will be giving some special attention in the current year.

The first part of the question related to the Conference Board's projections for the economy over the next little while. May I say that a lot of reference over the last several months in terms of the future for this province has come out of the now-famous Department of Regional Economic Expansion study which everyone is saying indicated our economy is in bad shape. I think it would be relevant to look at what it said, in answer to the member's question. To quote directly from the DREE study: "Real domestic growth in the present year in Ontario will approximate the three per cent level experienced during 1977 and 1978. In the early 1980s, however, it is expected that this level of growth could conceivably rise to the five to 5.5 per cent range." That's from the very same DREE study about which the Cassandras of this Legislature have been walking around the province saying DREE says the economic projections for this province are very poor.

I might continue to read out of the DREE report: "The manufacturing base is also far more diversified than in any other province. As well as the more traditional resource-based industries, Ontario has a number of somewhat more sophisticated types of manufacturing, such as electronics, electrical products, machinery, chemicals and aerospace products. In addition, no individual industry is particularly dominant. The industrial structure and urbanization in Ontario have resulted in a large pool of skilled labour. Accessibility to excellent education facilities provide a base for future skills development, although some short-term adjustments as to type of training necessary may be required. Domestically, the outlook has improved"—

Mr. Speaker: I would like to remind the honourable minister that reading at length from documents is not permitted during debates or in question period.

Hon. Mr. Grossman: Mr. Speaker, the point is that I could read at length from the DREE report outlining the excellent prospects during the 1980s—

Mr. Speaker: Not in question period, you won't.

Hon. Mr. Grossman: I quite agree; I have to read at length because my friends across

the floor will not read these parts of the DREE report publicly or privately.

Mr. Laughren: Obviously, the minister was going to read that no matter what the question was.

Hon. Mr. Davis: Some members read the question no matter what is in it to read.

Mr. Laughren: Don't interject. Since one of the sectors of the Ontario economy that is predicted to have very buoyant growth this year is the mining industry, and since we import 73 per cent of our mining machinery, even though we are number two in the world in the production of minerals, is the minister prepared to say what action he is going to take, because there is a potential 10,000 jobs at stake here, to ensure that this is reversed and that we start producing our own mining machinery in Ontario so that we can have diversified growth and a real shot in the arm for northern Ontario communities where those mining machinery complexes could be located? What is he going to do or is he just going to continue to sit on the sidelines?

Hon. Mr. Grossman: I believe the member himself has indicated over the last little while that there is at least some indication that this government is moving in that area, and our manufacturing shows have been some indication that we are moving in that area.

It is interesting to note too that one of the ways in which governments can lever that sort of investment is by way of the support we have given to the pulp and paper industry which will create—

Mr. Laughren: What about mining machinery?

Hon. Mr. Grossman: Perhaps the member will allow me to answer the question. In terms of creating a domestic market for mining machinery, it would be interesting to know whether the member would approve of the same kind of support we have arranged for the pulp and paper industry and its enormous offshoot in terms of the pulp and paper machinery industry, which will approach the hundreds of millions of dollars.

10:40 p.m.

May I say specifically in answer to the question that we are now working on the kinds of things we can do to further stimulate the mining machinery industry, and over time I hope to be able to report further to the House. I say to the honourable member, I do not think the solution is easy. I do not think the solution is the kind that he has proposed on earlier occasions, that the government go into the industry. If we conclude that it is difficult or impossible to do very

much in the industry, then I will be honest enough to report that to the House as well. In any case, the Ministry of Northern Affairs and ourselves are working on that very issue and we can discuss it.

INTEREST RATES

Mr. McKessock: Mr. Speaker, I have a question for the Premier. In view of the fact there is nothing in the budget for farmers, I have been asked to find out why the Premier has changed his mind since he made his statement in February to the Ontario Plowmen's Association:

"The agricultural industry is one of the most productive of any sector, with the result any investment in the industry has a substantial effect on the entire economy. Each dollar increase in food production in Ontario leads to a further \$2.50 of aggregate economic activity in the province. As well, due to the strong multiplier effect when we replace \$5,000 of crude imports with domestic production, we generate one additional job in the province. Is it any wonder, then, the government of Ontario is so deeply committed to working with the farmers to ensure the vibrancy of this ministry and encourage its expansion?"

Mr. Speaker: Is that a question?

Mr. McKessock: My question is, does that same dollar the Premier was talking about in February still not turn into \$2.50 in the agricultural business, and why has he changed his mind in this regard?

Hon. Mr. Davis: Mr. Speaker, I am glad the honourable member not only read my statement, but also read it into the record of this House. I am sure he will distribute it to all his constituents, noting the authorship and not trying to claim it for himself. From our point of view, what I said in February is just as accurate and relevant today as it was then.

Mr. McKessock: Does the Premier realize that, if we do not give the farmers immediate assistance with the interest rates, not only are we going to lose some farmers in Ontario, but we are also going to lose their production to other provinces in Canada which are giving that assistance? In fact, there are buyers going around Ontario right now buying beef cows for British Columbia and Quebec.

Hon. Mr. Davis: Mr. Speaker, if the honourable member had not done me the great service of reading my speech in the first part of this question, and if he had asked the second part of the question first, I would have understood it.

If he listened carefully to what the Treasurer (Mr. F. S. Miller) said yesterday, and

I am sure he did, that question has already been answered. I cannot add anything to what was said in this House yesterday.

TORONTO CONVENTION CENTRE

Mr. Di Santo: Mr. Speaker, I have a question for the Minister of Industry and Tourism.

Now that Metropolitan Toronto has committed itself to the construction of a convention centre, and given the fact he said on several occasions that the province was willing to contribute to the construction of a convention centre, as well as the fact that it would generate 10,000 jobs in the service industry, can the minister tell us whether the provincial government has come to a determination and at what stage he will be making an announcement?

Hon. Mr. Grossman: Mr. Speaker, we are reviewing the current situation with the federal government because I think it is safe to say we would hope part of the shortfall, which now is about \$15 million or \$16 million, might be picked up by the federal government. We also have some concern as to whether the federal government is going to honour the commitment made by the previous Conservative administration to give some support to the centre. Once we firm up the position of the federal government on both those counts, we will be determining the level of our commitment. I can assure the honourable member that our commitment will be no less than one third of the capital cost of that structure.

I would also remind the member that this government takes some pride in the fact that a year ago a \$72-million convention centre was still a dream. We have taken it from that stage to the stage at which we are \$15 million or \$16 million short on a \$70-million or \$72-million structure; so we are pretty close to home. After further meetings with the federal government, we will have a statement to make to the House. That should not be more than two or three weeks from today.

Mr. Di Santo: Since we have a situation in Metropolitan Toronto and in Ontario where unemployment in the construction industry is 30.3 per cent and the new centre will create, according to the consultant's report, 1,100 jobs, does the minister not think this should be treated as a matter of urgency because, since there are no other major projects under construction or under way, especially in Metropolitan Toronto, this could alleviate the situation in the con-

struction industry, which has no bright prospects for the immediate future?

Hon. Mr. Grossman: Mr. Speaker, I have treated this as a matter of urgency. I have been to Ottawa several times on the matter. I have spoken to the Metro chairman on several occasions. I have been working hard on this situation. In fairness to the federal government, certain events occurred last December which brought its degree of participation into question for three or four months. Now it is in a position to deal with it once again. This government has always treated that as a matter of urgency.

SALES TAX EXEMPTION

Mr. Bradley: I have a question for the Minister of Revenue, Mr. Speaker. I recognize that he collects the funds rather than initiates the budget. Nevertheless, as the minister is aware, at the present time there is a sales tax exemption on shoes costing up to \$30. Inflation has affected tremendously the price of shoes, and particularly the price of leather in recent years. The children who were largely favoured through this are now not favoured because of the increase in the price of shoes. Have the minister and his colleague the Treasurer given consideration to raising this exemption significantly so that the sales tax does not apply to shoes costing up to say, \$50?

Hon. Mr. Maeck: Yes, Mr. Speaker, we have considered the matter. I have had many letters on this subject as, I am sure, the Treasurer has. But it has to be borne in mind that the sales tax exemption on shoes was introduced primarily for children, and not for adults. There has been some correspondence regarding the matter of safety boots and so on going up in price. Members will recall that last year the federal government increased the amount of deductions that could be made from income tax to cover such situations.

The member is right that it is a matter of policy usually decided finally by the Treasurer, but it has been considered. Nothing has been done yet.

Mr. Philip: Mr. Speaker, has the minister not considered some of the points made in the letter I sent him a couple of months ago on this topic? Ottawa's shoe merchants are losing a considerable amount of business to Quebec, which has a higher ceiling. Canadian manufacturers are also losing sales to foreign manufacturers who bring in children's and other shoes at just under the \$30 mark which are more competitive when people consider

they have to add the sales tax on top of that in buying the Canadian shoe that frequently comes in at just over \$30?

Hon. Mr. Maeck: Mr. Speaker, that matter is also under consideration.

Mr. Conway: Mr. Speaker, since the Minister of Revenue has indicated to this House that it is a matter of policy he is not prepared to change, could he explain why this niggardly, tight-fisted, anti-consumer attitude with respect to children's shoes obtains at so late a day? Can he explain or try to justify and defend this posture?

Hon. Mr. Maeck: Mr. Speaker, we are talking here about children's shoes, and not about adults' shoes. That was the whole thrust of the regulation, and I think it is still possible in this day to buy children's shoes for less than \$30.

POLICE USE OF FIREARMS

Mr. Lupusella: Mr. Speaker, I have a question for the Solicitor General. Is the minister aware of the forensic evidence presented at the Petrolia inquest into the shooting of Doug Powell by a policeman, which evidence states that powder burns and residue on tissue taken from Powell's forehead after he died March 4 indicated the gun must have been touching his forehead? In view of that, can the minister explain how the coroner could have ruled the shooting accidental when there was clear evidence from Edward Anderson of the Centre for Forensic Science that the gun was touching the victim's forehead?
10:50 a.m.

Hon. Mr. McMurtry: Mr. Speaker, I am aware of that evidence. I am also advised that it was not the coroner who ruled that the shooting was accidental, but a coroner's jury, a jury of citizens who heard all the evidence.

I know there is some degree of interest in the whole matter, which is understandable, and I certainly will review the totality of the evidence given at the inquest. I am impressed by the fact that the local coroner's jury that heard the evidence came to that conclusion. I am not in the position to comment further on the verdict in this respect, at least not at this time.

Mr. Lupusella: I am sure the minister is going to make a public statement in the Legislature after reviewing the evidence.

Would the minister immediately table the terms of reference given to Judge Greenwood for his study of the police use of firearms, and will he assure the House that this study will focus not only on the use of firearms, but

also on the measures to avoid the resort to firearms wherever feasible?

Mr. Speaker: How do you connect this question with your original question?

Mr. Lupusella: There was a shooting involved, Mr. Speaker.

Hon. Mr. McMurtry: I heard the part of the question relating to the terms of reference, and I will table the terms of reference. I did not hear the last part of the question.

Mr. Lupusella: If I might, I would like to repeat the last part of my question. Will the minister assure the House that this study will focus not only on the use of firearms, but also on measures to avoid the resort to firearms wherever feasible?

Hon. Mr. McMurtry: I am sorry; I just do not understand the second part of the question.

CANCER INCIDENCE

Mr. B. Newman: Mr. Speaker, I have a question of the Minister of Labour. Is the minister aware of the high and above-average incidence of cancer among employees in the United States who are working in woodshops and furniture shops, or who are preparing full-scale automobile mockups out of plastics, wood and glass fibres? If the minister is aware of this potential health hazard, would he find out if employees in Ontario industries, such as furniture, toys, mold shops and so forth, are subject to this same hazard?

Hon. Mr. Elgie: Mr. Speaker, I have been aware of that for a short time and have asked my staff to look into it as a matter that should be considered.

Mr. B. Newman: In the meantime, would the Minister of Labour suggest that some type of protective device be used by the employees so that, if he finds there is a real hazard, the hazard is not exaggerated as a result of not taking protective measures now?

Hon. Mr. Elgie: I will be glad to review that matter with my staff.

UPGRADING OF RESIDUAL OIL

Ms. Gigantes: Mr. Speaker, a question of the Minister of Energy; it relates to a speech he made yesterday at the Ontario Paint Association in which he repeated the government's desire to see upgrading of the residual heavy oil left over from Ontario's refineries.

I would like to know what the minister meant to imply when he suggested the government was interested in seeing the construction of a new heavy oil refinery and

went on to say, "We are pressing ahead with this initiative in conjunction with industry." Does this suggest we will see a government grant to have the establishment of a heavy oil refinery in Ontario?

Hon. Mr. Welch: Not necessarily, Mr. Speaker. There are discussions with industry now with respect to the economic advantages of this type of facility. I have no reason to believe at this stage that it might require anything in the way of a grant, although the feasibility studies are not yet complete.

The principle of extracting more product out of a barrel of oil has to be a very high priority now, when one thinks of the large exports of residual oil from this country at the moment. Once these studies are completed and we have a better idea with respect to the industry interest, then perhaps we can make a further report with respect to our progress.

Ms. Gigantes: While we can all support the principle of getting more useful products out of each barrel of oil, I hope the minister will also bear in mind the principle that there had better be a pretty darned good reason before we give government grants to the likes of Exxon, Texaco, BP, Shell and Gulf these days.

Hon. Mr. Welch: I understand, and I repeat that I have no reason to believe they would require that type of support, although that would depend on the outcome of those studies.

MANPOWER STRATEGY

Mr. Conway: Mr. Speaker, my question is to the Premier. Mindful of the fact that he is now responsible for a jurisdiction that has 157,000 young people unemployed, and mindful that the government is committed positively to nuclear power, what specific manpower strategies is the Premier undertaking to ensure that there will be a maximized opportunity for the graduates of Ontario school systems to take advantage of the hundreds and thousands of jobs which exist in that particular sector and which, over these past 20 years, have been fitted to a large degree by imported foreign recruits? What are the manpower strategies?

Hon. Mr. Davis: Mr. Speaker, I do not know what this business of foreign manpower recruits means.

Mr. Sweeney: It means the government is bringing them in instead of training them itself. It is that simple.

Hon. Mr. Davis: Mr. Speaker, I am trying to answer the question.

Mr. Kerrio: We are just trying to help the Premier.

Hon. Mr. Davis: I would like to make one or two observations. I was delighted to see the honourable member at the dinner last night where I had a chance to talk to him.

Mr. S. Smith: The Premier is not answering the question.

Hon. Mr. Davis: I would say to the Leader of the Opposition that his member asked me about our commitment to nuclear power. I was delighted to see him there last night where I restated this commitment.

Mr. S. Smith: What does that have to do with the question?

Mr. Speaker: What does that have to do with manpower?

Hon. Mr. Davis: With great respect, Mr. Speaker, the question had to do with the member for Renfrew North's statement that the nuclear industry was a great plus; that it was going to stay and it would provide opportunities for employment. That was a part of the question because he stated it. I have to say I am encouraged, because the Liberal Party has not always been as committed to that. The leader has had his people being critical of the nuclear industry over this past two or three years. I think that was a part of the question, and I am very encouraged.

Mr. S. Smith: Mr. Speaker, the Premier has not addressed the question. Would you call him to order?

Hon. Mr. Davis: I would say to the Leader of the Opposition that the camera is not focused upon him at the moment. He need not bother to act.

Mr. Speaker: Will the Premier answer the question from the member for Renfrew North, please?

Hon. Mr. Davis: Mr. Speaker, I think it is fair to state, after some 20 years of experience in this jurisdiction that 90 per cent or more of Ontario Hydro employees brought into the system—and this applies to those people in the private sector who have been part of the nuclear industry growth here in this province too—have come from within this province. If there is a degree of security for the nuclear industry, which will have to depend on our ability as a country, and not just as a province, for the export of that technology, it is also fundamental to the growth, sustenance

and stability of that industry that we have the capacity to train the people who will be a part of it.

I say to the honourable member, however, it is strange to me to hear him make that sort of observation when I have sensed an ambivalence and a contradiction by his party for a period of time as to its commitment to the nuclear industry, whether for export or for internal use. I say that very objectively.

11 a.m.

Mr. Conway: Since my principal concern and surely that of all members is that our nuclear power program maximize the opportunity for the deployment of Ontarians at a time when so many—157,000—are unemployed, and in the youth sector particularly, I want to know what are the specific manpower strategies by means of which this government at this time is addressing that situation. Are there any?

As a former Minister of Education and as the current Premier, has he undertaken any discussions with his government's Minister of Labour to deal with the public complaints that Hydro has made in my area and elsewhere that our immigration restrictions are making its recruitment job very difficult these days? Is that not something about which this jurisdiction—he and his government, with more than 25 years of commitment—should be very concerned, if not ashamed? Have there been those discussions with the utility? Has the Premier had those kinds of discussions with the Minister of Labour? What are the strategies, and can he indicate to this House at this time by indicating more specifically what those strategies might be?

Hon. Mr. Davis: Without once again provoking the Leader of the Opposition, I would make one or two observations in very brief terms. There are two aspects to it. One is the domestic part of the industry; that is, the nuclear industry that develops the apparatus, the machinery, used by Ontario Hydro. There is also the need of Ontario Hydro for the skill training or the expertise in the development and operation of their own facilities.

I think it is fair to state that the private sector, the people who are in the manufacturing part of the industry, have been able to satisfy their needs, by and large. I think it is also fair to state, when one sets aside for the short period, say, of construction, where we have had shortages in terms of some of the skills required in the construction of some of these facilities, these have been a short-term problem. The Minister of Education and the Minister of Labour are aware of them, and

so is Ontario Hydro, and there have been programs introduced.

There is the third element, which is the operation of the system by Ontario Hydro after completion of the plant. My understanding is that, by and large, Ontario Hydro has been able to meet its needs for the operation of, say, Pickering. I think one will find the majority of people at Pickering are products of the educational system here in this province. I have not heard from Hydro that they have deficiencies in terms of the internal operation of the system as it relates to nuclear energy—well, not major ones.

INTEREST RATES

Mr. Isaacs: Mr. Speaker, I have a short question for the Premier with regard to the Treasurer's delaying tactics on the matter of mortgage relief for homeowners.

Does the Premier realize that many families are facing mortgage renewal now and cannot wait until mid-May or later? What does the Premier advise a family to do when they are faced with a mortgage renewal which includes monthly payments they know they cannot afford? Should they sign a mortgage when they know they will be unable to meet the payments? Should they abandon the home to the mortgage holder? Or should they hope and pray that the Treasurer will do something to help them before too many mortgage payments become due?

Hon. Mr. Davis: Mr. Speaker, as I recall the discussions yesterday, I think fundamentally the same question was asked, although not in this great detail or with the same rhetoric, and I think the answer was given. I would be delighted to repeat it, but I think as there are other members who have other questions I will not do so, except to remind the honourable member that the Treasurer made it quite clear that in terms of the farm community we were prepared, without co-operation from Ottawa—which we still hope to get—to consider something on our own.

In terms of the mortgage interest difficulty faced by a number of home owners, we are suggesting—and I think part of the idea came from the member's own leader—that we have a very comprehensive study as it relates to the extent of the problem, the nature of the problem and how one might differentiate in terms of how one might deal with it. We do feel very strongly that there should be a program that involves the government of Canada, as it is not restricted to this province. It has a very significant impact on the Liberal government in Ottawa. I think that

was, in brief terms, what the Treasurer said in answer to a similar question yesterday.

ESTIMATES

Hon. Mr. McCague: Mr. Speaker, I have a message from the Honourable the Lieutenant Governor signed by her own hand.

Mr. Speaker: Pauline M. McGibbon, the Lieutenant Governor, transmits estimates of certain sums required for the services of the province for the year ending March 31, 1981, and recommends them to the Legislative Assembly, Toronto, April 25, 1980.

ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS ON NOTICE PAPER

Mr. Speaker: Before we get to routine proceedings, the member for Essex South (Mr. Mancini) raised what he considered to be a point of privilege yesterday. I have had an opportunity to examine the material submitted by him and I agree that if the date, April 1, on the communication of the Deputy Minister of Natural Resources is accurate, then it would seem the minister owes the member some explanation. The communication from the deputy minister consists of the answers to the questions, whereas the letter from the minister advising the cabinet office that the preparation of the answers required more time, is dated April 2. I understand that the minister, who cannot be here today, will be offering a further explanation on Monday.

I agree with the honourable member that there does seem to be some cause for concern, and we are awaiting an explanation from the minister involved.

REPORT

STANDING COMMITTEE ON ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE

Mr. Philip from the standing committee on administration of justice presented the following report and moved its adoption:

Your committee begs to report the following bills without amendment:

Bill Pr15, An Act to revive Golden Hope Mines Limited;

Bill Pr16, An Act respecting Co-operative Health Services of Ontario;

Bill Pr20, An Act to revive Fargo Disposal Company Limited.

Report adopted.

Mr. Makarchuk: On a point of order, Mr. Speaker—

Mr. Speaker: What is the point of order?

Mr. Makarchuk: I believe there was a motion from the government House leader.

Mr. Speaker: No, there was not.

INTRODUCTION OF BILLS

MUNICIPALITY OF METROPOLITAN TORONTO AMENDMENT ACT

Mr. Epp moved first reading of Bill 57, An Act to amend the Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto Act.

Motion agreed to.

CITY OF BRANTFORD ACT

Mr. Makarchuk: Mr. Speaker, I would ask for the unanimous consent of the House to introduce a private bill concerning the city of Brantford prior to the completion of the required advertising. The bill has been advertised for two weeks instead of the required four weeks. There is some urgency concerning this bill, and I would ask for unanimous consent to permit the bill to be considered by the standing committee on general government next Wednesday, along with a second bill which is now before the committee concerning the city of Brantford. I therefore request unanimous consent to waive standing order 65(g) and 72(a) with regard to Bill Pr26.

As a matter of explanation, this unanimous consent will not abrogate anybody's rights to appear before the committee and time is the essence of this bill. If the bill is not passed, the city of Brantford will not be able to enter into a much and urgently needed agreement regarding the downtown redevelopment project.

Agreed.

Mr. Makarchuk moved first reading of Bill Pr26, An Act respecting the City of Brantford.

Motion agreed to.

11:10 a.m.

ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS ON NOTICE PAPER

Hon. Mr. Wells: Mr. Speaker, I wish to table the answers to questions 7, 95 and 110 standing on the Notice Paper. (See appendix A, page 1169.)

Mr. Speaker: I presume that will satisfy the member for Algoma (Mr. Wildman).

Hon. Mr. Wells: We are one day late, for which I think there is a reason.

ORDERS OF THE DAY

House in committee of supply.

SUPPLEMENTARY ESTIMATES, MINISTRY OF HEALTH

On vote 3202, institutional health services program:

Mr. Chairman: Does the minister have any comments?

Hon. Mr. Timbrell: Mr. Chairman, I had some brief remarks last Friday. I don't have any more to add to those. I understand there is an agreement among the House leaders that we have to conclude by 12:45 in order for a supply motion to be dealt with. In order to maximize the hour and a half we have, I have nothing further to add at this time.

Mr. Conway: Mr. Chairman, my remarks, as always, will be brief and to the point. The supplementary estimates before us raise a number of questions that I would like to put for consideration today and perhaps for discussion in a more detailed way at the time of our next full estimates.

Item 4, the \$4.1-million additional appropriation for ambulance services, gives me an opportunity to inquire after the ministry's recent court initiative with respect to the private ambulance operators in this province. I want to say to the minister, who I suspect has very deep and well-reasoned argumentation for whatever the government's position is on the place of the private ambulance operators in the health-care delivery system of Ontario, that I know his position is not that of the former minister (Mr. F. S. Miller), which I gather was one that warmed that heart of the many and varied private operators in the province. They are still trying to absorb the shock of another in the line of Tory Ministers of Health who don't seem to relate particularly well to the position of his or her predecessor.

I thought the ministry behaved poorly in the matter of the investigation of the private ambulance operators. As I said earlier and as I think I said at the time, it may well be there is a serious case and a serious charge against some or all of the private ambulance operators in this province—I certainly doubt there is a case against them all—but it must be understood by the minister that by pursuing the matter, as he has chosen to do, he has left a pall of suspicion over all of those private operators. They feel that suspicion has been unduly placed.

Hon. Mr. Timbrell: How would you do it?

Mr. Conway: My friend from Don Mills asks, not uncharacteristically, how would I do it? I will tell him how I might change his style in this particular connection. I might at least indicate in a press statement, or at the time of the action that was undertaken on his instigation by the Solicitor General (Mr. McMurtry), precisely what I was intending

and, more precisely, what some of the concerns were.

I am not a legal man and I shall leave it to the distinguished men of the law to advise him on how more appropriately he might meet that particular condition, but the way is not simply to get himself on to the front page of the national newspaper and others by associating himself with a warrant for the papers of many of these private operators, without so much as a brief explanation as to why this inquiry was being undertaken.

What are his suspicions? It is his departmental officials who have superintended this responsibility for lo these many months and years. If, as some of us are prone to suspect, it is maladministration, are we to assume he chose not to be more specific because there might be at least as much for the ministry to explain as for some of the presumably culpable private ambulance operators?

I well remember the question I put and the answer he offered here last November when the matter of the private ambulance operators and their role in the health-care delivery system was dealt with. It was interesting not so much to read the lines of the minister's answer but to fantasize what was really intended between the lines.

Hon. Mr. Timbrell: You want to watch your fantasies. Being a former bachelor, I'd say you have to be careful.

Mr. Conway: I will take the minister's injunction seriously. I will say no more than that, because my friend the Provincial Secretary for Social Development (Mrs. Birch) might be prone to lecture me on similar virtues.

It is important for the Ministry of Health, when it undertakes that kind of investigation, to put it in context. To be sure, it is not expected that the minister should itemize in encyclopaedic form all aspects of what he is after. I can appreciate how, in the deep, dark recesses of the minister's mind, there might be suspicions that he would not ever want to entertain in the presence of his colleague the member for Scarborough East (Mrs. Birch) or anyone else, but I think it is much more important that he at least put a context for public consumption in so far as those charges and that kind of inquiry are concerned.

I am reminded of the efforts this government undertook with the charts for chronic-care copayment, a position which I continue to accept in principle, but the public relations capacity is inversely proportional to the public relations success over there. The minister has people replete with resources, but apparently there is never an ability to convey what he is

after. I use the chronic-care copayment example because he took that initiative with what I understood was unanimous consent on the basis of the select committee and he botched it. He made such a horrendous mess of it that the final results were counterproductive for the policy initiative we could all agree to.

The ministry had absolutely no idea how to make its case to the public—and, is it any wonder, because of what it had done earlier with the public hospital closures program gleefully entered into by the then minister, now the Treasurer (Mr. F. S. Miller) in the late fall and early winter of 1975-76. In this case it again struck me that the government undertook what looked like, in the absence of that kind of information, a witchhunt that bothered a lot of people in the private ambulance sector who I presume are in no way involved with whatever it is the minister is after.

Perhaps the minister might take that as notice in this case, if he hasn't already done so, with the able assistance of his many friends in the private ambulance operating field. I don't diminish or underestimate the considerable friendship that exists for the government party in respect of that section of the health-care delivery system. I hold no brief politically for some of the minister's close political associates whose lobbying interests in connection with the role of the private ambulance operators he has perhaps seen.

I don't know whether he got that famous letter some months ago which enjoined the private ambulance operators to prevail upon their best, and good and only true friends in this place who sit there from Peterborough to Don Mills in support of—ostensibly from that letter's point of view—the private ambulance operators' cause.

11:20 a.m.

I want to tell him, his friends feel very betrayed. I think his friends ought not to feel betrayed, although in this case they have every justification for those sentiments. He should give them an explanation and tell them what this inquiry is all about to the best of his ability. He should confide in them and in us his suspicions and the nature of the reasoning for the inquiry of the Ontario Provincial Police.

I also say to my dear friend the minister, would he take the time to inform his friends in the private ambulance operating field as to what it is he really has planned for them? Even his friends think he, of all people, in the name of socialized health-care delivery is going to do them in. Unlike his predecessor,

the minister has no respect for the free enterprise ethic in the health-care delivery system, and he is intending to do in the private ambulance operators.

I don't know what the minister's intentions are. I can tell him at another time, if he likes, what I think ought to be done with respect to the private ambulance operators. But I would like him, in consideration of his ministerial affairs, to tell them what he is going to do for and with them, with the tacit support of his friends any my friends on the left, as long as he's around. Is he planning to phase them out of operation? If not, is he going to give them a place in the proverbial sun?

About the second item, institutional care services, I don't know what the minister said the other day. I am sure it was a multi-tiered bafflegab about that \$58 million or \$61 million. I look at that item, and I am convinced that a significant portion of that must surely relate to the process we engaged in in the social development committee last year to provide additional assistance to the institutional sector.

We all are mindful that the ministry, under the colourful leadership of my friend from Don Mills, underfunded the institutional sector to a truly alarming degree. In that connection I want to say something about this vote and how it relates to the budget the other night. It was a real lesson for me to sit here and listen to the Treasurer, in the presence of the Minister of Health, produce that document Tuesday night and to hear them congratulate themselves for the fact that in this budget the government of Ontario is going to provide an extra \$487 million in the fiscal year 1980-81, an 11.4 per cent increase, for the Ministry of Health. Of course, all of us Cassandras in the opposition, to use the words of my friend from St. Andrew-St. Patrick (Mr. Grossman), are supposed to clap our hands in praise of that glory.

Over the course of the last five years, this ministry has choked and starved and underfunded the institutional health-care system to within an inch of its institutional life. This is the ministry that doled out last year's 4.5 per cent increase. This is the ministry that has left the health-care system in this province under those kinds of budgetary restraints. Now the minister comes back here because the social development committee, under the active leadership of the opposition, drew this folly and all kinds of examples to his attention to show how negative was the impact of his misguided restraint program in the health-care field. Because of that success, we were able literally to squeeze out of the government of Ontario the kinds of funds re-

quired to look after the system as it has been developed.

After all that, the Treasurer, the man who made his great fame in this province in the Ministry of Health, expects to be able to stand up here and be congratulated after all this misguided restraint—a restraint which threatened to, and did, reduce the quality of care in our health-care system, without any question in my mind. We can each, in our own way, relate circumstances to that particular point, but it is the government which, over the time of my experience in this Legislature—the Provincial Secretary for Social Development nods her head with some considerable chagrin.

Hon. Mrs. Birch: It is a simple question of where? Document it.

Mr. Conway: The minister should read the transcript of the social development committee.

Hon. Mr. Timbrell: Which part do you want to start with?

Mr. Conway: I can point to any amount of it if the minister would like to come to the library with me. I know the minister fought, to some considerable degree, a losing battle in cabinet. I am being delicate with the responsibility that I lay on his shoulders. I know the circumstances of this extra appropriation, know the story of a very frightened, a very humble, a very ambitious minister going to the Premier's office and saying, "I can no longer justify the unjustifiable before the health committee and we are simply going to have to have more money." I know the circumstances. I know exactly where you and your officials stand with the kind of 4.5 per cent increase that starved the health-care system last year in a way that—

Hon. Mr. Timbrell: What about the \$50 million you wanted cut the year before?

Mr. Conway: We wanted it cut the year before, exactly.

Hon. Mr. Timbrell: What about the \$50 million you demanded be cut from my budget?

Mr. McClellan: That was the year before.

Mr. Makarchuk: Odd years they cut and even years they cut more.

Mr. Conway: We wanted to cut the year before only in such a way as to make the minister's estimates square with government policy.

Hon. Mr. Timbrell: Pardon? That is not what you said.

Mr. Conway: You are the one who—

Hon. Mr. Timbrell: Let's go to the library and dig out the record of the year before. That is not what you said.

Mr. Conway: Absolutely. I would be delighted. Come with me and read the paper of April 1978. My point is, Mr. Chairman, the Minister of Health and the Provincial Secretary for Social Development (Mrs. Birch) know very well, and knew very well, what they were doing with the 4.5 budgetary percentage increase offered last year. The opposition can take more than its share of credit for that additional appropriation. Had it not been for the exercise of the social development committee, I respectfully submit a significant amount of that money would not be in this particular supplementary estimate. I am not in any way ashamed to come here and say that this morning.

The minister, I presume, has learned a lesson from that experience, a lesson which, to his credit, shows up in this year's transfer. I have said publicly that the rate of budgetary increase this year, while inadequate in some measure, is none the less a significant improvement over the niggardly, miserable confrontational offering of last year.

I wanted to register my personal disgust about Tuesday night, having to sit here and listen to the Treasurer of Ontario (Mr. F. S. Miller) congratulate himself on the wonderful funding arrangements that have been struck for the Ministry of Health this year. It was very interesting to hear the man who went about rural southwestern Ontario in 1975 and 1976 make that kind of comment.

11:30 a.m.

Just for the benefit of my good friend from Scarborough East (Mrs. Birch), I sat here on Tuesday night expecting to hear something about a commitment the former Treasurer made to the physically handicapped in this province a couple of years ago to do with the insurability of prosthetic and orthotic and assistive devices. What has come of that promise—not a very expensive one, I might add? What has the government done in consideration of that extremely well founded claim?

I want to say to the Provincial Secretary for Social Development in the presence of the Minister of Health that I think the time has passed for that inclusion in the insured services of our health-care system.

Hon. Mr. Timbrell: Do you disagree with your leader?

Mr. Conway: The Minister of Health is getting exercised.

Hon. Mr. Timbrell: Mr. Chairman, would the honourable member disagree with the statement made by his leader on September 27, 1978—

Mr. Conway: Mr. Chairman, I thought it was the custom that once one had the floor—

Hon. Mr. Timbrell: —that no new social programs should be introduced until we get an awful lot richer?

Mr. Chairman: Order.

Mr. Conway: Thank you very much for bringing the very unruly Minister of Health to order.

Hon. Mr. Timbrell: I take it the answer is you do disagree.

Mr. Conway: That is not the case. I am a perfect example of agreement in this caucus. I am always in lock step with my 33 colleagues, and would that the Minister of Health could say the same for some of his friends in the Provincial Secretariat for Social Development.

But there is, to be sure, a lock-step happiness about this perfect union between the member for Oshawa and the member for Don Mills. It always surprises me. Poor Dennis McDermott and Ed Broadbent made an effort for three years to find the perfect union. We have seen effected here a marriage, the perfection and the lasting quality of which I suspect no divorce court in the land will ever have to worry about.

It is important to understand where that \$61 million, or a goodly amount of it, came from. That supplementary appropriation, as I understand it, owes most of its origin to the social development process of last spring. I wanted to take this opportunity to congratulate the committee for the work it did in drawing to the Legislature's attention and to the public attention generally, the course of action this minister and this government were happily embarked on not so many months ago. The kind of statement that was couched on page 21 of this Tuesday's budget is, from my point of view, insulting, when one considers the underfunding that was knowingly entered into by this government over the past four or five years, particularly where the institutional health budget is concerned.

Other of my colleagues will be speaking to all or part of these supplementary estimates. I appreciate the opportunity, and I do expect that the minister, in connection with the first point, will seriously review the uncertainty, the suspicion that has been created by this investigation into the pri-

vate-ambulance-operator situation, and that if he hasn't already done so, through private or public communications, he will at an early opportunity prepare himself, in this House or in our committee, to indicate precisely what it is that investigation is concerned about and what, if any, policy changes he is planning for the private ambulance operators. I would very much appreciate some comment in the not too distant future on that subject.

Hon. Mr. Timbrell: If I may—

Mr. Chairman: These are the leadoffs.

Hon. Mr. Timbrell: I beg your pardon.

Mr. Breaugh: Mr. Chairman, the member for Brantford (Mr. Makarchuk) indicated he had a bit of a time problem today. I wouldn't mind giving the minister 10 minutes or so, if he would allow me then to do my lead-off.

Mr. Chairman: I will have to ask the committee members if they are agreeable. The usual procedure in standing orders is that there be a leadoff by each opposition party and a reply by the minister. It's up to the committee.

Mr. Breaugh: If that is agreeable we could proceed that way; if not, I would be prepared to do my leadoff now.

Mr. Chairman: Does the committee agree?

Mr. Conway: To prove my earlier point, Mr. Chairman, I am most amenable to the point that has been made by my friend from Oshawa. If that is agreeable to the members and minister, then of course it is agreeable to me.

Agreed.

Mr. Makarchuk: Mr. Chairman, I appreciate this kind co-operation on all sides of the House. It might be a portent of things in the future.

What I wish to raise with the minister, Mr. Chairman, is the matter of the intent of the ministry to close St. Joseph's Hospital emergency in Brantford in the near future. The concern that comes to my mind and to the minds of a great number of people in the community is the fact that the emergency in St. Joseph's Hospital is located close to the industrial area. If there is an accident—and there are accidents—it is very convenient to the industrial area to get the people in and get treatment as soon as possible.

The idea that the minister and his ministry have right now to consolidate all emergency services in the Brantford General Hospital—

Hon. Mr. Timbrell: That was not our idea.

Mr. Makarchuk: Just a moment, you say it isn't your idea; it certainly is your idea. It is

a very dangerous proposition. You are, in effect, putting all your eggs in one basket, in one hospital. You are going to have one emergency service for a population in Brant county alone of more than 100,000 people. The catchment area for Brantford is much larger than that because we have people coming in from Norfolk, Haldimand and Oxford counties. What the result will be is that you will be denying them, should there be a problem in Brantford General Hospital emergency.

Hospitals have accidents; they have fires, certain things can develop. There is a major railway line that runs at the back of the hospital. If we had a situation similar to Mississauga, or anything of that nature, that hospital would be out of commission. What you would have effectively done, because of your actions, is eliminate any hope for emergencies absolutely. If you have one emergency there and if that emergency ward were not in operation, you would deny emergency service to more than 100,000 people in the area. I think it is one of the most irresponsible decisions you have made. You are endangering the lives of many people in the community, as I said, by putting all your eggs in one basket.

The other point I wish to stress is that you are going ahead at this time in implementing this plan when you really do not have an effective health council. Your doctors have left the health council. They are not co-operating with the council. As I understand it, they have agreed unanimously not to have any association with the council.

You are looking at this time to get new people on the health council, and I imagine you will be making your appointments at some time in the near future. But the whole concept of your statement that there has to be community input in health care in the community is negated; there is no community input at this time. The health council is unrepresentative. It does not have on it what one would consider one of the most important elements—the medical profession. They are not involved in the health council.

Yet here you are proceeding to make a decision that will be, as I said earlier, dangerous, irresponsible and may affect lives in the future. It could cause or create some rather serious conditions in the community in terms of the availability of emergency health care.

I think, Mr. Minister, you should reconsider that matter. You should wait at least until you have a full-fledged health council in place again. You should wait until you have the doctors back working with the

health council and try to take into account the wishes of the majority of the community who want to see that emergency service continued—perhaps not as elaborate as the one at the Brantford General and perhaps not as fully staffed, but certainly as a very necessary facility that is required in that community.

11:40 a.m.

I hope the minister thinks about that or at least delays making the decision until he has a representative health council that may for a change speak and try to express the wishes of the people in the community in the planning of health care.

Mr. Chairman: The member for Oshawa.

Hon. Mr. Timbrell: Was that not to be the leadoff, Mr. Chairman, and then I could respond? Maybe I misunderstood.

Mr. Chairman: As I understood, the committee agreed that the two could be combined. I know it makes it difficult, but I asked for the support of the committee and the members had an opportunity to disagree.

Mr. B. Newman: I understood we would be alternating.

Mr. Chairman: Order. I asked the committee if it was agreeable and no one disagreed. The member for Oshawa.

Mr. Breaugh: Mr. Chairman, I cannot let the opportunity go by without pointing out to the members of the House the advanced state of the art of fiscal control which this Legislature exercises. We are discussing these supplementary estimates nine months after the government decided that additional expenditures were in order.

If I recall the sequence properly, I first read about it in the Toronto Globe and Mail as supposedly a leak from the Treasury office. In the interim, I do not recall a formal announcement by the minister of additional funding. Nine months later the members of this Legislature get supplementary estimates and have before them the first formal piece of paper explaining that there were additional amounts of money infused into the plan.

I think it ought to be a matter of some concern to the members here, aside from the traditional role of the estimates procedure, that members get the opportunity to speak about matters of policy and to review the actions of the minister. In terms of fiscal control, that aspect of it is virtually nonexistent and, unfortunately, is laughable.

None the less, I want to point out that there have been substantial changes in the attitude and the priorities of the government. These are changes which we on this side of

the House welcome and which we think members of the Legislature from all parties played some role in making happen. To be positive about it, that is a good thing this Legislature has accomplished. Collectively, we raised the point somewhat diffusely, I understand, but we did manage to get across the point that individuals in our constituencies were having problems with the medical system and that even though we do not have access to complete and up-to-date information on all parts of the health-care system in the province, we do have access to our own constituents.

Their problems were made known. Problems in the more generalized area of hospital budgeting were made known. A committee of this Legislature had an investigation on that and tabled a report. So it is possible to give us some hope in the future. It is possible for the members of this Legislature to say something to the government and to make the government of the day listen.

Although I don't recall receiving any thank-you notes or even any credit, I suspect that the Minister of Health, in his own mind got some assistance from opposition members in going before the cabinet for additional amounts of money. Perhaps it would be silly of any member on the opposition side to expect to get credit from the government for making such a change, but in reality I think that is precisely what did happen.

As I have said before in this House, I am pleased with the increases and the change in stance of the government on the funding of the health-care system. I would not for a moment pretend that all of the problems had been resolved because many of the problems cannot be resolved by a simple influx of cash, but I do recognize that some movement has occurred. I would, unfortunately, put the caveat that those people who traditionally have not had their roles matched by economic remuneration of the order of \$50,000 or \$60,000 a year will not get substantial gains, and perhaps those long-standing traditional reward systems that are in place in the health-care system will not change around very much.

In my opening remarks today, I want to raise a number of matters that seem to me to be problems that persist.

I want to begin by reiterating my personal unhappiness with the way the ministry reviews hospital budgets. There has seemingly been for a number of years now some difficulty in getting a handle on effective cost control in individual hospitals or, where they have health councils, co-ordination of that control, particu-

larly by the use of an American consulting firm called Naus-Newlyn.

I want to point out to the members of the House that there is not a small amount of bitter irony in the location of Peel Memorial Hospital in the riding of the Premier (Mr. Davis) of Ontario. Some of the things that were said in committee last year about whether these private consulting firms could actually realize cost savings of the order projected related to that hospital.

A number of us who had visited administrators regularly over the last year were well aware that perhaps five or six years ago there were large areas where changes in procedure would result in rather substantial amounts of money. Yet it was not very realistic for Naus-Newlyn to suggest to Peel Memorial that they would get at least their fee of \$462,000 in recovered cost savings.

In the Peel Memorial instance that does not appear to have happened. In fact, the hospital itself is now attempting to recover part of those funds it paid to that private consulting firm to do that kind of study. The unfortunate part is that the reason private consulting firms work in most of our hospitals these days is that the ministry has insisted in its own awkward way that the use of these firms be almost mandatory if hospitals are looking for additional programs or budgetary expenditures.

There are firms available other than this one, and there is also available, of course, the Ontario Hospital Association, but for all practical purposes, many hospitals have been forced to use the one who is knocking on the door with a proposition. That turns out to be the rather aggressive marketing techniques used by this one particular firm.

In addition, aside from the simple fact that it appears to me to be unrealistic to expect that kind of cost saving to occur, the recommendations made by Naus-Newlyn and other private consulting firms very often in my view have a detrimental effect on the day-to-day operations of the hospital. In other words, a hospital is not a factory.

When there are cutbacks on how the food is served or different standards are set on how to clean the wards or how to staff those wards, it is not a simple mechanical process. Intervening in that process is the care of human beings and the interaction between nurses, nurses' aids, hospital assistants, orderlies, doctors, and a great many other people in that not quite clearly identified, but certainly acknowledged field of human relationships where people are recovering from a health problem.

I am aware that more and more hospital workers are reacting rather violently to the propositions put forward by the consultants. In a number of the places where I have talked to administrators, this firm and other firms do make it a practice to consult with the staff regularly. None the less, a clear conflict sooner or later comes about.

To put it as succinctly as I can, an outsider looking at the operation of a hospital essentially concerned with fulfilling an initial promise to save large amounts of money is sooner or later going to get down to that point where the recommendation is simply that staff be cut. There will enter into the picture then conflicts about cutting of staff, the operation of staff hours and a number of other propositions put to administrators.

If we were looking at the production of automobiles in a factory or other such processes, these measures might be very sensible, time-saving and cost-saving. In a hospital-care situation they are not. Unfortunately those who have least status in the hospital will suffer most. I think that is a regrettable situation and one which I hope the minister would take under consideration. I hope he would back off on the use of private consultants and, in particular, put some provisions on the use of consultants such as Naus-Newlyn when they get to that particular point.

It is my firm opinion that point was reached more than a year ago. There are very few hospitals any more where it is realistic to say that a private consulting firm can come in and save the hospital literally hundreds of thousands of dollars. We should cease and desist that particular practice. I never was very much in favour of it. I certainly think that now the point has been reached in Peel, in Stratford and in a number of other places where that private consulting firm has been used, where it is detrimental to good health care. It will be the hospital-care workers who will bear the brunt of those recommendations.

11:50 a.m.

I want also to raise another matter which has been put before the House on a number of occasions—I have four examples in hand here—which is people who are in need of some kind of prosthetic device. I am aware the minister has a committee advising him on this. I am also aware that when I asked him its status in the fall, his response was that in two years he had managed to complete setting up the committee.

I would ask the minister to expedite that matter. There is a large number of our constituents who fail to make the distinctions

that OHIP makes about what does and doesn't qualify for OHIP coverage in this matter. I know, particularly among the handicapped people I work with, they are not always aware that certain kinds of repairs can be done at the local hospital, for example, and they do not have access to that, whereas someone who was working in a hospital on a regular basis has that.

Although it seems on occasion a difficult judgement to make, it becomes, I think, essential. In certain cases where there is a need for eye surgery, where there is a need for breast surgery, where there is a need for devices, that becomes the essential element in making that person well again, or at least in making that person completely mobile within the community, so I view it to be a serious problem.

I note that the member for Cambridge (Mr. M. Davidson) has put forth an example to the minister, and the member for Ottawa Centre (Mr. Cassidy) did another one for the minister. I know that members from other parties have presented individual cases to the minister. I know that I have done so in the past, and I would ask the minister to expedite that process, or at least to allow some greater degree of flexibility in seeing what does and doesn't come under OHIP.

I understand there is an appeal process, and I understand that many physicians now are recommending changes in that, but I would point out that is a serious problem for a great many people. I urge you to expedite that process and loosen it up so that more people are covered and we do provide those devices to people who need them.

Another kind of raging controversy that is emerging now, which emerged previously in the history of Ontario, is the matter of denturists. I frankly do not understand the fairness for someone who thinks he is practising within the laws of Ontario and winds up with a jail sentence or a \$1,000 fine.

I felt, frankly, in the previous discussions, which were held some time ago in this House, that a reasonable resolution had come to pass. Denturists could practise in this province, but where there was at least some question as to whether they were actually just making dentures and fitting them properly, or providing some form of dental surgery, they would do so under the supervision of a dentist. I think all members have received copies of letters from denturists who have been asking dentists to provide that kind of supervision. Apparently, the dental profession is not exactly going along with that previous decision in Ontario.

I would urge the minister to move to some serious consideration of the kind of legislation now in place in Saskatchewan, where it appears to me there has been a resolution of the problem which is somewhat different than Ontario's resolution and which may not be totally applicable to this province. I think it insupportable that we simply let the current situation float along.

There is a need, and I recognize the arguments are valid on both sides, but it does seem to me that there is a great measure of unfairness in that one side can have an academic argument and the other side is faced with jail terms and sentences and things of that nature. It does no one any good. More important, I guess, it does not do any good for the people of this province who need these services to let this whole thing go unresolved.

I would ask the minister to review that. There are several options to him. The minister could go to the dentists of this province and say: "Wait a minute. We did strike in the late 1960s, I believe, what would seem to be a reasonable solution to the problem. It is not working, and we need some assistance in that." He may move to the kind of legislation that is now in place in Saskatchewan, more clearly defining what a denturist can provide.

At any rate, I find it unacceptable, as it always is, that it will be people who need that kind of care who suffer the most. It may be the denturist who pays the fine or goes to jail—that person has the opportunity kind of to look at that in several lights—but the person who requires the service is often having to pay almost double the amount to get the same kind of service from the dentist that he could get from the denturist. It strikes me that the least fair system is the one that requires patients to pay.

I notice the minister has endeavoured to resolve the argument between podiatrists and chiropodists. I do not pretend to understand fully all the ramifications in this field, not having been formally trained as either. I offer a measure of support to the minister. I found his statement acceptable. It will perhaps create some problems while resolving others but he has at least attempted to move on a definition of who can practise foot care in the province.

The overwhelming concern is that it is clearly not satisfactory that we have something like 84 podiatrists who can provide foot care to a population of eight million people. We have a number of other people called chiropodists who can provide good

foot care under limited circumstances. The minister has made a move in that direction.

Whether that is going to resolve the problem is secondary in my concern to the fact there was some movement concerning a problem that has been in place for a considerable time. I hope our senior citizens—and not just senior citizens, because a lot of people who are jogging have that foot-care problem—will have had some kind of resolution put to them. I offer a measure of support to the minister for doing something. The minister made the right move. I leave to others the argument as to whether the standards and the licensing provisions are adequate.

In my first review of whether the minister has dealt fairly with the existing podiatrists, it is my judgement that by allowing them to continue to practise under OHIP, the Ontario Health Insurance Plan, it is difficult to make an argument that undue hardship has been put on them. I have had correspondence from some podiatrists which indicates they feel the ministry is trying to run them out of business. I did not read that into the minister's statement and perhaps he should clarify that situation for the podiatrists.

We have a time constraint so I am going to rush through some of these other matters. There is one I cannot let pass. We still have in place this thing called a chronic-care copayment. In response to a written question, the ministry provided me with an estimate of how much money it is pulling out of this plan. It is fairly substantial—in excess of \$13 million. The ministry has retained \$10 million and the hospitals something in excess of \$3 million—\$3.4 million. That's a lot of money to someone like me who has never seen \$1 million, let alone \$10 million. Balanced into the Ontario budget, though, that is not a substantial increase in revenue.

I then have to move to our original argument about whether the idea of a copayment scheme was fair. In our view it is not. Are the circumstances under which this program functions fair and reasonable? In our view they are not. There are individuals functioning within the system, attempting to go through the process as set up by the Social Assistance Review Board. Does that system provide escape valves for those who truly have additional hardship? In our view it does not.

I ask the minister to review the whole concept. It strikes me as unfair. If he does not accept that, I ask him at least to review those cases which have been brought before

him as minister which I think do prove a severe hardship to individuals. We are talking facts, not fear. There are people who have lost their life savings, there are people who have lost their houses because of this program.

When he began the program the minister said he was accepting something I would not—that a chronic-care copayment scheme is a reasonable way to proceed. He also said he would be prepared at the end of a year's operation to review the scheme and take out those gross inequities which are now clearly indicated. I ask him to do two things: first, to review the whole concept of chronic-care copayments, which I find insupportable, and second, if he is not prepared to accept that, then at the very least to go through the regulations once again to see that people do not lose their houses and their lifetime savings because of serious illness.

12 noon

I want to point out to the minister that though we sometimes become a little emotional on this side on these problems, the very premise upon which medicare was brought into this province was that one would not lose all his life savings and all his major investments in terms of a house or whatever because of serious or long-term illness. It strikes me that this particular program in financial terms is not a drop in the bucket for the budget of the province, so it can't be a major concern that way.

I think the problems related to the program have been carefully documented now and do affect a fairly large number of people, not all of whom might lose their houses. There is unfairness in the administration of the program because of the option of local administrators to make some decisions about who pays and who doesn't pay. The scheme is not put in place uniformly across the province. At the very least, I think the minister has an obligation now to review the regulations under which that thing functions. If he is not prepared to take it out altogether, which I would greet with great joy, then he should review it all.

I want to speak too about the matter of opted-out physicians. I want to point out that we have had a great deal of study, discussion and debate about whether they are in or out and whether it is fair or not. Let me again try to set aside my initial bias, which is that I believe if we sat down once and for all and bargained reasonably with the OMA through the proper committee we would come to one seen-to-be-fair-by-both-sides fee schedule or method of payment for

physicians in this province and that both sides would then adhere to that.

Even in those areas where they are not going to accept that, you could still be reasonably content, if that is the way to put it, with the level of opting out. There are a number of areas in the province where most of the physicians have remained within the plan with a slight trend showing of physicians opting back in.

We have brought to your attention on a number of occasions, for example, from my area and from the Sudbury area, the case of people who go to their own physician locally and have been participants with that doctor for some time now. The doctor has opted in but there is a need for specialized services. Then the doctor refers them to somebody in Metropolitan Toronto where there is a higher concentration of opted-out physicians, particularly in the specialist fields.

There remains that perplexing problem that the people are not informed that this physician has opted out. Even if they are informed, their options are extremely limited. If you ask me to come up quickly with the name of two specialists in any given field in Metropolitan Toronto, I couldn't do it. These people are in no position to do it. The physicians who are referring them to specialized care in Toronto obviously can't do it.

The end result is someone who began treatment with an opted-in physician winds up somewhere in a downtown Toronto hospital with an opted-out physician providing the care. Subsequently, the argument begins about whether that is fair or reasonable, whether they should pay it all or whether they should pay part of it. Some of the correspondence back and forth between the opted-out physicians and the patients has a reasonable tenor to it, but some of it does not. The people who are using the system do not understand what this argument is all about.

It is not a theoretical argument about the practice of medicine. There is that side to it. More important, they were sick and thought they were covered by the government of Ontario's medicare plan and they subsequently found out that they were not, at least in part.

I understand some of the arguments. I wouldn't be one to stand up here and say that the anaesthetists on the way into the operating room stop the wagon in the hall and say, "Wait a minute. We have got to have a half-hour discussion because I have to tell you that I am opted out." But I do think

there are practical measures the minister could take that would resolve the problem. Certainly, when referring patients from an opted-in physician to an opted-out one, there ought to be at least the occasion there, nice and clear and without any panic, where a complete and full explanation could be given and where alternatives could be found.

It has been my experience, which I want to reiterate in order not to be unfair, but to be clear, that I do not find the OMA hotline service to be worth—I can't use that language—but I do not find it successful. Let me put it that way. I have found that in cases, for example, from Sudbury or any outlying area where people have been referred to the OMA service, there is a little different perspective in the day-by-day practicalities given than was presented in the initial press releases and announcements of the minister setting up this particular scheme. It doesn't work.

There doesn't seem to be any urgency at the Ontario Medical Association to find somebody. They will point out some places where the patient could go and dig it out, but I must say, though I'm a little more familiar with the system than most patients would be, I am rarely successful at finding those services either. I think the minister must address himself to the very thorny situation that there is no legal obligation on the part of a physician to notify the patient that he is opted out and is going to charge in excess of the Ontario Hospital Insurance Plan approved rate. Second, if the patient is in need of some alternative source of service, there is no good mechanism in place to provide that.

The minister may argue, and I would accept that argument in part, that we're not talking about the vast majority of cases, but we are talking about human beings who need care, who have a proper and I think realistic perception that they pay for their medical-care services here in this province in a number of ways. They pay a premium; they pay taxes to two or three levels of government and they make private donations. They have paid for the system already and it is unreasonable to expect them to pay once again.

I want also to deal with a second aspect of that. I noticed that the minister has written to the chairmen of boards of hospitals. I know a number of steps have been taken in this regard to try to provide in the publicly funded private hospitals that we have in this province, the services at the approved rates, so you get around this matter of opted-out physicians. I do not find the consensus

that should be there after a year's argument and discussion on the matter.

I know the minister has written once again to the chairmen of boards of hospitals discussing the agreement that was reached with the OMA. I cannot get away from the basic notion that, at least in the hospitals built by the public of Ontario that they by and large pay for through their tax dollars and their premiums now, you ought to be able to get any care that can be provided in this province at the approved rates.

I'm backing off an original position, which many people in my party would take, that physicians should not charge outside the OHIP fee schedule. We're not at the position where we've negotiated a realistic fee schedule either, but at least in our hospitals, you ought to be able to get care at the approved rates.

It can happen, because the ministry has changed regulations, that even an opted-out physician can provide care in a publicly funded hospital at the approved rates. This causes some problems in its own right about whether there are really two levels of care.

None the less, after all this argument, after all the documentation that members from all sides have brought in to the minister, we still do not have a resolution to the problem. It strikes me as a situation that cannot go on much longer.

We've had the opportunity to debate individually, and collectively in committee. The OMA has debated it. I know the minister is writing letters to people all over the place. I proposed a private member's bill which was essentially an attempt to get at the same thing.

I still cannot accept the notion that that happens in a hospital that is paid for, by and large, with public tax dollars. If it didn't get all the funding from that source, it got it from private donations—coming from the same people, most likely. The public sees that as being a public hospital. Even though I know it is a publicly funded private hospital, it's pretty hard to go to the people in Oshawa and say that the Oshawa General Hospital isn't a public hospital.

It certainly is not a private hospital in the commonly accepted sense. People do not understand, nor do I, why at least in that place, using publicly funded buildings and overhead, publicly funded equipment, publicly funded support staff, there isn't one rate, and that's the OHIP rate.

I'm going to ask the minister once again to go back at that one. I understand the problem. I keep up with his correspondence

to the OMA. We get copies of his letters to the hospitals and to the chairmen of hospital boards, but the problem remains. It is not yet resolved.

I understand in the case of anaesthetists and with other kinds of specialized care it is a little difficult. I appreciate that in one of the hospitals—Northwestern General Hospital in Toronto—he is attempting to put forward a different method of payment for people who provide that kind of service. I have also read some correspondence from other doctors who do not think that is quite a workable way to go about your business.

12:10 p.m.

What I am saying here is that I reluctantly hear the arguments that are put on both sides of this issue. But when it happens that we put up the buildings, we put in the equipment, we pay for the support staff, and all of that is publicly funded, I don't think there is a whit of an argument left in there to say that should not be done at the OHIP approved rates. The minister has all kinds of options to exercise in terms of going at alternative funding formulas, different methods of having them set up, but I do think there is a problem in that regard which is substantive.

I want to include in my remarks some continuing problems that seem to have gone underground somehow. If you recall in this House about this time last year there was a good deal of discussion about psychiatric care, about the closing of Lakeshore Psychiatric Hospital, about whether or not all these people could be absorbed within other psychiatric care institutions in the area, about alternative forms of care, about where these people would go and who would look after them. Would there be community-based programs cranked up to go into place? We had this long and involved argument in committee and in the House as to whether that was a reasonable thing to do, whether alternatives were available and whether they have worked.

I note, too, that little birds whisper in my ear on occasion that the ministry is sensitive to this issue. In fact, it is said to be doing some interviewing of staff at the Queen Street Mental Health Centre and other psychiatric institutions to get a shakedown of whether or not what they said a year ago would happen has happened successfully. I note, too, that there are recurring problems with setting up the community care programs that we asked for. A year after the closure of Lakeshore hospital was announced, and a little better than nine months after it actually happened for the most part, we still

don't have the complete funding of a community care program in place.

I note, too, in my own area, part of the minister's announcement at that time was that he was going to rebuild Whitby Psychiatric Hospital. Again, there would be consultation with the community, there would be community care programs set up, there would be a number of things done.

Just a little while ago I met with the administrator at Whitby Psychiatric Hospital. They are not even sure yet what the building will look like, whether it will be up by the Baseline Road or down by the lake. There has been no real ongoing consultation with the community, although the community has attempted to do so. There is a proposal now before the Durham Regional Health Council which suggests in part, as one of its alternatives, that perhaps you could take the Doctor Joseph O. Ruddy General Hospital, which is plunked in the middle of the property, and turn that into a psychiatric institution and forget about rebuilding the Whitby Psychiatric Hospital.

So the problem in a nut is this. A year after the government announced it would close Lakeshore we do not yet have in place the community care programs and support programs that were so essential to that move in the first place. We do not have a resolution to the problem of the psychiatric institutions themselves and whether they can handle the capacity that is generated by the closure of Lakeshore. We are still not terribly sure of where these people went.

I have this unease in my own little body here that people have just gone somewhere, and it is somewhere around here in boarding houses. Those in group homes might be a little better off because they have been identified, but there are lots of people who need psychiatric care, at least on a day basis, at least in the community care institutions, at the very least in a group home, who have just gotten on a bus and gone somewhere. They may well be coming back for some kind of medication from time to time, but that is hardly a satisfactory solution.

I know there have been issues raised, and the minister has made his point clear, that once patients are discharged they are on their own. I suppose if one wants to deal with it in a legal sense, that is correct. But I think what we are faced with here is that we do not have the luxury of dealing with this problem in a strictly legal sense. It is a health-care matter. It is a matter of providing for people who need ongoing care

through community support programs that are not there now.

I understand the minister has made several announcements about promises of funding for these kinds of community-based projects. I also know that there is more than one ministry involved in the process. But I happen to have been part of, and get correspondence and telephone calls regularly from, people who are attempting to put in place the community care programs we talked about more than a year ago in this House. They are not there yet.

To be as polite about it as I can, surely it does not take a year after the closing of an institution such as the Lakeshore hospital to put these things in place. We had long philosophical arguments about whether this exchange of service, this deinstitutionalization should happen immediately, concurrently, 30 days later, or 50 days later. I did not hear anybody saying it was acceptable to any member of this Legislature that more than a year after attempting to deinstitutionalize, the House still has not put in place corresponding community care programs. I think that ongoing thing is totally unacceptable.

I note in the announcements made in the budget the other night a lot of money was allocated—just slightly under \$500 million, I think—for increased health care, and more money was allocated in community and social services. We have made inquiries as to where this money is going. It appears these dollars are in a somewhat fluid state. The money is allocated somewhere and no one quite knows where it is going to go.

I would welcome an announcement that all the community care programs in Durham region, here in Metropolitan Toronto and in the rest of Ontario are finally going to get the funding they deserve. Maybe that is where that money is allocated. We do not know, and I have to put on the record here that it is just as clear as day to us that you do not know either. I am asking you in the next little while to find out and to make some commitment so that community care programs or mental health programs and other kinds of programs get the kind of treatment they have been looking for for so long.

There are two other matters I want to raise. One is the matter of what are called in this province health service organizations. You may recall in this House, Mr. Chairman, I and a number of other members raised the question of funding problems for these community clinics. There are 29 of them in operation, many of them having different characteristics and being set up in different

ways. Some are extremely sophisticated, providers of good medical care on a really large scale, such as the Sault clinic. Some are much smaller in scale.

It was my information the minister was finally beginning to recognize their value to the communities in which they were located. He was finally beginning to provide funding for nutrition, social workers, nurse practitioners, many of whom were having some difficulty finding their place in the health care system. I understand there has been a bit of a political controversy brewing about one of the HSOs. I want to reiterate to the minister that that should not in any way inhibit, change, alter or damage what I thought was a renewed commitment to this concept.

I believe that to be the most workable, cost-effective way to provide health care to the people of this province I have seen anywhere. I am not saying it is a panacea, but it is clearly a recognized alternative here and in other jurisdictions that deserves its fair shot. I would hope the minister would not get weak knees at the last moment and start chopping that budget. I could give you a short list of places where he could do a little chopping, Mr. Chairman, but the HSOs would be at the top of my priorities.

I will raise one other matter and then I will let the minister respond. Once again I want to indicate our support for a proposal here in Metropolitan Toronto for a special care unit for high-risk pregnancies, a prenatal care unit at Mount Sinai Hospital. Many of us, I am sure, have visited similar kinds of special care units for high-risk pregnancies in other jurisdictions, at McMaster University Medical Centre, at Women's College Hospital. That is a supportable notion.

I understand from my reading on the subject that many of the techniques in terms of the setting up and the functioning of these prenatal care units originated here in Canada with Canadian doctors. We should, of course, be very proud of that. I am also aware, though, that very little of the machinery used there is generated in Canada. Most of it is imported from the United States. A very small group of highly skilled and specialized physicians runs it. I was told at McMaster that the cost of running it was something like \$2,500 per day. It is a pretty expensive piece of business, but a necessary program; no argument from me on that.

12:20 p.m.

The alternative, however, has been put forward, most dramatically by a nurse here in Toronto touring Hamilton, by Cynthia

Carver, a doctor here in Toronto, and by a number of other people who appeared at a forum at the St. Lawrence Centre about three weeks ago. It struck me from the way the meeting was set up there was perhaps a lot of symbolism involved. There were two gentlemen on the right-hand side of the stage presenting the technological arguments. I was impressed. I am one who spends a lot of time looking at flow charts, slides and statistics. I must say I have never seen a finer set of numbers or a cuter set of slides put to a large audience in my life. These gentlemen had eminent qualifications to put that kind of an argument and they put it well.

On the other side of the stage were two women, one a doctor, and one a person who I believe lectures at York University. They put a different kind of an argument, but in my mind they put it even better than the kind of high-priced technological presentation made by the two gentlemen. We were talking about high-risk pregnancies, so it would be my natural inclination to listen to two women as opposed to two men, if only from the point of view that it is unlikely the two men will ever use such a special care unit. It is possible, I am now told, but unlikely. It would most likely be women who would be users of that particular facility.

They were making an argument, not definitively against that specialized care unit but for an alternative to see that women as consumers had another option. The option has been fairly well outlined by Doreen Hamilton that there is a need to go into preventive care, to identify high-risk pregnancies much earlier than on the delivery date and to provide alternatives.

That is oversimplifying it for sure, but to attempt to be succinct about it, for someone who doesn't have a proper diet a high risk is created by not providing the advice and the support systems that a nutritionist might offer to that person. With respect to an individual woman who is perhaps on her own and pregnant, her needs very early in the pregnancy are being ignored by and large now because there are no consultation services available, no nutritional services, no counselling for the woman, and no social worker who can actively work with that person.

In other words, the women at that particular forum were putting forward an argument that there is a raft of these which are not yet fully being considered. They were not particularly negative in their tone and they did acknowledge that the unit at Women's College was in place and working well and had some room for expansion. Dr.

Cynthia Carver on that evening went so far as to say that the unit should be supported and even expanded and properly funded. I understand there are some funding problems there.

She went on to make the eloquent argument that other needs of women have to be recognized as well. In considering this kind of judgement, it isn't always an either/or thing that is in place, except that right now it is kind of an either thing because the alternative is not in place. I would add to those two women who made that eloquent argument that evening my own humble remarks and say to the minister, "Please provide the alternatives. Look after other needs as well."

In part, I guess it comes down to this. One of the faults I think the current system has is that when looking for what we should do next and how we should order our priorities, we always tend to go back to the same group to get our information. I am asking the minister to consider other people, in particular in this instance people who might aptly be described as consumers of health care. In this instance where it is clear it will be women who need that kind of care, there ought to be options available. There ought to be alternatives explored. They ought to be equally funded. To be fair and to be reasonable about it, we can't make a good judgement unless we have reasonably identical and identifiable circumstances under which to operate.

If we have one kind of special care unit set up at something like \$6 million a year as a budget and if we have another one over there operating at something like \$600,000 a year, we can't make a reasonable and fair comparison between the two. I know it is an incredibly complicated and difficult piece of business to do. But I do note that the Toronto Board of Health now has a unit looking at preventive care, providing alternative forms of the argument and planning how to take that kind of budgetary allocation and implement a preventive care program in the community.

I want to conclude on that remark because I think that is the single most important thing the minister has before him now. I support the moves to change the system, not radically but to provide for the people of Ontario alternative forms of care where they are reasonable and where they have been carefully thought out. In this last particular example which I used, it is clear to me that the alternative is carefully thought out and deserves the full support and consideration of the ministry.

I understand the minister intended to attend that forum that evening and could not.

We all run into that situation. I want to report that the arguments presented on both sides that evening were at least equally balanced. In my perhaps biased view, the women won that argument hands down. They certainly did with that crowd. Even if there had been no one in the hall and they were presenting it to the minister, to myself and to the Liberal health critic, I think we would have had a vote and said that they won. They had a clear case. They had thought through what they wanted. It was a reasonable, practical alternative and it deserved a chance.

In that instance and the others I have mentioned, I am simply looking for sweet reason, for us, as a people, to explore alternative forms of care which may not be traditional. I do not want to get into a confrontation with the medical profession, though I would hardly back away from one.

The purpose of the exercise, however, is not to have an argument. The purpose ought to be to change a health care system which is now geared to the curative factor, almost to the exclusion of prevention, and to move it to one which stops people from getting sick. I want to make an outlandish statement which I am sure you will use all over the place—I would be happy to pay every physician in this province more money than anybody else in our society if all of us could be made to be never sick a day in our lives. That would be the best investment we could ever put out.

Hon. Mr. Timbrell: Mr. Chairman, I seek some direction. If we are to conclude the estimates today, I will respond now; if not, and other members want to add something, I won't do it now because I have 15 minutes to respond to an hour and a half.

Mr. B. Newman: Mr. Chairman, I want to raise an issue first presented to me by the member for St. Catharines (Mr. Bradley). He is unable to be here because he is attending the standing committee on administration of justice. He mentioned that a person on the Canada Pension Plan who receives disability payments and also has a small pension of his own finds himself having to pay for his drug benefit. He is disabled, yet he does not get free drug care. He is under 65 years of age, but he has no source of income and the member for St. Catharines thought such a person should be given some consideration when it comes to the provision of drug benefits. I will leave that with the minister who can reply to it later.

I want to apologize to the minister for not being present when he made his presentation in Windsor concerning what he had in store for the community. I had spoken with him

earlier in the afternoon and had mentioned I could not be there because of other commitments in the House.

The minister in his presentation promised 100 additional, permanent nursing beds. In the provision of those additional beds, is he going to have them in use before he eliminates some of the active treatment beds now being used in the hospitals to accommodate nursing home patients? If he first cuts back on the beds, there is no place for these individuals who require nursing home treatment to go. They are at present in active treatment beds in the hospitals. The remedy should be in place before cutting back on the active treatment beds.

12:30 p.m.

In spite of the rosy picture of the minister and his officials, individuals who are on staff in the various hospitals keep telling me they are suffering from staff shortages, that there are staff shortages in practically all of the hospitals and that they are extremely overworked. As a result, the quality of the care the patient is receiving may not be up to the quality that he or she would normally have received if the patient/hospital-bed ratio were the same as it was before the cutbacks were implemented by your ministry.

There are other issues that I could raise, Mr. Chairman, but I will when the minister's estimates come up. I know we are pressed for time here but I would appreciate receiving answers to the few issues that I have raised.

Hon. Mr. Timbrell: Mr. Chairman, to start with the member for Windsor-Walker-ville (Mr. B. Newman) with regard to the drug benefit question, my understanding would be that if the person is in receipt of social assistance, whether it's through the General Welfare Systems Act or under the Family Benefits Act, he or she is going to qualify for drug benefits. So if he or the member for whom he is asking the question can give me a particular case that we can check through, we will see what the problem is there.

I won't say that I remember the exact details for the Windsor situation but I don't recall that any further beds were restrained in any of the calculations this year for their budget. We are going to add 100 permanent nursing home beds in Essex county.

Mr. B. Newman: What's the time frame?

Hon. Mr. Timbrell: We will be calling for proposals I would think within about a month, and it depends on the response. When people make application to open unused

space in existing facilities, obviously that can be brought on a lot faster than cases where they are proposing either to add to the existing homes or build completely new homes. But I would say within 12 to 18 months at the longest, all 100 beds should be on stream. As well, we are introducing the chronic home care program into the county of Essex as of July 1. All of that will take a lot of pressure off the existing institutions.

With regard to staff shortages—I hope I can get the figures—my recollection is that last year we actually saw an increase in the number of paid hours in the hospitals in the province, not a decrease. I can only say that there are a number of checks and balances that come to bear.

First, just about every hospital in the province is at present accredited and works hard to stay accredited. One of the things looked at first by the accredited teams that come in is staffing levels and not just on the day they are there—if I may answer the suspicion which may be in some people's minds that you can beef up the staff for that day and impress them—but they go back in six to nine months and they take anywhere from 40 to 50 to 60 cases out of the records and look at how those people were treated and what were the staffing levels noted in the record of the hospital on those days.

As well, of course, the medical advisory committees of the hospitals on a regular basis review problems, as do the nursing directors. If they find shortages developing or problems developing in particular areas of the hospital, those are drawn to the attention of the board and then the board really has a variety of options open to it. They can agree and shift resources within the hospital or they can disagree and say that in their view the unit or the program is adequately staffed—and let's not forget that ultimately they are responsible for the hospital—or they can agree that they don't have the resources and will make an appeal to the ministry. That happens all the time; it has since the Ontario Hospital Services Commission was established, and where the cases can be made, adjustments are made as well.

I would like to deal with the concerns of the member for Brantford (Mr. Makarchuk) next. I want first of all to correct the record: the program that has recently been agreed to in Brantford was agreed to by all of the hospitals and the medical society, all of whom, including the medical society,

were members of the rationalization committee. I make that point because the member expressed concern about the Brant District Health Council as such and the difficulties that have occurred in the last few months in the membership of that body.

The rationalization committee is the body that has done the work for the last year in developing a rationalization proposal. That body carried on uninterrupted, chaired as it is or was by the former chairman of the health council. The medical society was involved throughout and signed the rationalization proposal which went to council and has come to us. Members of the medical society continue to be involved in most, if not all, of the committees of the health council.

I would hope as we look to restructure the council and add members back, that now or in the not too distant future we can continue to involve members of the medical profession. I wanted to correct the record and say that the members of the medical profession in that county certainly are involved in most, if not all, of the committees of the council.

The member expressed concern about one of the aspects of what the hospitals and the medical society have agreed to, namely the development or the move to place at the Brantford General Hospital a 24-hour-a-day staffed emergency department. I emphasize that, because at present there are two emergency departments that are not staffed 24 hours a day. In fact, what made that aspect of the proposal so attractive to them and to the council subsequently was that this would raise the level of emergency services in the city of Brantford significantly.

I want to point out that it is not unusual, and I ask you to consider the example of Sudbury, to have a central 24-hour-a-day staffed emergency department. The Sudbury General Hospital serves the same function for that community that is proposed to be served for Brantford out of Brantford General Hospital.

I think everybody is aware that there can be times of emergency. The honourable member referred to the main railway line through town and what might happen if there were a major crash of some kind. Every hospital in the province has and regularly tests a disaster plan, and if something—God forbid—were to happen of major proportions that was to plug up the Brantford General Hospital, then as part of the disaster plan there would be

provision for diverting emergencies to other hospitals while that crisis or that emergency prevailed. So, in fact, that is part of the regular day-to-day planning of such services.

If I can move to the comments of the critic of the official opposition, let me deal first with the question of the ambulance investigation. I want to say, first of all, that the investigation in question has been carried out by the Ontario Provincial Police at our request following a number of audits which were done by our staff over the last couple of years. I make that point because I think it should go on the record that the raids in February were carried out as a result of the material being provided to the police by us, but it was their decision.

Secondly, we did not issue a press release as such to say, "Listen, world, we swooped in on six ambulance operators in the province and they are terrible people." In fact, we were just as concerned as the honourable member opposite and members of the ambulance operators' association that the actions be put in their proper context. When we were called by the press, we had a standard response which was given to every representative of the media and I will read it into the record.

"In response to public inquiries, the following statement has been issued today by the office of the Minister of Health: Officers of the Ontario Provincial Police and Ministry of Health audit branch today simultaneously attended at the head offices of privately operated ambulance services in Leamington, Trenton, Gananoque, Woodstock, Hamilton, Fleetwood, London and Chatham and took possession of records and other documentary material under warrant.

12:40 p.m.

"The action is part of an investigation undertaken by the police on the basis of information provided to crown law office by the Ministry of Health. Further action may be forthcoming. Meantime, the Ministry of Health is taking any necessary steps to ensure that ambulance service to the public in these centres is not impaired."

Mr. Conway: Did you make any recommendation to the police as to whether they should do such and such?

Hon. Mr. Timbrell: Once the audits are turned over to the police, it is entirely their responsibility to decide, based on those audits, what further action is required: whether to lay charges at that point; whether to subpoena or to seek voluntarily other information; or whether, as in this case, in order—because six people were involved—

not to have the due processes of justice thwarted by perhaps serving a lien on one and having word spread as to what they were after, to do it all at once, at the same time, in those centres around the province and get the records.

Mr. Conway: The question is, did you turn those audits over with recommendations?

Mr. Chairman: Order. The honourable minister has the floor.

Hon. Mr. Timbrell: Mr. Chairman, I am not sure what he means by "with our recommendations."

Mr. Conway: Recommendations as to whether they should lay charges.

Hon. Mr. Timbrell: That is entirely in their court.

Mr. Conway: So you made no recommendations of any kind?

Hon. Mr. Timbrell: Once the audits were done, there was sufficient cause for concern that we turned them over to the police for further investigation. It is as simple as that. The matter proceeds from there.

We believe private ambulance operators have a significant role to play in the future of the ambulance service in the province. We think we have a good mix, where the ministry operates some of the services and the private sector operates others. Some are operated by municipalities, as is the case in Metropolitan Toronto. Others are operated by hospitals. We do not intend to develop or promote a policy that would see the ministry put the private sector out of the ambulance business altogether.

If I can move on, in the brief time available: Two of the members have referred to orthotics and prosthetics. I share their concern in that area. That is why I asked for the report to be done in the first place, a couple of years ago, to review the situation. It is before the interministerial committee. I hope we will be able to complete that review—including a review of the experience in other provinces where they have introduced programs and what they have done by way of controlling the mode of prescription of them, the cost of them—in order to arrive at a policy in the not-too-distant future.

Mr. Conway: I thought you and the Provincial Secretary for Social Development (Mrs. Birch) were the dynamic duo whose clout was unbeatable in the government.

Hon. Mr. Timbrell: I get to wear the cape this week, though.

Mr. Conway: I am saddened.

Hon. Mrs. Birch: I am too.

Hon. Mr. Timbrell: Mr. Chairman, a great many matters were raised by the member for Oshawa (Mr. Breagh). Inasmuch as I understood the House has to deal with a matter of supply today at 12:45 p.m., let me say that most of the issues he raised I can deal with in the regular estimates, in four or five weeks.

I welcome his support on the question of chiropody. I think it's a very important area, important to the whole population, but particularly to elderly people.

With regard to denturists—or denture therapists, to use the proper legal term—I did try extensively to reach a meeting of the minds between the denture therapists, as a group, and the dentists, as represented by the Ontario Dental Association and the Ontario Royal College of Dental Surgeons. We tried extensively to make the existing provisions work to everybody's satisfaction.

I want to take issue with one thing the member said when he referred to a gentleman who thought he was within the law and ended up in jail. If the member were to ask that gentleman, I think he would tell him he knew he was not within the law because he does not agree with the law. Therefore, he went ahead, in the full knowledge that at some point he might very well be charged, and faced the consequence.

Being unable to arrive at a meeting of the minds between dentists and denture therapists, I asked the Ontario Council of Health in February—I cannot remember the exact date—to conduct a complete review of policy with respect to denture therapists, in particular in relation to partials. I think those of us who were here in the House six or seven years ago when the matter first arose recall very well that in the end we had to acknowledge that when people were dealing with full dentures and not with any live teeth, with the proper training, either for new graduates through Humber or for previous graduates by way of examination, that was no problem. But what we were all concerned with at the time was with people dealing with live teeth and fitting partial dentures around live teeth.

I have asked the council of health to review the matter—and may I say to the sceptical member from the Pembroke area I think we will have that report within about six months—and to advise whether changes would be appropriate in the public interest.

The member refers to costs. Certainly, cost is a serious consideration. As I said to one of my own constituents just two days ago at a senior citizens' centre, if costs were the only matter then we would open it up en-

tirely. I have to be concerned and all of us in this House have to be concerned that whoever is dealing with the public, in this case dealing with them with respect to partial dentures, is qualified not only to make and to fit partial dentures, but also to identify potential pathological problems of the mouth around live teeth and to refer patients to the dentist for necessary care. That is a very serious consideration and one which will be at the forefront of the review by the council of health.

Let me say, with regard to chronic payment that our staff is sitting down with each of the individual hospitals that are chronic hospitals or have chronic units to review with them the use of the form seven exemption form and the possible use of the Social Assistance Review Board.

Let me give an example. I think my friend from Renfrew North (Mr. Conway) may have raised the issue in the fall. There was a case that eventually ended up on the late CBC Ombudsman program. It was very interesting. When the lady sat down with the social work staff at the hospital and when the case was worked through with all of the exemptions available on the copayment, the copayment was reduced to \$104 a month. When they worked through all of the additional income available through supplements and Gains, the income went up \$94 a month. In fact, the net copayment in that case worked out to \$10 a month.

I have to say from the information available to me, I think the concern we all share that people are going to be put out of their homes or lose their life savings is not well-founded. If we can ensure that both the staff of the hospitals and the patients are aware of the exemptions available and the opportunities of additional income, then that can significantly change the situation. I am amazed by the number of cases that come forward where a supplement would be an entitlement for the individual but it has not been applied for, or the separation allowance that the federal department brought in a couple of years ago has not been applied for.

On the question of opted-out physicians, I note the example given by my friend from Oshawa about a person going from the family physician who has opted in to a specialist somewhere. He pointed to Toronto, but it could be any health sciences centre, I suppose. That is a serious concern. I would have hoped, and I have heard this is the case, that the directory we produced in answer to a Notice Paper question, which the member himself placed last year, would be helpful to

those referring physicians. Certainly, I think one of the responsibilities of a family physician or a referring physician, where the person is concerned that it be an opted-in physician, is to use that directory or any other means available, but I think that is a very effective one, to assist the person in doing just that.

We are going to reproduce the directory. It will be effective as of April 1, and it should be available by early June. We will redistribute it to the members and to the libraries. I have given direction that it is to go to all the information centres in the province of which we have record through the Ministry of Culture and Recreation. It will have a very wide distribution and will assist the public in making those kinds of decisions about physicians to whom they are going to go.

Let me say on the question of the Whitby Psychiatric Hospital that I will be meeting very soon with representatives of the health council out there and discussing that matter with them. There is a committee established under the auspices of the Durham Regional District Health Council drawing people from the mental health association as well as the institutional sector from a very broad geographical region, not just the region of Durham because Whitby Psychiatric Hospital has a very wide catchment area.

12:50 p.m.

I would like to see the work of that committee brought to a head in the next few months so that we can get on with that and determine, as you say, whether it is going to go up by the Baseline Road or is it going to go down by the lake and what its configuration is going to be. Let's get on with rebuilding it.

As regards the community mental health programs, I think it is fair to say that not all of the programs that were approved and announced late last September out of the moneys coming from the Lakeshore Psychiatric Hospital are all up and running. Some of them haven't got going at all at this point and some are only partially going, but the money is there for all of them. Some of them have had difficulties recruiting staff, others in getting quarters and that sort of thing; but the money is there.

I am trying to remember the percentage increase. I don't think I will be too far out if I say in the last two years the percentage increase in money allocated for community mental projects is something in the order of close to 60 per cent. It may even be higher.

There has been a significant increase in funding in that area.

I am advised that 20 of the programs are now at full strength. There were more than 25, I believe—25 or 28, or something like that—so most of them are up and running at full strength.

It is interesting to note that last year, while we had approximately 4,000 inpatient beds in our psychiatric hospitals, we had 128,000 outpatient visits, two aspects which are indicative of the shift in the development of psychiatric services.

I am pleased to have the honourable member's support of the HSO program. I agree with him; I think it is one of the most significant things for the future. I was disturbed at some of the media attention that was given to an item currently being reviewed by the public accounts committee as regards an HSO in St. Marys. The very point of the HSO program is to provide an incentive to see people less and to give them more appropriate and preventive services. With respect to one paper in particular, I think that fact was turned and twisted around to make it look as if somebody was ripping somebody off. I don't think that is happening at all.

I will try to wrap up as regards the high-risk pregnancy matter. We have now had the benefit of reports from two groups. The Hospital Council of Metropolitan Toronto and the University Teaching Hospitals Association, in conjunction one with the other, have produced a very good report for Metropolitan Toronto. The administrative advisory committee on reproductive care has produced a very good report for all of Ontario. I don't take the issue to be one of prevention versus treatment. I think both reports have a balance. Both of them recognize that there is need for prevention and treatment.

I think we forget the great advances we have already made in the province. The fact that in the last decade the perinatal death rate dropped from almost 22 per 1,000 live births to about 13. We have already made a lot of progress and we can do a lot more.

I promised the group I met at the forum that I would do two things. I had already indicated I would go to Montreal and Cleveland to look at perinatal, if you will, technical networks. I promised that I would also, before making the final decisions, look at some systems they would recommend to me, wherever they are—I think they are on the other side of the pond—but they think our model is on the preventive side. But I don't see the issue as being prevention versus treatment; it really has to be both.

Mr. Chairman, I am sure there are many other items I haven't responded to, but once my estimates come up in the next five or six weeks, we will have lots of time to deal with them.

Vote 3202 agreed to.

Mr. Chairman: That completes the supplementary estimates of the Ministry of Health.

On motion by Hon. Mr. Timbrell, the committee reported certain resolutions.

Clerk of the House: Mr. Edighoffer from the committee of supply reports the following resolution:

That supply in the following supplementary amounts and to defray the expenses of the government ministries named be granted to Her Majesty for the fiscal year ending March 31, 1980.

Reading dispensed with. (See appendix B, page 1170.)

Resolution concurred in.

SUPPLY ACT

The following bill was given first, second and third readings on motion by Hon. F. S. Miller:

Bill 58, An Act for granting to Her Majesty certain additional sums of money for the Public Service for the fiscal year ending March 31, 1980.

The House adjourned at 12:57 p.m.

APPENDIX A

(See page 1150)

ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS
ON NOTICE PAPER

PUBLIC OPINION POLLS

7. Mr. T. P. Reid: Will the ministry table the public opinion polls commissioned by the government from April 1, 1979, to March 10, 1980? Will the ministry also provide the cost of each poll and the company that took the poll? (Tabled March 11, 1980. Interim answer March 27, 1980. Approximate date information available April 21, 1980.)

Hon. Mr. McCague: The information requested regarding public opinion surveys undertaken by external polling firms on behalf of the ministry from April 1, 1979, to March 10, 1980, is attached. The actual surveys will be tabled individually by the ministers involved.

Agriculture and Food

Foodland Ontario: consumer awareness of its symbol and the current environment for the program (phase one only)
\$14,700 Creative Research

Community and Social Services

Development and Pretesting of the Public Education Program on Group Homes
\$35,000 Longwoods Research Group Ltd.

The Foster Parent Public Education Program Phase I
\$20,000 Market Facts of Canada Ltd.

The Foster Parent Public Education Program Phase II (not yet complete)
\$45,000 Market Facts of Canada Ltd.

Consumer and Commercial Relations

Attitudes towards Movie Censorship and Gambling
\$4,990 Complan Research Associates Ltd.

Computerized Checkout Survey: consumer reaction to computerized checkouts in food supermarkets in general and item pricing removal in particular (not yet complete)
\$36,000 Canadian Facts

Culture and Recreation

Ontario Omnibus Survey: general fitness study (June 1979)
\$2,900 The Canadian Gallup Poll Ltd.

Ontario Omnibus Survey: general fitness study (November 1979)
\$7,450 The Canadian Gallup Poll Ltd.

Economic Impact of the King Tutankhamen Exhibition on Toronto (not yet complete)
\$3,000 University of Waterloo

Public Attitudes towards Canadian Short Films (not yet completed)
\$8,200 Behavioural Team

Energy

Conservation Behaviour Study
\$14,500 Foster Research Services

Environment

Attitudes towards Environmental Matters
\$56,840 Decima Research Ltd.

Health

Ontario Omnibus: awareness of immunization advertising program
\$4,530 The Canadian Gallup Poll Ltd.

Health Care Awareness: attitudes towards health and health care
\$21,300 Russell T. Kelley

Ontario and National Omnibus: attitudes towards health and health care
\$17,400 The Canadian Gallup Poll Ltd.

Study of Three Selected Communities: attitudes towards health and health care
\$6,000 The Canadian Gallup Poll Ltd.

Ontario Omnibus: awareness of alcohol advertising campaign
\$6,000 The Canadian Gallup Poll Ltd.

Housing

Ontario Omnibus: to measure shifts in public opinion re housing programs
\$9,600 The Canadian Gallup Poll Ltd.

Industry and Tourism

Ontario Small Business Poll: a survey to monitor the attitudes of small businessmen towards pertinent business conditions and ministry programs designed to assist this group
\$12,000 The Canadian Opinion Research Ltd.

The Canadian Gallup Poll No. 982: people's views on the Shop Canadian program
\$2,540 Foster Advertising Agency

Ontario Accommodation Grading Study—Participation Survey: a study to determine

the reaction of consumers and travel trade personnel to the implementation of a commercial accommodation grading system in Ontario
\$52,250 Goldfarb Consultants

Labour

Awareness of Human Rights Issues
\$4,020 The Canadian Gallup Poll Ltd.

Natural Resources

Ontario Omnibus Survey: opinions re provincial parks
\$2,560 The Canadian Gallup Poll Ltd.

Transportation and Communications

Noise Barrier Social Impact Study: Highway 401 between Don Valley Parkway and Victoria Park Avenue
\$10,450 Information Results Ltd.

Fuel Efficient Driving: a survey of the attitudes, knowledge and reported behaviour of the Ontario driving population
\$23,000 Environics Research Group Ltd.

Ontario Omnibus: levels of ownership of broadcast reception and message handling equipment
\$1,430 The Canadian Gallup Poll Ltd.

Ontario Omnibus: social impact of communications; government regulation and pay TV issues (not yet complete)
\$9,220 The Canadian Gallup Poll Ltd.

LEAD HAZARDS

95. Mr. Renwick: Will the Minister of Health table any and all information available to him about the health hazard of lead in the work place and elsewhere in the environment? (Tabled April 8, 1980.)

Hon. Mr. Timbrell: This question should be referred to the ministers of Labour and the Environment who have responsibility for occupational and environmental health.

HEALTH TRANSPORTATION SURVEY

110. Mr. Wildman: Will the Ministry of Health and the Ministry of Northern Affairs table their responses to each recommendation of the Lakehead Social Planning Council's health transportation survey of September 4, 1979, on the transportation needs of and the provision of specialized medical care for patients from northwestern Ontario? (Tabled April 10, 1980.)

Hon. Mr. Timbrell: These recommendations are at present under review by my ministry.

APPENDIX B

(See page 1168)

Mr. Edighoffer from the committee of supply, reported the following resolution which was concurred in by the House:

That supply in the following supplementary amounts and to defray the expenses of the government ministries named be granted to Her Majesty for the fiscal year ending March 31, 1980:

**MINISTRY OF
GOVERNMENT SERVICES**

Provision of
accommodation program \$ 56,450,000

**MINISTRY OF
INTERGOVERNMENTAL AFFAIRS**

Local government
affairs program 135,000,000

MINISTRY OF NORTHERN AFFAIRS

Regional priorities and
development program 3,200,000

MINISTRY OF NATURAL RESOURCES

Land management program 6,450,000

**MINISTRY OF TRANSPORTATION
AND COMMUNICATIONS**

Provincial roads program 8,000,000
Provincial transit program 7,450,000

**MINISTRY OF COMMUNITY
AND SOCIAL SERVICES**

Adult services program 10,500,000
Children's services program 7,000,000

**MINISTRY OF CULTURE
AND RECREATION**

Ministry capital
support program 15,000,000

MINISTRY OF HEALTH

Institutional health
services program 65,500,000

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Breaugh, M. (Oshawa NDP)
Cassidy, M. (Ottawa Centre NDP)
Conway, S. (Renfrew North L)
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Di Santo, O. (Downsview NDP)
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Wells, Hon. T. L.; Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs (Scarborough North PC)



Legislature of Ontario Debates

Official Report (Hansard)

Fourth Session, 31st Parliament

Monday, April 28, 1980

Speaker: Honourable John E. Stokes

Clerk: Roderick Lewis, QC



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Hansard subscription price is \$15.00 per session, from: Sessional Subscription Service, Printing Services Branch, Ministry of Government Services, 9th Floor, Ferguson Block, Parliament Buildings, Toronto M7A 1N3. Phone 965-2238.

Published by the Legislature of the Province of Ontario.
Editor of Debates: Peter Brannan.

LEGISLATURE OF ONTARIO

MONDAY, APRIL 28, 1980

The House met at 2 p.m.

Prayers.

STATEMENTS BY THE MINISTRY

AUTO DEALERS BANKRUPTCIES

Hon. Mr. Drea: Mr. Speaker, last week I was asked a question regarding two automobile dealerships in the Ottawa area. At that time, I promised to look into the dealerships to determine if any deposit money was involved.

Orleans Chrysler Dodge is indeed bankrupt. However, there were no customers of that dealership who did not receive a return of their deposit.

Parkway Chrysler, on the other hand, is not bankrupt but in receivership. This distributorship was inspected in February of this year by my staff, and at that time the trust account was properly designated, and the registrar of the Motor Vehicle Dealers Act put the dealership on notice to keep trust account entries current. There was \$17,519.26 in the account at that time.

The bank and the receiver have been put on notice that the trust account is not to be touched until they receive directions from the registrar.

I want to emphasize that we have no record of any complaints concerning the deposits. However, an inspection of the books of account will be carried out shortly to ascertain the trust account liability. When this is known, arrangements will be made to return deposits to the customers or to have the vehicles delivered to them.

It is the common practice, if there is any remaining money in the trust accounts that is not claimed, that it is turned over to the receiver for distribution for general creditors.

TAX PAYMENT SERVICE

Hon. Mr. Maack: Mr. Speaker, honourable members are well aware of the government's commitment to improving services to the public. This, coupled with my belief that government should do business in a businesslike fashion, has led quite naturally to a new taxpayer service program.

Effective May 1, Ontario's taxpayers may pay their monthly retail sales tax and corporations tax instalments at their local chartered bank. From the taxpayer's perspective, this optional payment service is essentially the same as that currently utilized in the payment of credit card and utility bills. However, this new service will be provided without any bank service charge to the taxpayer. Moreover, taxpayers will also avoid the postage and mailing costs incurred under the present system.

I wish to stress that the service will be entirely optional. Any taxpayer who wishes to continue to remit tax payments by mail or by personal delivery at any of our offices may continue to do so.

I would like to take a few moments to discuss the mechanics of our new system. In very general terms, the taxpayer merely presents his or her remittance form to a teller at any bank where he or she normally conducts business, along with the appropriate payment. The teller validates the receipt portion of the form and returns it to the taxpayer. The receipt completes the taxpayer's records respecting the transaction. The funds and information flow through the banking community to the credit of the government in general and the taxpayer's account in particular.

The system, geared to provide a cost-effective vehicle which would permit taxpayers to fulfil their obligations during the course of normal banking activities, was designed with the help of the Bank of Nova Scotia, the bank chosen through tender to act as the province's representative in the banking system for the provision of this service.

Honourable members should also note that, while this system was designed primarily for the benefit of the taxpayers, it will have the added advantage of protecting provincial revenue flows from future disruptions in postal services, should they occur.

We will be monitoring the acceptance of this service. If our expectations are met, the option will be offered in other tax programs maintained by my ministry.

In closing, I would like to add that this initiative is an important part of the Ministry of Revenue's overall plan of customer support and deregulation. I can assure honourable members that I will be reporting from time to time on other ministry endeavours in these areas.

FOREST MANAGEMENT AGREEMENT

Hon. Mr. Auld: Mr. Speaker, I am happy to inform the members that this morning I signed a forest management agreement with Mr. R. C. Gimlin, president of Abitibi-Price Incorporated, covering the Iroquois Falls forest.

This forest area in northern Ontario, north-east of Timmins, is the source of most of the wood for Abitibi's Iroquois Falls newsprint mill. The productive forest area under agreement is 7,352 square kilometres, or 2,839 square miles.

With this initial agreement we have the beginning of a new relationship between my ministry and forest-based companies—in the first instance, the pulp and paper industry. It means that the government and the industry will be working towards ensuring a continuing production of wood for the betterment of the economy of this province and its people.

As required by the Crown Timber Act, I am tabling today a copy of the agreement I have signed with Abitibi-Price, which also includes schedules and the forest management manual for agreement areas. The management plan and operating plan will be prepared according to the agreement during the next year.

If any member wishes to explore the details of the agreement and the forest management practices involved, my forest resources staff will be happy to make themselves available for discussion and will provide copies of the agreement, as requested.

Forest management agreements with three other companies are nearing completion, and I shall be tabling them in the House as soon as they are signed.

CORRECTIONAL SERVICES SELF-SUFFICIENCY PROGRAM

Hon. Mr. Walker: Mr. Speaker, I would like to report about an absence from the Chatham Jail last week, in the middle of the night.

It is that time of year when a man's thoughts turn to going fishing; and that's exactly what inmates and staff of the Chatham Jail did last week. They went fishing

along the shores of Lake Erie and enjoyed excellent results. Their catch—approximately 1,600 pounds of fish—is a bonus for the jail and other correctional institutions and represents a cost saving under the ministry's self-sufficiency program, which I announced recently.

Chatham Jail superintendent John Pinder and two of this staff who volunteered for the assignment took four minimum security inmates out smelt fishing last week. During four nights of fishing, they netted approximately 1,600 pounds of smelts. Between 800 and 900 pounds of fish were cleaned by a crew of eight inmates for use at the Chatham Jail. It is estimated that this supply will be sufficient to enable the jail to serve fish once a week for the next eight to 12 months. In addition, approximately 500 pounds of smelt were transported to Burtch Correctional Centre, for use by that institution and the Brantford Jail. The remaining 200 pounds of fish were sent to the Windsor Jail.

The whole project was completed at a minimal cost to the jail and the ministry. A total of 22 inmate work days were utilized in the netting and cleaning of the fish. A side benefit is that the fish heads and remains are being used as fertilizer in the jail's garden, where inmates will grow fresh vegetables for use in the jail's meals.

2:10 p.m.

I wish to commend the superintendent of the Chatham Jail and his staff on their initiative, and to thank the inmates for their work to ensure the project's success. This is an excellent example of how ingenuity, determination and hard work can be employed to achieve the ministry's avowed goals of cost reductions through self-sufficiency. I am pleased to inform honourable members that, in view of the success of this initiative, we intend to continue and expand it next year to include other correctional facilities.

CAISSE POPULAIRE LAURIER LIMITEE

Hon. Mr. Drea: Mr. Speaker, on a matter of correction, and in the absence of the member for Ottawa East (Mr. Roy), on page 1013 of Hansard, dated April 22, there was a notation that we, from the ministry, are looking at a credit union called the Caisse Populaire Vanier Limitée. That is incorrect. The correct name of the institution is the Caisse Populaire Laurier Limitée. The member for Ottawa East and myself attempted to correct the record. For the sake of the record, I would want a correction.

Mr. Speaker: I am sure our Hansard officials have duly noted the minister's comment.

ORAL QUESTIONS

JAIL REMANDS

Mr. Nixon: Mr. Speaker, I have a question of the Premier that concerns the statement made by the Provincial Secretary for Justice (Mr. Walker) some days ago in which he indicated that in his view, based on a report available to him, there were 17,000 people in Ontario unnecessarily detained. When they came to trial, he said, they were not even in jeopardy of being detained.

I would ask the Premier if he concurs with the statement made by the Attorney General (Mr. McMurtry) in the Justice estimates some days ago when this matter was raised. I quote from page J-1140-1, when I was questioning the honourable minister about the 17,000 detainees:

"Hon. Mr. McMurtry: I can assure you the policy secretariat does not speak for the Ministry of the Attorney General. When we talk about spokesmen, I want that absolutely clear."

Would the Premier not agree that the indication is that either the Attorney General does not believe these people are unnecessarily in jail or, if they are, he does not consider it his responsibility? Since there is this dichotomy of view, would the Premier not feel that he should enter into this matter since it does relate to something that should concern all of us?

Hon. Mr. Davis: Mr. Speaker, if the honourable member is suggesting that I reconcile, so that he will agree with whatever reconciliation takes place, points of view that may or may not be totally the same, I would be delighted to endeavour to do that. However—

Mr. Breithaupt: The Premier will do it first; then we will try the second.

Hon. Mr. Davis: I am not personally familiar with the exact figures, but if the acting leader of the Liberal Party would like me to check into this further I will make an effort to do so.

Mr. Nixon: I can hardly credit that the Premier is not aware not only that his policy secretary made the statement, but perhaps also that his Attorney General does not agree with it fully and, as a matter of fact, thinks it is asinine, not to put too fine a point on it.

I personally believe that it is the Premier's responsibility to make a statement in this connection, since those of us not learned in the

law believe there are people in jail who should not be there. If we feel the minister's statement would be a helpful one, would the Premier not feel that, in a matter of this import, it is not sufficient simply to say he is not aware of the controversy and will report later? If that is all he can say, of course, then that is the end of it.

Hon. Mr. Davis: With great respect, that is not what I said. I am quite aware of what the Provincial Secretary for Justice said in his statement. I am aware of what the Attorney General said here in the House in reply to questions on that statement. I sensed in those replies that there was some measure of understanding. I am not familiar with the specific words used by the Attorney General in the estimates committee.

What I did say to the acting leader of the Liberal Party was not that I was not familiar with what was said, but that I could not speak from personal knowledge or study of the papers as to whether there are or are not 17,000. What I am prepared to do is to discuss it further with the two ministers to see if some further reconciliation can take place that would be understandable and acceptable to the acting leader of the Liberal Party. I think that is really what I said.

Mr. Warner: Mr. Speaker, since it is quite obvious that there is a profound disagreement between the Attorney General and the Minister of Correctional Services (Mr. Walker), and since the Minister of Correctional Services made it clear that he is not willing to come before the justice committee at the same time the Attorney General is there, and since we are all operating under some cloud of confusion over how many people are actually in jail needlessly, why can the Premier not make a clear statement before the assembly as to the situation in the Ontario jails today?

Hon. Mr. Davis: We then get around to the questions of definition, Mr. Speaker. I might be able to make a statement, but whether the member for Scarborough-Ellesmere would describe that statement as being clear and acceptable to him would be very debatable, because I cannot recall any statement I have made in here that he would have accepted as being clear, definitive or answering the particular question.

Mr. MacDonald: How about a statement reconciling the differences between your own ministers?

Hon. Mr. Davis: I am being interrupted again, Mr. Speaker. What does a fellow do?

Mr. Speaker: I am ignoring them. I suggest you do the same thing.

Hon. Mr. Davis: Mr. Speaker, in your very lofty position, you can afford to ignore them. I would like to be able to ignore them but I cannot totally.

However, as I said to the member for Brant-Oxford-Norfolk (Mr. Nixon), I will endeavour to get some further information for members of the House to the extent I can, and perhaps I will have something further to say on it.

Mr. Nixon: I do not think it requires a full survey of all the figures to respond to the statement already quoted to the Premier where the Attorney General says: "I can assure you the policy secretariat does not speak for the Ministry of the Attorney General. When we talk about spokesmen, I want that absolutely clear."

Does the Premier agree that the policy secretary, in matters of this moment, does not speak for the Attorney General and, in fact, does not speak for the government?

Hon. Mr. Davis: I think it is quite often the case that a policy secretary may talk in general terms, but when it comes to responsibility for the administration of a system where there is the Solicitor General, Attorney General or any minister responsible for an operating ministry, then the minister obviously speaks for that ministry. I think the honourable member understands the difference. It is not new, or unique, and I do not think that is—

Mr. Nixon: A statement like this is unique.

Hon. Mr. Davis: No, no. I don't think it is unique at all.

Mr. Nixon: One of these birds is going to have to go.

Hon. Mr. Davis: Mr. Speaker, I expect I will be here as long as the member opposite is there. I have to say to him, if we do not reorganize the Senate over the next few months, he would be a great appointment to that body.

Mr. Nixon: I am in the Senate.

Hon. Mr. Davis: Mr. Speaker, I want Hansard to record that the member for Brant-Oxford-Norfolk says publicly that he is now in the Senate. I would never have described his party that way, but I think it is a very excellent way to leave that discussion.

HAZARDOUS WASTES DISPOSAL RESEARCH

Mr. Nixon: Mr. Speaker, I have a question for the Minister of the Environment. Has

the minister followed up on his commitment made on television in Kingston, Ontario, after visiting the plasma arc installation at the Royal Military College, that he would seek additional financing so they could carry on with their development?

Can he indicate further his awareness that this development at the Royal Military College is probably the best way to solve the problem of the elimination of PCBs and 2,4,5-T that has been developed in this province and that, if we are not already, we should be, extending support to the researchers there so we can get on with this important task?

Hon. Mr. Parrott: Mr. Speaker, I think that is a very valid question. I believe we have tried to give all the people there as much co-operation as we possible could. They needed some immediate help, and they received that. There is no doubt that we are hopeful for that being the ultimate solution. We would like it on stream as soon as possible, and we have tried to do so. We are expecting to be able to announce something in a not-too-distant time from now. I believe we have done everything we can to be of assistance to them.

2:20 p.m.

One of the problems is the multi-jurisdictional problems that have to be ironed out. Not only is the federal government involved, but several departments in the federal government also are involved, and that is making it more complicated for us. We are attempting to do so. I can assure the member we do have funds allocated to be of any assistance they require.

Mr. Nixon: It was found recently that the project would have to be concluded at mid-June if additional financing were not available. Since the minister is planning to build a temporary storage for PCBs at a cost of \$5 million and since this procedure which the minister has seen and according to his statement, which I think is a good statement, may be a better solution than the storage, would he not talk to his colleagues and perhaps to his opposite number in Ottawa to see that the jurisdictional problem is put aside so that we can get on with the research? Surely it would be better to leave the PCBs where they are as they come out of service and take this portable plasma arc that has been developed here in Ontario around to where they are accumulating them and destroy them there, particularly if the cost is only a fraction of what is currently planned.

Hon. Mr. Parrott: Quite frankly, there is nothing but agreement by myself on the

member's remarks. We totally agree on what he has just suggested. If money is the requirement and if that were the sole problem, we do have the funds set aside to deal with the necessary allocation. That is not the problem. I have spoken to my counterpart in Ottawa. More particularly, I wish he would speak to his counterparts. I do not say that in a provocative way, but I appreciate that there are two or three different jurisdictions involved from their point of view. I have spoken to him. Perhaps what I should do today is refresh his memory of the urgency, and I will.

Ms. Bryden: Mr. Speaker: Has the minister also looked into the method of destroying PCBs which has been discovered in Palo Alto, California, and which was reported on a Saturday night television program, *What Will They Think of Next?* Has he looked into that proposal, which involves a portable machine that destroys them and which could be moved around the province to wherever PCBs are located?

Hon. Mr. Parrott: Mr. Speaker, I am very happy to say that in my rather limited technical ability, I believe the research and the technology developed in Kingston are superior to theirs. That is somewhat of a layman's point of view, but I feel very confident that the technology here is as good as, if not better than, theirs.

Mr. Gaunt: Mr. Speaker, would the minister not agree to flow funds to this research even though an agreement cannot be worked out with the federal government and the other parties in this respect? It does seem to be a matter of funds. If the province could come in with money immediately, this research could go ahead, as I understand it.

Hon. Mr. Parrott: Mr. Speaker, I think they have practically completed their research. I do not understand that they need too much more in the way of dollars for the research end of it. I think they have to prove the research, and the TACA 3000 will be an important piece of equipment to prove the completeness of the destruction of the PCBs.

As I understand it, there are two or three aspects that have to be tested rather than experimented with. We will co-operate in that regard. I think we have the equipment to prove or disprove whether PCBs can be destroyed to 99.9 per cent. If they can, this is obviously the way to go. I think the next step is to use the technology we have in our ministry to prove it or, it is to be hoped, not to disprove it. But if that is what results, then of course we have to admit it. I think it is more

to determine who is the owner of the machine, whether it is RMC or the professor or External Affairs. I do not know. They have a bit of a problem. I wish they would sort it out quickly. We are not hung up on assisting them in the testing of their equipment. It is theirs, but we want to use it.

NIAGARA ESCARPMENT HEARINGS

Mr. Cassidy: Mr. Speaker, I have a question for the Premier. I want to ask him about the biased procedures being used in the hearings on the Niagara Escarpment plan, currently under way in the escarpment.

Are we to take from the Premier's support for the decision of the hearing officer last week not to allow any representations for the expansion of the Niagara Escarpment planning area and from the fact that the Niagara Escarpment Commission, under the direction of this government, has allowed 90 per cent of the development control applications to be approved over the five or six years since it has been created, that the government is no longer committed to that section of the Niagara Escarpment Planning and Development Act that called to provide for the maintenance of the Niagara Escarpment as substantially a continuous natural environment? Are we to take it that he has now abandoned that commitment made six years ago?

Hon. Mr. Davis: Mr. Speaker, I could take a long period of time to answer that question or I could answer it very simply by saying no, it is not our intent.

Mr. Cassidy: In view of the fact that the hearing procedure is so biased, because the hearing officer will allow people to talk only about reducing the planning area, which is only 37 per cent of the original area the government intended to protect, and in view of the fact that the hearing officer will not allow anybody to suggest that the planning area be expanded, would the Premier agree to bring in a resolution to this Legislature to confirm what the government's opinion is about what the planning area should be? Then we would know whether the government intends to keep any part of the escarpment, or whether it is the government's intention to fiddle while the escarpment is allowed to disappear.

Hon. Mr. Davis: I do not have the exact acreage figures, but my recollection is that the initial suggested planning area was X thousand. If 37 per cent of it is the right percentage—and I cannot comment on that—it still is thousands and thousands of acres.

I know the one area fairly well, the town of Caledon. I do not know it as well any more as the very distinguished member for that area. The planning area was somewhat reduced, but it still has a very substantial impact on that community. There are still thousands of acres involved in it.

I am not taking sides with, against or beside the hearing officer. He has been given a responsibility, and he is making his determinations. I have never discussed it with him; nor should I. The point I was trying to make was that the hearings had been established to allow those people whose properties are being affected—I had a brief discussion with the member's colleague from Riverdale (Mr. Renwick)—that this is the process whereby they can register objections before the hearing officer as to the impact of the planning area on their individual pieces of property.

I think it is fair to state that when the process is finished, this will come by way of resolution to the House and we will have an opportunity to debate it. If there are those parts of that geographic area that the honourable member feels should be included in the final plan of the escarpment, then I would be quite prepared to hear about them. But that was not the concept of the hearings.

It was not the policy followed—and I am trying to draw a parallel for the honourable member—for the parkway belt hearings. I think this is the experience, to a certain extent, that is being used. But nothing precludes additions at some point further down the road. I assume the hearing officer feels his responsibility is to deal with those people whose individual rights in terms of the property they own or have an interest in are being affected, so that he can make his determination on the representations made on those issues. I cannot see any other reasonable alternative to that.

I would remind the honourable member, because I remember a little bit about the history of it, that we had a private bill in this House. I think I am right on this. I think the member for Grey (Mr. McKessock), supported by the member for Grey-Bruce (Mr. Sargent), brought in legislation that attempted to define the escarpment even more narrowly. The members opposite can correct me, because the honourable member is not here, but I can recall some debates on it. In fact, I think we had the pleasure of being visited by a number of property owners from the escarpment area. I think the member for Grey sort of orchestrated their visitation to us.

An hon. member: What does that mean?

Hon. Mr. Davis: Orchestrated means he sort of initiated it, I think, to a certain extent.

2:30 p.m.

There is no question that the planning area has been reduced. I think it is fair to state there was always the contemplation that a portion of it would be reduced. I do not want the honourable member to feel that if it is 37 per cent—and I do not know the figures—we are now talking about a small piece of geography. We are not. We are talking about many thousands of acres.

Mr. Swart: Mr. Speaker, if I can have the Premier's attention: Recognizing that unlike the Parkway Belt Planning and Development Act, and unlike any other planning act passed by this Legislature, the determination of the planning area and any amendment to it rests with this Legislature before the plan is made, and recognizing the Niagara Escarpment planning area as established by this Legislature comprises some 2,000 square miles but the plan prepared covers only 742 square miles, can the Premier explain the legal grounds on which the hearing officer refuses to hear any submissions on parcels of land outside the arbitrary boundaries which now have been set? I do not know if they have been set by the Provincial Secretary for Resources Development (Mr. Brunelle) or by the commission itself, but they have never been passed by this Legislature. What are the legal grounds for doing that?

Hon. Mr. Davis: Mr. Speaker, I am very reluctant to give a legal opinion. As I said on Friday, and I know the member for Welland-Thorold would share this point of view, I have confidence in Mr. McCrae. If memory serves me correctly, he is a former resident of Welland. Is that correct? The member for Welland-Thorold would be the last one to question his capabilities in dealing with this issue.

I think the honourable member will find that this is not dissimilar to the parkway and that people had an opportunity to discuss what was in the final recommendations of the commission. I met with some of the people. They were in the cabinet room and we had a lengthy discussion. I believe a very distinguished lady, a Mrs. McMillan—I think I am right in this—was making a representation to extend or at least to keep part of the escarpment area that other people were seeking to have removed.

The honourable member will recall—I do not know whether there were meetings in Welland or not—that there were certainly

meetings throughout the escarpment area where the commission went in and discussed it with the local municipalities and with residents within the community. The bulk of the pressure was to remove from the planning area some number of acres; so the opportunity to discuss it was there.

Mr. Swart: Not here—not in this Legislature.

Hon. Mr. Davis: No, no. Let me get to "here" in a minute. My understanding, and the advice we have had from the lawyers, is that the process to be followed is that the hearing officer listens to those people making representations about their land that is being affected, then he comes in with a recommendation to the government, and the government makes its determination on what the planning area should be. That is brought into the House and it is debated before it becomes the official plan or however we designate it. That is my understanding of the process. To me, it is relatively—

Mr. Swart: It is wrong.

Hon. Mr. Davis: Mr. Speaker, with great respect, the honourable member says it is wrong.

The reverse of that is that we would, in our wisdom, make a determination on the planning area without consulting the property owners who are affected, then put it out to a hearing officer who would make certain judgements and then, in my view, it would have to come back to this House.

I think the honourable member is putting the cart before the horse. This House will have an opportunity, but based on the hearing officer's recommendations. It seems to me relatively simple. I think the honourable member's leader has an understandable point. There are people who have no interest in the property per se. Their rights are not being affected. Certain groups are there making representations, saying that 100 acres should be in. They do not live on it. They are not being affected by it, but they would like to see it included. I say to the honourable member I understand that, but part of the discussion did go on at one point in time and most of the pressure was to reduce the planning area. Very frankly, the member for Grey wanted it reduced much less than it is at present. I think I am right in that recollection.

INCO EMISSIONS

Mr. Cassidy: Mr. Speaker, I have a new question for the Minister of the Environment. Could he say what new information has come to the attention of the federal Department of

the Environment and its minister which has led them to conclude that Inco now can afford the cost of major reductions of its sulphur dioxide emissions in Sudbury, when this ministry has been insisting over the course of the last five years that Inco could not afford it and therefore has been acting like a patsy, rather than insisting that Inco cut its emissions?

Hon. Mr. Parrott: Mr. Speaker, replying to the last question first, in the last year and three quarters or nearly two years I have never suggested it was impossible for Inco to afford it. I do believe the federal government has commissioned a new study that has indicated there are some things Inco could do, but I have not personally seen it.

I also must say to the honourable member I think a good deal of that information is not particularly new. Mr. Roberts is doing some recycling of previous information and putting it in new clothes. I will be making a very comprehensive statement about our control order here in the House on Thursday.

Mr. Cassidy: Since the minister now says the information is not new, are we to take it that the Ministry of the Environment in Ontario has been aware over some period of time that Inco could afford a substantial reduction in sulphur dioxide emissions? Will the minister now undertake at the very least to accept the recommendation of the standing resources development committee that Inco be required to reduce to the 1,500 tons-per-day level within the next four years?

Hon. Mr. Parrott: I think I would be wrong to pre-empt anything which might be said on Thursday. I would like to deal with the total subject at that time. It will be a rather long statement, but I think that will be a more appropriate time to deal with the question.

Mr. Cassidy: If the government starts to talk tough on Thursday about Inco's reducing its emissions, can the minister assure us the government will not be replaying history, where in the past this government talked tough about Inco but, when it came down to the crunch, it backed away from insisting that it reduce its emissions from being the largest polluter with sulphur dioxide on the North American continent?

Hon. Mr. Parrott: For two years now we have been on a program which very clearly said our orders would be reasonable and practical but enforced. I can assure the honourable member every single order we have asked for is being enforced. He need not worry about us backing down.

Mr. Laughren: You cancelled the last one.

Mr. Martel: You backed down on the last one. You are always backing down.

Hon. Mr. Parrott: The members opposite keep saying that, but look at the record for the last two years.

Mr. Martel: You did nothing.

Hon. Mr. Parrott: I don't care. Let them look at the record. It says very clearly we are doing an excellent job on enforcement. There is no doubt about it.

Ms. Bryden: Mr. Speaker, can I ask the minister if the delay in issuing the new control order is to give the minister time to consult with Inco on the timetable for the installation of the new equipment to reduce the emissions? The vice-president of Inco is quoted in the newspaper as saying the government always discusses its plans in advance with Inco. Is that the reason for the delay?

Hon. Mr. Parrott: No, Mr. Speaker. I do not think there is an undue amount of delay. More particularly on this particular order, I recognize the significance of an order on Inco, and not just in a symbolic way to attack the problem of acid rain and the total commitment this government has to do something about it and not talk about. I understand the importance of attacking that symbol, but I also understand the importance of making sure that order is well thought-out and is one we can deliver and enforce. And that is what we are going to do.

2:40 p.m.

YOUTH EMPLOYMENT

Mr. Blundy: Mr. Speaker, I have a question for the Minister of Industry and Tourism. Is the minister aware that, because of the lengthy time elapsing between the students' summer employment months and the date of payment by the province of the provincial share, some small businesses are not going to hire summer students under this program this year?

Hon. Mr. Grossman: Mr. Speaker, I presume the question relates to the Ontario Youth Employment Program, does it?

Mr. Blundy: Yes.

Hon. Mr. Grossman: Perhaps my colleague who is responsible for that, the Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs, might be in a little better position to deal with the question.

Mr. Blundy: Did the minister understand the question? I have had complaints about the lengthy time between the payment of the provincial share for the student program and the summer employment period. Is the minister aware that some small businessmen are complaining of this and are

saying they will not employ students in this program this summer?

Hon. Mr. Wells: Mr. Speaker, I would be happy to look into that and see if it does present a problem. I must say in the three or four years we have funded this program we have never had any problem in carrying on the program and in having thousands and thousands of jobs provided through it. There have been certain problems. I can sympathize with a small businessman if he cannot get his money quickly enough; it does present a problem and I will certainly look into that. I have never had that complaint brought to my attention.

Mr. Blundy: I have the names of two small businessmen who, for the summer employment period of 1979, received their cheques for the provincial portion in January 1980. In this period of high interest rates for small businessmen, does the minister not agree that is a difficult situation for the small businessman?

Hon. Mr. Wells: If my friend will give me the names I will certainly look into it and I will be happy to report to him why they did not get their money sooner.

I want to indicate, however—and my friend will recall this—I think it was that party over there which wanted us, a few years ago, to audit every home grant that was given out in this province. This government is very careful when money is paid out. Very often when we check the complaints from people who have not been paid, we find the forms were not filled out correctly, or perhaps they claimed for something that was not eligible and there had to be an exchange of letters and so forth to get the proper information, which I am sure the member would want us to do to carry out the program in a proper, business-like manner. But if the member will give me the names, I will find out exactly why they did not get their money earlier.

Mr. B. Newman: Mr. Speaker, can the minister assure us that in the hiring of students no employee will be laid off for that period of time during which a student has been taken on? That has been brought to my attention over the weekend by a constituent of mine.

Hon. Mr. Wells: Mr. Speaker, if the honourable member will indicate who the firm is and what the circumstances are, we will certainly investigate it. This program has not been created to displace people and have someone else take their jobs. It is for new jobs, above the number now working

there, that are created for summer students. Certainly, if that were the case, the person so hired would not be eligible for the government assistance.

AID TO CHRYSLER

Mr. Cooke: Mr. Speaker, I have a question to the Minister of Industry and Tourism. I take it the minister is aware that today or some time this week Mr. Gray will be announcing the federal government package of Chrysler aid. Since Mr. Gray has said he expects this government to be responsible for 40 per cent of the package, as he believes the Ford deal was the precedent, I was wondering if the minister is aware of the federal government agreement with Chrysler. Is the minister supportive of the safeguards that have been put in that agreement, and has the minister insisted on certain safeguards being put into that agreement?

Finally, the minister was quoted in the Windsor Star a week ago as saying he does not support aid to the Chrysler Corporation at all, and that he is looking at alternatives to aid Windsor. I wonder if the minister could spell out for the Legislature what those alternatives are and when they will produce jobs for the 24,000 people who are unemployed in Windsor?

Hon. Mr. Grossman: Mr. Speaker, I think the answers to the first three questions are all yes. I will have to look at Instant Hansard later to make sure I am entirely safe in saying yes to all three.

Let me respond in a more general way by saying, first, I have kept in close contact with the negotiations with Chrysler. Second, I would think Mr. Gray and I have talked perhaps 20 times in the last five days. Third, as of last Wednesday, we began direct discussions with Chrysler as had been agreed upon several months ago. It was agreed that when the negotiations and discussions reached a certain stage, we would begin face-to-face discussions on our own behalf with Chrysler. That commenced last Wednesday.

The situation right now is that we are looking at all the alternatives. We are in contact with the federal government on a minute-to-minute basis at this time. I cannot, and I should not, comment any further than that at present.

May I only add that in the light of the quote the member referred to from the Windsor Star last week, what I was indicating last week, and have been indicating in this House and other places, since the entire Chrysler episode began, was that in deciding

the extent of this government's participation in Chrysler, in the context of making those decisions, we should look at other alternatives. If there are other alternatives which we feel are reasonably current and urgent, we should look at those alternatives for solidifying the auto industry in Windsor specifically.

To that end, I should tell the member that as long ago as a year ago, we began at the senior levels of my ministry to work intensely with the Japanese auto parts people. I was over there myself and spent an entire day with the Japanese auto parts people, with a view to ensuring that we got some of that investment. I hope some of that investment will come to this province as a result of that initiative.

I notice, most recently, that the United Auto Workers are now supportive of that initiative, which the member for Downsview (Mr. Di Santo) criticized quite dramatically in this assembly last year. That is one of the alternatives.

Other alternatives are being pursued by us through initiatives in Europe, where we began by contacting 300 to 400 companies some months ago, before the layoffs began to occur. We have now worked that number down to a list of about a dozen or so which are reasonably urgent, reasonably imminent.

I do not want to hold out false expectations. All of those firms, as a result of the intense work we have done in this ministry and in this government, now are looking at Ontario as an investment alternative. They are looking at other sites, in the United States mainly, and there is no question but that the United States is putting a great deal of political and other pressure on those firms to locate there.

We are working intensely on that situation, and I only mention it in the context of the other alternatives. Ultimately, we will make our decision based on the reality of the guarantees we might get from Chrysler, the urgency of the situation and the security and the job commitments from Chrysler we can get in exchange in the event we choose to participate.

Mr. Cooke: The minister has still not said clearly whether the province intends to participate in a deal with Chrysler and the federal government. Is he going to go on record today as supporting participation? If he is going to do that, is he supportive of Mr. Gray's position that the province should kick in 40 per cent?

If we do go that route, how long will it take for a final deal to come about between

the provincial and federal governments? Are the people of Windsor going to be kept in a state of anxiety for a further number of months while the federal and provincial governments work that out?

Finally, has Chrysler informed the minister of further layoffs it is planning at plant three, of 1,000 to 1,500 workers, when it goes down to one shift in that particular plant this May?

Hon. Mr. Grossman: I cannot say off-hand whether, in the latest layoff notices I received, that particular one is on that list. I can let the honourable member know very shortly.

2:50 p.m.

On the member's first question—which is, will I say this afternoon, directly, that we will support Chrysler Corporation—let me say, in cognizance of the concerns which I expressed in this House last December, and which the member and his party and all responsible members have expressed in this House, obviously it would be careless for any government to say, "We will support Chrysler in any event."

What the member would expect of us is exactly the opposite; that is, we will support Chrysler under certain terms and conditions directly related to jobs, directly related to the amount of new investment occurring in this province, and directly related to the reality of whatever guarantees might be given by that corporation in return for getting some taxpayers' dollars.

It is only if we get sufficient guarantees for the workers, particularly in Windsor, that we would support Chrysler because, after all, the object of this exercise is related to finding, keeping and securing employment for the auto workers in this province. It is not directly related to helping out Chrysler itself in a vacuum.

If we get the proper guarantees for the workers in Windsor, if the job commitments are there, if the investment commitments are there, and there is sufficient guarantee, if all that fell into place, it would become a good investment for us and we would consider, and are considering, participation at the present time.

Finally, the member suggested there was some difficulty between the federal and provincial governments. Let me say that I cannot remember an instance in which the two governments have worked together better. There is joint communication and joint dialogue. Our staffs are working together. Mr. Gray and I are working together. There have been no disputes and in no way have the discussions held up whatsoever the

negotiations with the governments involved in Canada and Chrysler Corporation.

Mr. B. Newman: Mr. Speaker, can the minister assure us that, in addition to getting our fair share of jobs as a result of this agreement, we will get a fair share of research and development?

Hon. Mr. Grossman: Mr. Speaker, I can assure the member that, as I said last December in this House, research and development, among other items—I have referred to them already—is the chief item among the things we will be looking at and have been looking at with regard to the Chrysler situation.

Mr. Di Santo: On a matter of personal privilege, Mr. Speaker: I think the Minister of Industry and Tourism misrepresented my position when he said before that I spoke vehemently last year against his agreement with the Japanese companies in the automobile industry. What I said at that point was that we are in favour of import replacement rather than boosting exports.

Mr. Speaker: That is not a matter of personal privilege; it is a difference of opinion or interpretation.

BOY SCOUTS OF CANADA

Mr. Breithaupt: Mr. Speaker, I have a question of the Minister of Education. Why has the minister cut off the operating assistance grant of \$17,500 to the Boy Scouts in Ontario and, therefore, had Ontario lead the way in being the only province in Canada not to support this organization?

Hon. Miss Stephenson: Mr. Speaker, the miscellaneous grants fund available to the Minister of Education is a relatively limited fund designated for purposes of educational programs for young people. When we explored the financial state of the Boy Scouts of Canada and examined the program, which tangentially, I suppose, has an educational flavour, it was felt that there were other institutions much more in need of support and with much more direct educational programs in terms of young people.

The honourable member may be interested to know that as a result of further exploration of the Boy Scouts' activities we have divined that there is a very important leadership activity with the Boy Scouts, which is adult education, and a grant has been made to the Boy Scouts from the Ministry of Colleges and Universities this year.

Mr. Breithaupt: Can the minister advise us of the amount of that grant?

Hon. Miss Stephenson: I believe it was \$15,000.

HOUSING CONSTRUCTION

Mr. Laughren: Mr. Speaker, I have a question for the Treasurer, if I can get his attention. May I assume that when he was drawing up his budget he was very carefully perusing the forecast of housing starts for Ontario for 1980? If that is the case, in that he saw very clearly there was going to be a significant drop in housing starts to 50,000 this year from 57,000 last year and 72,000 the previous year, why did he not make a commitment to build affordable housing in Ontario this year?

Hon. F. S. Miller: Mr. Speaker, the member is quite right. I did spend a good deal of time looking at the forecasts for the housing market. In fact, I met with two groups from the industry in my pre-budget meetings. Affordable housing is a function of a number of things, not the least of which these days is the interest rate charged on the mortgage. We have had a great deal of discussion on that topic in the last few weeks, and I am sure we will have more yet. We are continuing to negotiate and discuss with the federal government ways and means of doing that, all the while studying the matters we promised we would do by mid-May.

I would also point out that it was surprising to learn from the industry that the demographics of the Ontario population are such that some declines in starts were inevitable simply because of a change in the demand. On a comparative basis, we are one of the better-housed parts in North America and in the world. We are still very anxious, because of the importance of that industry, to see the full need for housing construction, both in rental and ownership housing.

I assure the member that my colleague the Minister of Housing, who is charged mainly with providing programs of that nature, continues to study that. I have been occupying my interest with the basic need and the interest rate problem.

Mr. Laughren: Is the Treasurer aware that the unemployment rate in the construction trades is 30 per cent in Toronto and 35 per cent in northeastern Ontario? Could he tell us what plans he has to ease that unacceptably high unemployment rate in the construction trades, not just in Metro and not just in northwestern Ontario, but all over the province?

Hon. F. S. Miller: One of the things I have been very pleased with is the fact that indus-

trial construction is up—and I am not talking about machines, but buildings. I have talked about the problems of the Ford plant, pointing out that all the labour involved with Ford was in the construction industry. I have been delighted to see that the Employment Development Board through its grants has stimulated investment in the province which, in effect, causes the first wave of employment in the construction industry.

HAZARDOUS WASTES DISPOSAL

Mr. Kerrio: Mr. Speaker, my question is to the Minister of the Environment. Is the minister aware of the report that was released some time in mid-April by the International Joint Commission recommending that both the Canadian and US governments (1) prepare inventories of waste disposal sites located in the Great Lakes basin, (2) tighten legislation to ensure the safe storage, transportation and disposal of toxic wastes around the basin and (3) prohibit the production, sales, transportation and use of insoluble toxic compounds? If the minister is aware of the report, how has he reacted to the particular directions recommended here by the International Joint Commission?

Hon. Mr. Parrott: Mr. Speaker, I am aware of it and, quite frankly, I think how we have reacted is what we did a year and a half ago. If the honourable member has been following what we have been doing in liquid wastes, which I think he has, he will know we have made great inroads in solving that particular problem without our ministry. It is not solved yet, but we are making a very concentrated effort to do so. I do not know why the member would not have full knowledge of that, but if he does not, I will be glad to send him more information.

Mr. Kerrio: I certainly have a full knowledge of it. But why was this report given out in mid-April if the International Joint Commission did not have full knowledge? Those people are working on it every day.

The question I would like to pose to the minister is, if he is aware of the problems they were pointing up in mid-April, is he going to resolve some of the problems by addressing himself to them and reporting back to the House as to what he is going to do in a meaningful way as it relates to about five other specific areas here?

3 p.m.

Hon. Mr. Parrott: I cannot quite understand how the honourable member would not know the many programs we have. Does he

want me to recite them here? We are talking about the safe storage of certain materials, about solidification processes in various places, about facilities we need for other materials, about incineration units. We are talking about what we put through in the last session in Bill 24 to make sure that people handled their materials correctly. We are talking about a waybill system, which we now have in place. I could go on and on about what we have done—not what we are promising to do. We have done it.

ENGLISH AS A SECOND LANGUAGE

Mr. Grande: Mr. Speaker, my question is to the Minister of Education. In view of the fact that the federal government has announced 10,000 more Asian refugees will be coming to Canada, and in the last estimates of her ministry she made a commitment to provide boards of education with the up-front funds they need to set up English-as-a-second-language programs and special education programs, can the minister explain why is it to this day the area boards of Metropolitan Toronto have not received one cent to set up those programs?

Hon. Miss Stephenson: Mr. Speaker, my response in the November estimates to the question raised by the honourable member was that we would investigate the possibility of current funding of an English-as-a-second-language program. That is precisely what we have done in the 1980 general legislative grants. The boards are funded on a current basis for English as a second language. The difficulty in the Metropolitan Toronto area, I gather, is the rate at which the money flows through the metropolitan board to the area boards in Toronto.

Mr. Grande: Is the minister aware, the longer her ministry or the Metro board fouts up, that 948 elementary and secondary school students in Toronto alone, and many more in the other area boards in Metro Toronto, have been bumped off the programs they need in order to look after the Asian refugees' enrolment? Because those are the people who have the most urgent needs, the children who have less urgent needs are bumped off the programs.

Hon. Miss Stephenson: There is no foulup as far as the Ministry of Education is concerned. We are having conversations with the Metropolitan Toronto board to try to streamline the procedure at that level.

DARLINGTON NUCLEAR POWER STATION

Mr. Bradley: Mr. Speaker, I have a question of the Minister of Energy. Now that it has been revealed that the Pickering B nuclear generating station and the problems encountered there with Babcock and Wilcox Canada Limited will cost Ontario power consumers some \$500 million, according to Ontario Hydro officials who were quoted last week, and because of the concerns expressed about the quality of work provided in the past, upon reflection, is the minister now giving consideration to asking Hydro to retender that portion of the project which is affected by the provision of boilers at Darlington?

Hon. Mr. Welch: No, Mr. Speaker.

Mr. Bradley: Could the minister assure us then that the reason this aspect of the project is not going to be retendered is not that the silent part of the deal between Hydro and Babcock and Wilcox was that the project would not be retendered? Would the minister also comment upon a suggestion that some considerable amount of the repair work be farmed out to other companies in the business?

Hon. Mr. Welch: The minister is not knowledgeable about any silent aspects of any particular deal. I might remind the honourable member if he is available tomorrow night, starting at seven o'clock, the officials of Ontario Hydro will be before the resources development committee in connection with the ministry's estimates. No doubt they would be quite anxious to answer any questions he might have with respect to these matters.

AID TO PENSIONERS

Mr. Di Santo: Mr. Speaker, I have a question for the Treasurer. In his announcement in the budget of the tax grant to pensioners, the requirement he put was that they be drawing old age security. There are a number of citizens who are drawing Canada Pension disability but are not drawing old age security because they are not 65, and they are excluded from the minister's scheme. If nothing else, from an income point of view does he not think that should be corrected and that those in that group should be included?

Hon. F. S. Miller: Mr. Speaker, that would be broadening the pensioner tax credit for those over 65 to an altogether new base, which I would think would be inappropriate.

Mr. Di Santo: Is the Treasurer aware that there are a number of Canada Pension Plan

beneficiaries who are also drawing family benefits? If the government decides they qualify for the \$500 grant, can the Treasurer tell us whether the Ministry of Community and Social Services will subtract the same amount of money from their family benefits?

Hon. F. S. Miller: I would have to look at the arithmetic the ministry uses before commenting on that. I would reserve my answer until I got a chance to do so.

POLICE USE OF FIREARMS

Mrs. Campbell: Mr. Speaker, my question is to the Solicitor General. Has he been reviewing or following the inquest in Petrolia into the fatal shooting of one Mr. Powell, particularly with reference to the expert evidence given last week? If he has not would he be prepared to order transcripts so that he might be in a position to report to this House on the occasion of the conclusion of that inquest?

Hon. Mr. McMurtry: As the member knows, Mr. Speaker, I think the inquest terminated only last Thursday. A question was asked of me on Friday, and I indicated at that time I would be reviewing the inquest and reporting back to the House. It is a little premature to determine whether actual transcripts of the inquest will be necessary, but it is something that will be taken into consideration when we determine how we can most effectively report back to the members of the Legislature.

Mrs. Campbell: Would the Solicitor General not consider that according to the evidence we have, which is exclusive of transcripts, there seems to be a great dichotomy in the evidence in that case and that surely should be a matter of concern to him?

Hon. Mr. McMurtry: I am not sure from my brief knowledge of the case that there is that dichotomy. It may have appeared so in some of the press reports, but I think the member for St. George more than most people in this House appreciates the danger of attempting to make any judgement on fragmentary reports in the media.

Mrs. Campbell: That is why I want transcripts.

EVICTON OF TENANT

Mr. Martel: Mr. Speaker, since the Minister of Housing (Mr. Bennett) is not here, I have a question for the Premier regarding Mrs. Timmins. In view of the fact that the Workmen's Compensation Board last week wrote off approximately a \$13,000 overpayment to a worker in Windsor, will the Premier use his

good offices and ask the Minister of Housing to write off the \$2,000 that is owed by Mrs. Timmins, a 72-year-old widow, with respect to a complication that arose as a result of a pension she was receiving?

Hon. Mr. Davis: Mr. Speaker, if memory serves me correctly, the honourable member sent me a note about this on Friday and I said I would try to get some information for him. I did not have it by two o'clock. I expect that I or the minister will have it tomorrow afternoon.

OCCUPIERS' LIABILITY AND TRESPASS BILLS

Mr. McKessock: Mr. Speaker, I have a question for the Attorney General which, if he wants to, he can redirect to the government House leader (Mr. Wells). I would like to ask when the occupiers' liability bill and the trespass to property bill will be coming up for third reading.

Secondly, can he tell me why the Ontario Federation of Agriculture was told last Wednesday that it was the opposition that was holding up these bills when, in fact, we are waiting for them to come through for approval?

Hon. Mr. McMurtry: Mr. Speaker, I think the members of the official opposition are just as interested as I am to proceed with third reading. We hope that will be done shortly.

Mr. McKessock: Can the minister tell me why the federation was told the opposition was holding up these two bills from coming to third reading?

Hon. Mr. McMurtry: I have had no communication recently with the federation, so I have no knowledge of the matter to which the honourable member is referring. I am not aware that was said.

3:10 p.m.

SAFETY CAR

Mr. Young: Mr. Speaker, I would like to ask the Minister of Industry and Tourism whether, during the discussions with Chrysler, the matter of the introduction of the safety car has come up? This car was built by Chrysler itself through Calspan, and is light in weight, safe and energy-efficient. Has the phasing in of that car during the down-sizing process been seriously discussed between the government and Chrysler?

Hon. Mr. Grossman: Mr. Speaker, I would like to be more helpful to the member, but I really cannot comment on that and other parts of the discussion at this time. I would

be happy to do so at the conclusion of the discussions and negotiations.

the answer to question 36. (See appendix, page 1212.)

INTRODUCTION OF BILLS

Hon. Mr. Auld: Mr. Speaker, I would like to ask the consent of the House to move a bill that amends the Game and Fish Act. Honourable members will recall, I think it was two weeks ago yesterday when we passed Bill 15 for the member for Etobicoke (Mr. Philip), I indicated that I would be producing a bill, one part of which would be a duplication of his bill, with his agreement, so that the amendments which we are putting forward and which also relate to trapping would all be in one place. If I have the consent of the House, I would like to introduce the bill.

Mr. Speaker: The minister did not make it clear to me why he required unanimous consent to introduce anything. Was it on an agreement he had given that he would not do this? He will have to elaborate. I do not know what the question is at issue.

Hon. Mr. Auld: I am sorry, Mr. Speaker. I am told one cannot introduce a bill that contains a portion similar to, or in this case exactly the same as, another bill which is still on the Order Paper. The other bill is no longer on the Order Paper. It has been given third reading but I understand it has not yet reached royal assent. This bill will incorporate the contents of that bill and has a section which will repeal that bill.

Mr. Speaker: Do we have unanimous consent?

Agreed to.

GAME AND FISH AMENDMENT ACT

Hon. Mr. Auld moved first reading of Bill 59, An Act to amend the Game and Fish Act.

Motion agreed to.

CITY OF STRATFORD ACT

Mr. Edighoffer moved first reading of Bill Pr19, An Act respecting the City of Stratford.

Motion agreed to.

ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS ON NOTICE PAPER

Hon. Mr. Wells: Mr. Speaker, I wish to table the answer to question 118 standing on the Notice Paper. To give the member for Windsor-Sandwich (Mr. Bounsall) something to do for the next couple of days, I will table

ORDERS OF THE DAY

BUDGET DEBATE

(continued)

Resuming the adjourned debate on the motion that this House approves in general the budgetary policy of the government.

Mr. Peterson: Mr. Speaker, I am sorry the Treasurer (Mr. F. S. Miller) isn't here to hear these words of wisdom. We would all probably be further ahead had we missed his budget last week. As a matter of fact, maybe I will decide next year not to show up for it. That said, he probably won't be in a position to present the budget for next year.

Interestingly enough, this is my fourth response and everything we predicted last year in our budget response came true with the exception of one small prediction. I predicted at that point that we would be in the government's position and we would be presenting the budget for this year. We were wrong. However, next year we will be on that side and will be prepared to share our view of the Ontario economy with the opposition, as it then will be, and our friends to the left.

I always choose a text for my response for the budget. It is part of my United Church upbringing. I believe it puts it into context and puts some focus into my response. Over the years I have quoted various luminaries. I have used Darcy McKeough. I even went down from there once and used the Bible. This year I am going to use a little story from Mark Twain. He told a story you probably know, Mr. Speaker, because you have a veritable fount of little stories.

It is a story about a chap who was walking down the street and he saw the local hotel on fire. As he looked up he saw a chap standing on a ledge not knowing what to do. The chap walking down the street had a brilliant idea. He ran and got a rope and threw the chap the end of the rope and said: "Grab the rope, tie it around your waist and I will pull you down." The Treasurer is the man throwing the rope and the taxpayers, the good people of the province, are in the position of the man on the ledge.

We are seeing a singularly deficient budget in terms of equitable distribution of wealth, a budget which in our judgement ignores the economic realities of this province and this country at this time. There is no vision, there is no thrust. This is a government that is used to governing by poll. They haven't

taken a creative act in this government in the time I have been here. This government uses polls like a drunk would use a lamp pole. They use it for support and not for illumination. There is yet to emanate from this government a vision or the kind of thrust that we need.

Before I start this diatribe, and I don't want to drive my colleagues out of the House, they are all welcome to stay if they want because the best is yet to come—I want to thank many people. We are privileged in this party to have a number of very competent advisers, both inside and outside the government. It is interesting to note how many people are anxious to share their expertise with us this day because they are angry and frustrated. A lot of them are former Tories who just can't see this government going on any longer because they have lost the vision, they have lost the right to govern.

I am grateful to all of them. I won't name them, because if I name them they will probably be moved down in their places in the syndicates or they will be cut off some of the patronage they got used to in the past. Suffice to say I have been the beneficiary of a great deal of advice and wisdom and I am grateful for that.

3:20 p.m.

In addition, we have a first-class research team in the Liberal caucus today and I want to thank particularly three people—Jane Shapiro, Sandie Giles, Norma Graber—who worked very hard and conscientiously all weekend and for several months before to get this into shape to present our view of where things should be.

It was interesting, the juxtaposition of the budget a week ago last Tuesday night. What was so very interesting is because the federal Minister of Finance decided to have his own view of the Canadian economy laid before the people the night before. The stark juxtaposition of those two spaces and the view of the realities of the marketplace were in very distinct difference. Mr. MacEachen, to his credit, at least had the courage to lay before the people of this country the reality. The realities are not nearly what the rose-coloured, glassy-eyed view of the Treasurer of this province expressed. Maybe it's because he feels his own essential vulnerability in this matter. Maybe he is frightened that he can't go and share the realities with the people.

But in the absence of that view it prevents him from clearly defining the problems, from clearly proceeding with some of the solutions. Unless he has the vision to recognize and

define the problems he will never come up with the solutions. At least Mr. MacEachen has made the first step. The Treasurer has made no steps along this process.

I say to the minister very seriously, every respected economist in this country has a view of the economic realities very different from the Treasurer of this province. He has never pretended to be an economist, to his credit, but even any pretence he made about being respected is gone with this budget. Optimism is very nice, but it is simply not an adequate response.

The Premier (Mr. Davis) and his cabinet colleagues may run around the province protesting in speeches about the doom and gloom emanating from some quarters. But it's not doom and gloom. It's a realistic assessment of the realities. It is impossible to ignore the facts, and they are as follows: during the 1970s Ontario dropped from a prominent ranking to last place among the provinces in average annual percentage growth in gross provincial product, in per capita GPP, in per capita income, in per capita personal disposable income, in the rate of public investment, in residential construction and, very importantly for a province in which manufacturing is predominant, to last place in value added per capita.

To be very clear about this, Ontario, the much-touted "province of opportunity," is declining while all of our sister provinces are growing. This is not just a relative decline. We understand the redistribution of wealth in the country. We understand that Alberta is getting more because of its favoured position at the moment. But this is, in a real sense, a genuine weakening of Ontario's economy—a genuine weakening in absolute terms.

It was only after careful study and analysis that the federal Department of Regional Economic Expansion concluded in December: "The future of Ontario is up for review. Traditional advantages have been weakened, old development attitudes are no longer applicable, and the international economic situation has changed drastically. No longer can Ontario's continued growth be taken for granted by any level of government."

Ontario, formerly the leader in Confederation, has now become and is becoming a national problem. Any decline in manufacturing is critical to Ontario since it accounts for about 30 per cent of the province's real output. Yet between 1970 and 1979 Ontario placed eighth in Canada in average annual percentage growth of manufacturing investment and eighth between 1970 and 1978 in average annual percentage growth in the

estimated value of manufacturing shipments by province of origin. In this area, Ontario's share declined from 51.8 per cent in 1970 to 49.4 per cent in 1978. We should be growing; we are contracting.

Capital investment in manufacturing, both for construction and machinery and equipment, showed actual declines in 1978 and minimal growth in 1979. So when the Treasurer expressed with great pride that these investment intentions—remember these are only initial intentions on the basis of a survey, not real facts yet—when he says that for manufacturing firms they are up almost 40 per cent this year, it is 40 per cent more than almost nothing. Further, this growth is not widespread but is mostly limited to two basic areas—transportation equipment and the primary metals.

I want to draw the members' attention to the Conference Board in Canada's study. That study, contrary to the Treasurer's view, predicted a 0.6 per cent decline in real growth. That means a recession. It says Ontario will experience a four per cent decline in manufacturing output in 1980, while other provinces will grow quite dramatically, for example, Alberta by six per cent. Saskatchewan and Manitoba will both experience strong performances in that sector. Indeed, Ontario is expected to lag behind the national average in manufacturing growth yet again this year, after a decade of decline.

Because of this consistent under-performance, average real family income in constant 1971 dollars in Ontario sank from \$13,518 in 1976 to \$12,916 in 1978. To put that in relative terms, data from the Department of National Revenue indicates that the average income by tax filer in 1977 for Ontario was \$11,080—\$34 less than the average national income.

Despite Ontario's regional priority budget, certain parts of the province, in the north and the east, have average incomes which are lower than the slowest growth areas of this country. This is not a fact to be proud of.

Last fall, a Toronto newspaper reported that more than \$3 billion worth of Ontario-based money and nearly 30,000 people, many of them skilled workers, were leaving the province and moving west during the course of that year.

It is not surprising that in 1977, for the first time, Ontario qualified for equalization payments from the federal government as a have-not province. The term "have-not" has been widely used. It emanates from a gentleman who teaches at the University of Western Ontario by the name of Dr. Tom Courchene, who interestingly enough was a federal

Conservative candidate in the 1979 election. He is the one who brought this country's attention to the fact that since 1977 Ontario has become a have-not province.

As a matter of fact, under the existing formula Ontario will be owed \$800 million by the end of this year. It is noteworthy that while one of the reasons Ontario has become a have-not province is due to the great growth in provincial oil and gas revenues in western Canada, equally important is the slow growth in revenues from Ontario's traditional tax sources—personal and corporate income taxes.

It is clear this province has not been holding its own. We have been sliding economically relative to our own performance in the 1950s and the 1960s and relative to the rest of the country. To deal with this critical decline we are given a budget which tinkers and putters, which has no vision, no overall thrust, no direction, and, needless to say, no answers. Someone said to me it is impossible to drive forward looking in the rear-view mirror.

If we use the analogy of the stock market, Ontario today would not be worthwhile investing in because of its declining growth. If we were investors, we would have to say this is a stock in decline, and we would not put any premium on the management of this province today.

I want to quote something I found over the weekend. It says this: "There can be no betterment in the standard of living by any distribution of unearned moneys. Nothing but a distribution of goods needed by humanity can help the standard of living, and these goods must first be brought into being. You cannot leverage a country into prosperity any more than a lawyer can make his client rich by drawing up his will." Those words were spoken by Arthur Meighen. I assume some people over there will have recognized that.

Today the standard of living we have experienced over the past decades in this province is under threat, because we are not putting the vision into creating the wealth, in order to redistribute it in a fair, just and equitable way so that our children will be able to live as well and as happily as we have.

I am not an alarmist. I am not a doom-and-gloomer. I will say to the House that we have the potential, we have the resources, we have the young people, we have the educated populace, we have all of the advantages; but we do not have the vision, we do not have the bold thrust and we do not have the leadership. That is a reality.

3:30 p.m.

I want to look at the budget in some detail, having pointed out, I hope, the relative position that we are in today. Looking at the budget itself we see that during the member for Brampton's term as Premier budgetary expenditures have quadrupled, rising from \$4.2 billion to \$16.7 billion. That is an average annual rate of increase of 13.5 per cent. During the same period, a budgetary surplus of \$150 million in 1970 has been replaced by a deficit totalling \$1.4 billion this year.

I am glad to see the Treasurer back, Mr. Speaker, particularly since he is smiling. Had he been here listening to the facts in the past 15 minutes or so, I can tell the honourable members they would not see that smile on his mug right now. It is time somebody pointed out the realities to him.

The budgetary deficit is forecast to increase by \$236 million this year, some 20 per cent this year alone. The net cash requirement will rise by an incredible 44 per cent in 1980-81, adding almost \$1 billion to the deficit that we and our children must carry. I pointed out to this House on Friday that those figures were fudged. In reality, the net cash requirements are up 163 per cent, because the Treasurer took advantage of a technical device.

Interjections.

Mr. Peterson: I have no idea what is bothering the Minister of Consumer and Commercial Relations right now.

Hon. Mr. Drea: Mr. Speaker, I will rise on a formal point of order. If the member for Halton-Burlington (Mr. J. Reed) wants to look better for the cameras by taking another seat that is fine, but he should not interject or anything else unless he is in his own seat. Exactly the same thing that his House leader or his deputy leader does to me, I am doing to him.

Mr. Peterson: I welcome that exchange, Mr. Speaker. I think it is a good one and we have now seen that the honourable minister will be on national television. He has not been getting a great press lately so I am willing to assist him.

I want to go back to the point that I made in this House on Friday. In reality, the Treasurer preflowed some \$217 million worth of expenditures from this year to last year. That is because he had an embarrassment of riches last year. His corporate income taxes were coming in away above schedule, and there were some accounting errors in terms of federal transfers. For all of these reasons he ended up with a far

lower net cash requirement than he predicted.

That was an embarrassment. This year he wanted to create an election budget, he wanted to make the appearance of giving away a lot more money, but he was embarrassed at the same time to increase his net cash requirement because of previous commitments to keep lowering the net cash requirements and balance his budget some time in the 1980s. Of course, the House will remember the first commitment was in 1981. He has put it back to 1983 or 1984, and the good Lord knows what the view of the government is today. Because of those embarrassing circumstances, he preflowed \$217 million worth of expenditures which, in accounting terms, elevated his deficit last year and lowered it this year, so he says it increased only 44 per cent. In fact, by any generally accepted accounting method, that deficit increased by 163 per cent. In fact, the net cash requirements this year are over \$1.1 billion. Everyone recognizes that.

Hon. F. S. Miller: That is not right and the member knows it.

Mr. Peterson: That is absolutely true. The Treasurer's own officials will not deny that. If he denies it why does he not stand up in this House right now and deny it?

Hon. F. S. Miller: Mr. Speaker, I will deny it. I will deny it right now, because the member knows I also double-counted payments this year to the elderly of some \$200 billion so that the cash requirement is exactly, within a very few dollars, the proper amount for this year.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: The member for London Centre has the floor.

Mr. Peterson: That is not correct, and the Treasurer knows it is not correct. I will grant him that there was a double payment for political reasons, which we will discuss shortly, of some \$200 or so million because he wanted to get the cheques out this year. Let the honourable members ask him about his own motives for doing that. I will get to that further on in my speech when I will prove to him that it is the most inequitable thing in his entire program. It is a disgraceful program and he should be ashamed of it.

He wanted to get the cheques out and he wanted to get them out with his name on them, so he double-paid. But even without that double payment for property tax and senior citizens relief this year, there was a real increase in expenditures of 9.6 per cent. Look at the Dominion Securities Limited bulletin that came out last week, Mr. Speaker.

People can see through the Treasurer's cheap charade. Let me tell him, he is not that bright; his people are not that bright. We can see what he is doing.

In fact, this is not a restraint budget. This is not in form with the previous history, but deficits and restraints don't mean anything to the Treasurer. He takes a poll, he decides what he thinks the people of this province want, and then he reacts accordingly.

He used deficits and surpluses exclusively as a political device with no substance or long-term planning in them. As I said, Dominion Securities said in its bulletin last week that even if one discounts the double payment because of the property tax relief this year, in fact expenditures went up 9.6 per cent, not eight per cent as the Treasurer would have us believe.

Mr. Ashe: How much did they go up in Ottawa?

Mr. Peterson: If the member for Durham West would look at the books, although I don't expect he will understand, everyone will agree that our analysis of this situation is correct. I am surprised more people aren't up in arms about this particular distortion of the budgetary facts.

Again this year one of the largest increases in expenditure is to service the public debt. Interest on the public debt is now more than \$1.6 billion, close to 10 per cent of the total provincial budget. It is an increase of 14.7 per cent over last year, one of the largest increases in expenditure in the budget, and that will continue year after year after year as our children inherit this legacy. What that says, in simple terms, is something like \$4.4 million a day going to service the debt through interest payments on accumulated debts.

Over the last decade Ontario's funded debt increased 207 per cent, from \$5.3 billion to \$16.2 billion. On an annual basis, compared to the rate of inflation, the increases have been noteworthy. In 1972, inflation grew by 4.8 per cent, the funded debt by 19.5 per cent. In 1973, inflation was at 7.5 per cent and funded debt at 11.2 per cent; in 1974, 10.9 per cent versus 12 per cent; 1975, 10.8 per cent versus 25.2 per cent—one of the greatest distortions in the budgetary history of this province.

In 1976, 7.5 per cent versus 11 per cent; 1977, eight per cent versus 13.4 per cent; 1978, nine per cent versus 13.5 per cent. Finally, in 1979—perhaps in 1980 we will see a bit of a turn around—it was coupled with a 44 per cent increase, on the Treasurer's figures, in the net cash requirements—really a 163

per cent increase—and a 20 per cent increase in the budgetary deficit.

If you go back to Darcy McKeough and ask him about the chief cause of inflation in this country and in this province he will tell you it is government overspending. This government is one of the principal contributors to inflation in this country. I have no idea how the myth of the great economic managers was ever ascribed to this government. We are here and we are going to expose that myth. In the process of so-called managing and husbanding the resources of this province, this government has virtually stripped every available pension dollar with the exception of this year. I welcome the program to put the pension fund money into Ontario Hydro.

If you will look back, Mr. Speaker, over the last three or four years, we have advocated that vociferously and we have said that had that money not been available to spend the province probably wouldn't have spent it. Had that money gone into productive assets, into productive capital—and Ontario Hydro is one example—our industrial infrastructure would not be in the bad shape it is in today. We needed the investment and they spent it.

Fortunately, they are now starting to follow our point of view. We will look at it and monitor it daily. As I said, we don't believe this budget has come to grips with the fundamental issues in this province over the last decade. We in the Liberal Party have demonstrated that we are willing, indeed determined, to face those realities.

Last year at this time we released an industrial strategy for Ontario. Our proposal contained a comprehensive package of incentives and programs to encourage the growth of the manufacturing sector. We realize Ontario's problems are complex and their solutions cannot be ad hoc or disjointed, but they must form a complete and wide-ranging plan or strategy.

We realize the government can no longer afford to play a passive role, watching from the sidelines. Government must get involved, must assist the private sector, must intervene directly to help create jobs, to allocate scarce resources selectively to those sectors with the greatest potential to contribute for the benefit of all Ontarians. We are prepared to make those decisions.

3:40 p.m.

I know my Socialist friends to the left are jumping up with great excitement at that. I want to say at the beginning I am no great fan of government, but I also recognize the realities of today. I am not one of those who

runs around and advocates government involvement just for the fun of it, as my friends to the left in the NDP would do. That is a matter of principle to them; the results are less important than the fact government is involved.

Let me say that I have had a little bit of experience in other countries. I know the extent of state involvement in Japan. I know the extent of state involvement in some of our competitive trading partners today. Today our competition is coming from Düsseldorf, from Seoul in Korea, from Osaka and all over the world. If we sit here naively thinking government doesn't have to be involved, I can say we don't understand the realities of the international marketplace.

I would suggest to my old friend there, Rip Van Miller, to get the dust out of his eyes and look at it. He has to get going.

Hon. F. S. Miller: Why didn't you complain about the Employment Development Fund?

Mr. Peterson: I will get to that in a moment, because political slush funds aren't the solution to this kind of problem.

For my more right-wing friends, let me just quote Rowland Frazee, the chief executive officer of the Royal Bank, who, interestingly enough, has made some interesting speeches on the subject. He said: "I'm not scared of an industrial strategy. We in the Royal Bank do strategic planning. Why shouldn't the government do strategic planning?" I guess it has been a matter of philosophical purity with this government over the past not to admit that a plan is required and that everybody in today's complicated, complex and modern world must do some planning. Government has to get involved. We think there are responsible ways to do it and cheap ways to do it which will give maximum results.

I want to talk about the program in the budget on increased assistance to senior citizens. That is something we in principle in this party are very much in favour of, but we are not in favour of it in the way this government has chosen to do it. In essence, they want to give more to the rich at the expense of the poor. The Treasurer is no Robin Hood; he is the Sheriff of Nottingham.

The Treasurer himself in his budget paper admits that 135,000 tax credit claimants will receive less under his new scheme. He also claims that many of these will have their losses counterbalanced by an increase in Gains payments. What he didn't mention is that Gains is available only to those pensioners with incomes under \$5,000, or well under half the pensioners in Ontario.

I would like to read into the record some concrete examples of how this program will actually work, especially for those most in need. Let us take the case of single pensioners with incomes of about \$6,000—and remember that means they are not eligible for Gains—who are perhaps fortunate to be living with relatives or maybe living alone at a very cheap rent. They claim no property tax credit and, therefore, would not be eligible for a grant. I am talking only about that example where there is no property tax credit.

Under the old system, those pensioners would have received no property tax credit, a sales tax credit of \$43.10 and a pensioner tax credit of \$110 for a total of \$153.10. Under the Treasurer's new system, they will receive no property tax grant and a sales tax grant of \$50. These old people will receive over \$100 less under the Treasurer's marvelous new plan. Any pensioner who pays no property tax and moderate rent or no rent will lose the pensioner tax credit without gaining any benefits from the enriched—for some—property tax grant.

To take another example, pensioners with incomes over \$5,000 and under about \$8,000 who rent rooms for, say, \$75 per month, under the old scheme they would have received a property tax credit of \$198, a sales tax credit of \$43.10 and a pensioner tax credit of \$110 for a total of \$351.10. Now they will get a property tax grant of \$180 and a sales tax grant of \$50 for a total of \$230. These pensioners, on their own with few resources, will receive \$121 less from the government of Ontario, but they will receive it by way of a cheque from the Treasurer or from the Premier. Ask them if that compensates for the loss of the assistance they require?

Mr. Ashe: What a ridiculously narrow example.

Mr. Peterson: It is a real example. At \$100 a month rent, pensioners will lose \$67. In fact, any pensioner with a low gross income paying less than \$131 a month rent loses under this plan.

What about the case of pensioners earning between \$5,100 and \$8,000? This represents probably close to 200,000 pensioners who pay the average for pensioners of \$574 in property taxes. Under the old system they received a property tax credit of \$237.40, a sales tax credit of \$43.10, a pensioner tax credit of \$110, for a total of \$390.50. Now they will receive a property tax grant of \$500 and a sales tax grant of \$50, for a total of \$550. They benefit from this plan, but let's

see how much they benefit as compared to their wealthier counterparts.

These pensioners, also paying an average of \$574 in property taxes, but with incomes of over \$20,000 a year, like the Treasurer and his friends, also benefit. They receive an additional \$451, while the poorer beneficiaries receive a paltry \$159 more. What kind of priority is this, that those who need it the least get the most? I would wager that many of those who receive the greatest benefit would be the first to declare that this scheme is wrong and it is their less-well-off fellows who should be on the receiving end.

If we look at how the distribution of additional funds under this new plan breaks down, we will see that out of the additional \$75 million, the 353,000 pensioner tax filers earning less than \$5,000 share some \$3.8 million of the increase, or five per cent of the increase. The 212,000 pensioner tax filers earning between \$5,000 and \$10,000 share another \$10.1 million. Those 101,000 pensioners with incomes between \$10,000 and \$15,000 share \$16.7 million, or 22.3 per cent of the increase. The 48,000 pensioners with incomes between \$15,000 and \$20,000 share \$13.9 million, or 18.5 per cent of the increase and, incredibly, hear this, those 70,000 pensioner tax filers earning over \$20,000 get \$31 million more, or 41 per cent of the additional funds for their use. This is a shameful transfer, from the poor to the rich.

Mr. Kerrio: Those are not isolated cases.

Mr. Peterson: Those are real cases. Those are broken down by block. I challenge the Treasurer to respond to this, and we will have more words when this legislation is introduced. In sum, 85 per cent of the Ontario pensioner tax filers—those with incomes under \$15,000—get \$31 million more of the increase, while the nine per cent who earn more than \$20,000 share the same amount, \$31 million.

This government has clearly not decided in favour of the principle of equity, although when he was campaigning for re-election three years ago the Premier talked about it. At that time he said, "The government is committed over the next three years to enriching the Ontario property tax relief system so that all but the most wealthy pensioners have all their property taxes reduced, no matter where they live in the province." Three years later the most wealthy pensioners have their property taxes reduced the most.

The chart contained in the budget paper tells the story: For those with incomes of \$5,000 per year or less, the new grant system provides increased assistance of five per cent

toward payment of their total property taxes. For those with incomes of more than \$20,000 per year, the new grant scheme provides increased assistance of 1,000 per cent towards payment of the total property taxes of this group.

We believe this scheme is unjust, inequitable and, quite simply, wrong. It should be amended to ensure that at the very least no pensioner in Ontario receives less under the new scheme than he or she received under the old system.

It is also worth remembering what this new assistance plan is really all about. It is politics. The Premier and the Treasurer want to be able to send out their cheques twice a year to the pensioners in Ontario with their names on them, and for this the most needy of our old people will receive less benefit.

The Treasurer, under persistent questioning, finally admitted that this new scheme is going to cost more to administer than the existing tax credit plan which is administered by the federal government. There is no limit to the moves this government is prepared to make to stay in power.

3:50 p.m.

I want to turn to another group that in my judgement is seriously in need of assistance and has been neglected by the government's budget, and that is the young people of this province. In fact, nothing of substance is proposed for the 340,000 people currently unemployed in the province.

In March, the unemployment rate in Ontario was almost eight per cent. Forty-six per cent, or 157,000, of the unemployed are young people under age 25. Equally appalling, the number of unemployed in their peak earning years, from 25 to 54, who are often the sole support of their families, was almost as high, 155,000, for almost another 46 per cent of Ontario's unemployed. Yet for the fourth consecutive year, acknowledging that the unemployment rate is expected to rise in Ontario this year by almost 11 per cent, this government has not introduced even one permanent job creation proposal.

The Treasurer expects the labour force to grow by 92,000, yet predicts employment growth of only 59,000, meaning at least an additional 33,000 people will be added to the number of unemployed in this province, without considering layoffs and permanent job losses. That is optimistic, according to the Conference Board in Canada, which forecasts employment growth of almost 20,000 less than the Treasurer—only 40,000 jobs for Ontario in 1980.

Direct job creation programs are essentially and desperately called for and we have ideas how to do it. The do-nothing attitude is simply not an acceptable response to the continuing, record-high unemployment levels.

Youth unemployment is now at the highest level we have experienced in this province since the Depression. The 157,000 unemployed young people in March represent an increase of 23 per cent over last month alone, yet the government is proposing to spend a total of \$1.7 million less this year than it was prepared to spend last year for youth employment programs.

This brings up another astonishing point. How is it possible for the government to underspend its budget for youth employment programs by \$2 million last year when 147,000 young people were unemployed in July 1979? If the private sector didn't take up the programs fully, surely it was the government's responsibility to fill the gap, rather than let our young people go without work?

The government's approach to the critical problem of youth unemployment is both heartless and cavalier. The implications of a generation beginning their working careers with the experience of being unable to find a job bodes very poorly for the future. This problem demands and deserves a real solution.

One way to alleviate the problem is to implement meaningful apprenticeship programs. It is incredible to me that we have been importing skilled workers into Ontario for decades to fill shortages we knew existed and would exist in the future when we have hundreds of thousands of unemployed people in this province who could be trained to fill those jobs. Indeed, industry cannot attract enough workers to Canada and is desperately short of skilled manpower. This government's response has been to talk about apprenticeship programs, but that is virtually all that has happened over many long years—talk.

This year the throne speech once again states: "Proper manpower development and deployment will be of utmost importance as one of the cornerstones of a healthy and growing economy in the 1980s. The key area of focus will be to produce sufficient numbers of skilled personnel from within our own work force to meet the needs of the Ontario economy." The budget devotes a whole paragraph to the same theme.

Since 1963, about the time the member for Brampton became Minister of Education, at least half a dozen government reports have strongly recommended expansion of alternatives to formal institutionalized educational training. They have recommended en-

hanced apprenticeship programs. This year, after some 17 years of study, we get more talk when more action is what is needed. Action is long overdue.

As far back as the 1977 election, the Ontario Liberal Party came forward with a proposal for an improved and expanded apprenticeship program. More recently, in our industrial strategy paper we extended our programs to provide jobs for skilled workers and skilled workers for available jobs. In the light of government inaction it is appropriate that, in brief, I reiterate our position now.

We believe the education system and guidance facilities must be brought into line with current labour market reality. Our schools have failed to teach the skills and technology necessary to succeed in an economically lagging province. We must start being honest with the young Ontarians about the bleak job prospects in many areas. They must not be misled into believing that higher education automatically guarantees higher paying work. The traditional jobs just aren't there any more.

We believe all students wishing to take specific courses must be made aware at the outset of their prospects of finding employment in the career they have chosen. Enrolment must be encouraged in areas where there is an identified shortage and severely limited in areas where there is a surplus of qualified people.

If this country and this province are to survive and prosper, we desperately need to benefit from the talents and skills of all our people. We cannot risk losing great numbers of Ontarians to other provinces and other countries because there are no career opportunities at home.

A proposed apprenticeship program is one way of increasing our skilled labour force and preventing a brain and talent drain out of this province. Thoughtful people are very concerned about this, because if the economy turns up again, and we all hope it does, we will not have the skilled people upon whom to build the economy of the future. We cannot just crank up again when we are losing our skilled people to other jurisdictions. Given the net migration figures out of this province that has to be a very serious concern.

Another way of preventing such a drain of our human resources is through imaginative employment programs. In our industrial strategy paper, we endorsed the experimental Employment Opportunities and Product Development program which was launched by the federal government in January 1978. The program expired in September 1978, but the results have convinced us that, if reintroduced

by the federal government, the government of Ontario should participate directly in the program to increase funding and provide more jobs. This one program created 1,366 jobs in 770 companies.

Some of the results of that program are these: 49 per cent of the participating companies were small businesses with fewer than 20 employees; 42 per cent of the jobs created were in product design and development, something we desperately need here; 25 per cent of employers said the jobs created under the EOPD would be permanent; 17 per cent anticipated employment duration of between six and 12 months; 70 per cent of the participating firms were involved in manufacturing.

Many companies stated the program had enabled them to develop new products more quickly, penetrate new markets and increase sales volume. Many companies felt the program had improved business so that they were able to hire other new workers on their own account. The delivery of the program was widely perceived as rapid and effective with a minimum of paper work and red tape. Fifty-four per cent of the jobs were created in Ontario.

This program fulfilled a number of important objectives that we strongly believe in. It created jobs for skilled young people, stimulated research, development and design, and was particularly beneficial to the small business and manufacturing sectors. It is the kind of creative employment program Ontario has badly needed for years but which the present government has never offered nor ever had the vision to see.

Something else suggested by my leader in the House some weeks ago is that we should assist the transition of auto workers, who are in trouble today, to work in the fighter aircraft industry. We need active involvement and we cannot sit back and say the state has no role. The state has a very definite role. We should be moving on that right now.

The Premier's only response when asked was, "Well, it's not a new idea." In many respects, there are not all that many new ideas, but there are a lot of good old ideas the government has passed up. If that is a good one, they should be working on it immediately.

Another area related to skills training which received only two paragraphs of consideration in the budget is that of research and development. The Treasurer claims the measure he proposed—an extension of the retail sales tax exemption for machinery and equipment to manufacturers in research activities—“will reinforce the province's commitment to expand the amount of research and

development undertaken in Ontario.” I would like to point out that the government's commitment to research and development in this province amounts to 0.018 per cent of this year's budgetary expenditure. There are very few observers anywhere who do not bemoan the fact that we are one of the least technologically oriented advanced economies in the world. It is a major disgrace and it has to be a major priority for this government.

The government program was a pittance. The budget contains no measures other than the usual plea for federal government action: no incentives, no assistance to replace antiquated equipment in university or private research labs, no stimulus to small business and other industries to expand their existing research and development efforts or start up new activities. That tells us about this government's commitment to research and development.

Let us not forget that we are most vulnerable in this province. We in the Ontario Liberal Party made our commitment to research and development clear in our small business paper three years ago. We expanded that commitment in our industrial strategy paper last year. Rather than simply asking the federal government to take steps, we are prepared to implement additional measures, especially for the small business sector.

4 p.m.

If the Treasurer wants to create a nursery for capitalists, I can tell him he has gone about it the wrong way. This is the single most important area where he should be putting his focus.

However, in order to avoid the confusion inherent in having different incentive packages offered by the two levels of government, we have made our proposals complementary to the federal measures already in place. We believe the federal measures do not adequately address the problem of maintaining existing R and D programs as opposed to expanding or initiating new R and D programs.

The 100 per cent write-off for all R and D expenses is really no better for current expenditures and only marginally better for capital expenditures than that offered as a general business expense for other manufacturing investments. The Ontario Liberal Party therefore proposed that Ontario offer an additional 50 per cent deduction, bringing the total deduction against provincial corporation tax payable to 150 per cent for R-and-D-related expenses.

We realize that federal measures are required to make such initiatives really meaningful, since additional deductions against federal taxes are worth far more than further deductions against the provincial corporation tax. We hope the federal government would join in the scheme. However, if it did not, we are prepared to go without it. This deduction would apply to all firms operating in Ontario, but in order to be eligible, foreign-based multinationals would have to guarantee that the product of the R and D would be developed in Canada rather than exported and developed and marketed elsewhere.

We know small businesses face unique cash-flow problems. They often suffer acute cash-flow problems and may not generate taxable income in the years they undertake R and D expenditures. A grant in the year of expenditure—rather than an unutilized deduction that would be afforded a carry-forward provision—is necessary. Besides, a business deduction discriminates against small companies because their marginal tax rates are lower. In sum, many small businesses do not generate any taxable income and therefore need cash, not credit. They are simply unable to take advantage of the federal credit to the full amount because they do not pay taxes.

Small businesses earning a profit receive a rebate from the federal government of up to 25 per cent of their R and D expenses. Those earning no profit receive nothing. The Ontario Liberal Party proposes that the province of Ontario issue a cash rebate equivalent to 15 per cent of R and D expenditures to Canadian controlled small businesses in Ontario. Any money received via the federal credit will be deducted from the provincial grant. The proposal would be an immediate, tangible and effective incentive to small businesses to undertake and continue research and development in this province.

The credit will cover all R-and-D-related costs, including personnel, materials and outside fees. The cost to the provincial Treasury would be partially offset by an increase in corporate taxes, not only from the firms receiving grants but also from other firms as a multiplier effect of R and D is felt throughout the economy. We believe that all tax incentives for R and D must remain in place for at least 10 years in order to provide firms with enough certainty and security to be effective.

This time frame is also important because R and D can be a long process from startup

to product completion. The risk of failure exists throughout. Years of investment and development do not guarantee a marketable product and even successful projects may take years before they generate any real return on investment. It is essential, therefore, that tax incentives be co-ordinated between both levels of government and within government departments. What is given by one should not be taken away by the other.

That is our party's commitment to R and D in Ontario. I say to the government and I say to the Treasurer, there is an urgency here that he has not recognized. He must move quickly. There is an integrated program for his consideration. He should have moved three years ago; he could move tomorrow if he had the imagination.

I want to talk about energy briefly. We have dealt with the energy problem in this province at great length in the last three budget responses because, as the House knows, it is one of the single most important issues facing this province. We are the highest per capita consumers of energy. We are energy consumptive and energy poor; we are importing about 80 per cent of our energy. Energy conservation rated two paragraphs in this year's budget, one of which told us of the retail sales tax measures already in effect, and the other explained that the government's enhanced commitment will represent 0.08 per cent of this year's budgetary expenditure. It was more than research and development got, but not by much.

As the honourable members will recall, there will be the removal of sales tax on weather stripping, caulking materials and chillers.

Among the government's proposals is one to remove the sales tax on cars that run on nonpetroleum-based fuels, none of which is available for sale in Ontario. By way of contrast, in February, my colleague, the member for Halton-Burlington (Mr. J. Reed), who is the expert in this House on these kinds of issues, despaired at the lack of imagination.

We have submitted more comprehensive proposals for energy conservation and for alternative forms of energy than they have ever seen. Were we in power, this province would be moving very quickly.

We proposed a comprehensive plan to develop a fuel alcohol industry in Ontario, based on methanol. Methanol can be produced in Ontario from wood, municipal garbage, the Treasurer's speeches, farm crops, all of which are renewable, and from lignite and

peat. A gradual conversion to 100 per cent methanol use in fuelling automobiles would reduce our oil consumption by a full 35 per cent. We have the resources to do it.

In fact, if the commitment to develop and distribute methanol were made today, we could make gasoline totally unnecessary as a transportation fuel by the turn of the century.

Our proposal is made even more attractive by the fact that even our wood requirements for methanol would be reduced by as much as 60 per cent if hydrogen were applied as a feedstock to the production process. Hydrogen would be produced on-site by the electrolysis of water—an Ontario designed technology, using Ontario Hydro's own off-peak or surplus power capacity.

The economic side effects of large-scale conversion to methanol are significant. We estimate that each commercial-sized plant would produce more than 2,000 new jobs, both directly and indirectly. Even a modest methanol production program of 13 plants could produce more than 20,000 jobs and almost \$300 million in salaries which would be spent and taxed in Ontario.

The effect on the environment of this clean-burning fuel is enormous, as are the benefits of using our municipal waste in the process and replenishing our forests. We believe Ontario should consider a methanol development program to replace all gasoline use in the province. The program would involve joint federal-provincial funding to build at least one commercial-scale wood residue methanol plant in Ontario and 10 small-scale municipal waste plants.

Under such a program, discussions would begin immediately with the automotive industry to effect the necessary design changes in car engines for use in Ontario after 1985, so they can be compatible with both methanol and gasoline fuels. We continue to believe there is no valid reason why methanol cannot be phased into wide use in Ontario within the decade.

It's time the government stopped tinkering and moved to implement a comprehensive and serious energy conservation policy, including the development of alternative plans. This is a particular case for bold and imaginative thrusts. Again, the government is wanting.

I want to speak briefly about the farming and tourism sectors, both of which are suffering from very high interest rates and from down-turns in our economy. It would have been less insulting if the Treasurer had done nothing, rather than offer them the token gestures he has included in his budget.

What he says in his budget is, "The economic health of Ontario's farmers is always a matter of high priority with the government." It is noteworthy that the agricultural budget of this government has been decreasing consistently as a percentage of total budgetary expenditures, and is now one of the lowest in all of Canada.

In 1977-78, the budget of the Ministry of Agriculture and Food represented 1.3 per cent of the total budgetary expenditures. In 1978-79, it decreased to 1.25 per cent. In 1979-80, it went down further, to 1.05 per cent. In fact, last year's actual expenditure was down by \$17 million from the proposed budget. They are not even spending what they are allocated. That would go a long way right now to help the interest rate problems suffered by some of the farmers and alleviate some of the hardships felt on a daily basis, not in the middle of next month, but now.

The budget projection for this year is about one per cent of the total budgetary expenditures. Coupled with no concrete measures on interest rates, it is clear that the government expects farmers to fend for themselves.

This budget, like this government, takes an ad hoc, hit-and-miss view of our problems and our potential. It is the budget of a government bereft of ideas, of imagination, of incentives, of good sound leadership, and it is bereft of good management. It is the budget of a government whose only priority is to retain power. In a time of great economic and consequent social uncertainty and change, it is very disturbing that the government would let all of these matters lie fallow.

4:10 p.m.

We in the official opposition have proved that our approach is different. As the opposition of this province—and I point out to my friends on the left, the only opposition in this province—we have produced more solid, comprehensive policy positions in the last three years than this government has done in a decade. That is something I am incredibly proud of. There is not an issue this party has not put its resources behind, the brains in this party and a lot of help from a lot of outsiders to produce comprehensive policies. We have yet to know what the NDP thinks about anything.

Nothing new has been done by them in the last 10 years. We are not afraid to stand on anything we have done in the party in the last 10 years. We are proud of it. We are

prepared to go to the people tomorrow with the programs, with the vision and with the views we have shared with the people of this province.

We introduced a comprehensive small business policy three years ago. We introduced a policy on tourism. We have introduced a policy on education which the government stole—and that is their prerogative. Steal some more of them. They are wonderful programs.

Mr. S. Smith: They did with small business.

Mr. Peterson: They steal them all. That, of course, is one of the problems of being in opposition, but we don't mind because we will continue to think of them.

Recently, we developed a serious proposal on interest rates. This is a major omission from the budget this year. It is the major issue of the day, bar none. I am talking about today, I am talking about next week and I am talking about the week after that. We all share the view, I think, that this problem will hopefully go away. Most economists tell us it will start to disappear later on this fall and in the next year, but that is not good enough because there are real, serious and immediate problems. This government cannot continue to deny responsibility for this issue and push it on to the federal government.

I would agree with the Treasurer that national initiatives would be best, but in the absence of federal programs to alleviate this critical and immediate problem this government must accept the responsibility and act. A discussion paper to review the alternatives and analyse national policy alternatives is just not adequate.

If this government does not consider itself responsible for home owners, small businessmen and farmers in this province then for whom is it responsible? We will be discussing the government's abdication of its responsibility in this area much more fully when we debate our want of confidence motion on Thursday night. I don't want to be repetitive, so I will keep the majority of my remarks on this very critical issue for next Thursday night. It will be very interesting to see what our friends from the NDP have to say next Thursday night when they will bemoan the state of the economy, when they will scream and yell about the sorry state of home owners, small businessmen and farmers in this province, but then when it comes down to the crunch they will all line up and say, "Aye me, Aye me, sir," and vote with the govern-

ment. This is too critical for them not to act on at this moment.

We in the Ontario Liberal Party believe the current record high levels of interest rates constitute an emergency situation. It is our view that immediate action must be taken to remedy the crisis. Certain segments of our society facing mortgage renewals in the 1980s and small businessmen and farmers facing bankruptcy must be assisted through this potentially disastrous period. We have proposed a short-term interest rate program specifically designed to provide immediate assistance to those most in need. Our program would be retroactive to April 1 and would last to December 31, 1980.

I can only continue to try to impress upon this government the urgency of this critical problem. In my own area of southwestern Ontario business bankruptcies in February of this year increased by 46.3 per cent over the level in February a year ago. For the province as a whole, including the poorer eastern and northern regions, business bankruptcies in February rose by an incredible 52.2 per cent to 242 bankruptcies over the same month in 1979.

The damage a situation like this can do to the viability of our small business sector is devastating and has serious implications for the future health of this vital segment of our economy. It is these small businesses that are being hit the hardest. They are usually Canadian owned companies and it is to them we must look if we are trying to regain control of our economy and build a strong domestic industrial base. If we cannot ensure their future prosperity we will not be able to ensure our own.

We in our party believe very strongly in the importance of this sector and our industrial strategy paper proves that commitment. We believe foreign domination of our industry, particularly in the manufacturing sector, is one of the main causes for what the Science Council of Canada sees as the "sluggish industrial development, perhaps even the deindustrialization of Canadian society."

Much of Canada's manufacturing is concentrated in Ontario and much of the control of this sector is concentrated in the hands of foreign multinational corporations through branch plants established in Canada in order to overcome tariff barriers to goods entering this country. Designed to serve the domestic market, branch plants frequently discourage the emergence of Canadian owned firms in the same industry. The

essential problem of a branch plant economy such as ours is that we cannot control it and the economic objectives of the multinational corporations seldom coincide with those of Canada or those of Ontario.

Foreign multinational corporations are not interested in the development of Canadian markets overseas, in making Canadian industry more efficient and globally competitive. This would be a direct contradiction of the purpose for which a branch plant was established in the first place.

Perhaps more importantly, a branch plant economy and a branch plant mentality perpetrated by that government entails low levels of research and development undertaken by subsidiaries in Ontario. Canada spends far less on research and development—we have dealt with this earlier—and it is far more dependent on foreign sources than most of the industrialized countries in the western world. Largely as a consequence of this low level of spending, the development of entrepreneurial skills and expertise is inhibited. For the multinational it is more economical to develop technology at home and to export knowhow and professional managers to its Ontario subsidiary.

This may initially appear to have some advantages for us in terms of receiving a ready-made package and therefore not needing to invest in such development ourselves. However, in the long run this process serves to increase our dependence, for we have neither the base nor the expertise to build on. Because technology is supplied directly to the subsidiary we may ultimately receive no usable benefit at all.

Industrial research has been largely marginal, rather than innovative of basic work. This has wide repercussions for our international position, the lack of indigenous, innovative industrial research and technological development in this country, especially in this province, has placed us at a distinct disadvantage in terms of global competition.

Another consequence of the small amount of research and development has been the emigration to the United States of Canadian-born engineers, scientists and technical people. It is a circular problem, a vicious circle. It is the lack of ongoing research work that eventually compels Canadians to seek better opportunities elsewhere, yet we need those experts to rectify the problem.

It is evident that Ontario's industrial structure must be strengthened and that time is very much of the essence. Independent, Canadian owned and controlled industries must be encouraged, developed and sup-

ported to the full extent of the resources available to us. It is these industries that will make the economic decisions which will best serve our interests.

The government has begun to talk about the importance of Canadian owned and controlled businesses in our economy and even has begun to make small, token gestures in that direction. However, at the same time it has continued to make an even larger real gesture to foreign companies, urging them to come to Ontario and take what they can.

I want to show members an ad that appeared in the Dallas Morning News on Friday, April 11, 1980. It said: "Where in the world is Ontario? Where in the world was the telephone invented, insulin and the electron microscope? Where was Pablum invented?" This Treasurer invented Pablum in his budget of last Tuesday night.

Then it goes on to say: "You can make money in Ontario, you can make money with Ontario. What's more, you can bring that money home safe and sound." Of course we know the effects of that, later in the year, in the fourth quarter when we start shipping moneys across the border—the royalties, dividends and all the money in the services account. We see the Canadian dollar take another dive, one manifestation of the ill effects of a foreign owned economy.

4:20 p.m.

It is the same old thesis: run around the world cap in hand trying to buy off the problem for another few years. But no matter what we do, the extension of that policy is wrong. Granted we aren't going to rectify that tomorrow, and granted there is still a place for foreign investment, but as a principal emphasis for this government it is completely wrong, because all we are doing is further selling out the heritage of our children.

If one thinks we have problems today with mounting debt, with the energy problem, let me say the problem of our foreign owned economy is going to be much more serious 10 and 20 years from now. Their approaches are short term and superficial. Their emphasis is on the wrong place.

Perhaps this is the clearest indication that this government has really decided the old ways are the best ways, which are the ways they know best, and they want to continue encouraging this branch plant economy.

The publication earlier this year of a book called *The Profit Centre*, is the slickest and most expensive campaign we have seen in this province to date to attract foreign ownership. The government spent

\$138,750 printing 15,000 copies of this item at \$9.25 each to give away to prospective investors. It is a handsome book and it promises to assist the foreign investors in getting around the law. It promises to assist them in getting their money out of the province. Never once, does it mention the kinds of real commitment we need to this province in the manufacturing sector in order to make it grow. It says that in five years of operation the Foreign Investment Review Agency has allowed 92 per cent of all applications and if they have trouble the government will help them.

Another great program is the creation of the Employment Development Fund last year. It is further evidence of the government's priorities. In last year's budget, \$200 million was set aside to assist large corporations, most of which are doing very well. They are going to do even better. This year, less proud of his program, the Treasurer sort of buried it in his budget and quietly mentioned he is adding another \$125 million to his fund.

I will ask you, Mr. Speaker, because the Treasurer doesn't understand it, to check that budget. He doesn't chalk that up as a current expenditure, he chalks it up as a capital investment. That is one of the most ridiculous accounting principles I have heard of. If you talk about the creative accounting methods of this government, you have never in your life—and I know you personally have a great deal of experience with this—seen a government better able to masquerade the truth than this government.

It is noteworthy by way of comparison that small business got a grand total of \$4 million last year through the small business development corporations and is projected to get no more than \$10 million this year. It should also be mentioned that in dollar terms 45 per cent of the Employment Development Fund grants went to foreign owned corporations. Just look at some of the firms the government felt needed its assistance to expand in Ontario: Dominion Twist Drill, a US company with a 1979 profit of \$189 million, received a grant of \$450,000. Hayes-Dana Incorporated, another US firm which was able to increase its dividend last June to 48 cents a share—surely at least some measure of a prosperous operation—just received a grant of \$1.5 million. Westinghouse Canada Incorporated, also based in the US, increased its dividend from 50 cents to 62.5 cents in December, recorded a profit of \$26 million and received a grant of \$1.6 million from the government of Ontario.

Of the Canadian firms receiving money, the largest amount went to the pulp and paper firms. These companies refused to clean up and modernize their operation without government assistance despite the fact that all of them had healthy profits last year. Some even threatened to close down their operations altogether, so this government obliged them. Rather than standing firm, using the power it has, and it has a lot of power—who controls the timber rights and the cutting rights in this province?—rather than insist the companies comply with the pollution regulations and the laws of this province, the government backed down and let the industry walk all over it.

The E.B. Eddy Company received a grant of \$16.6 million from Ontario, even though its 1979 profit was \$77 million. During the year ending December 31, 1979, its net income rose by 30 per cent and in January this year dividends rose from 26 cents to 31 cents. Domtar received \$10.5 million in grants while recording a 1979 profit of \$98 million and a year-end increase in net income of 55 per cent.

Great Lakes Forest Products Limited, a subsidiary of Canadian Pacific, got \$25.3 million while recording a profit of \$50 million and after announcing, a year ago, a dividend increase to \$1 per share.

Finally, Abitibi-Price Incorporated received a grant of \$15 million after having a profit of \$115 million in 1979 and after announcing that in the nine months ending September 1979 its net income rose by 51 per cent. They also managed a dividend increase from 35 cents to 40 cents. After receiving the grant, Abitibi-Price announced an agreement to buy \$20 million worth of paper machinery in Finland.

We are giving huge amounts of money to firms which are profitable, which have made a habit of polluting our environment and which spend our money on foreign products. On top of all this, these grants to the pulp and paper polluters are going to pay for the loss of 600 to 800 jobs.

We have suggested before that the EDF would be more aptly named the unemployment development fund or, if you want to keep the initials, the employment depletion fund.

Hon. F. S. Miller: The member should give that speech in Iroquois Falls.

Mr. Peterson: I'll give it in Iroquois Falls. I am not like you. I don't have different speeches wherever I go.

The government has steadfastly refused to make public the contracts with any firms

receiving EDF money. Apparently the contracts contain details about the number of jobs to be created—or in some cases lost—job training commitments and capital investment intentions. We believe each contract should contain commitments by the firm receiving government assistance with regard to research and development here in Ontario, exports from Ontario, the number of skilled jobs to be created, procurement of parts and components and machinery in Canada, subcontracting and reinvestment of those profits here in Canada.

One of the offshoots of what the Treasurer has done is he has turned every corporate manager into a beggar. He has rewritten the handbook on free enterprise, and no corporate manager worth his salt today can go back to his board of directors if he has not come begging to the Treasurer and his little discretionary committee that makes these decisions.

The Treasurer has helped to corrupt the so-called ethic of free enterprise, which presumably his party has stood for over the years, more than anyone. It is a distortion of that system, and when that money runs out they will not have any more friends. It is like the poor old lady at Hallowe'en; when the candy runs out the kids do not come any more. That is what is going to happen here.

Mr. Haggerty: That's a good analogy.

Mr. Peterson: I just thought of it. It was quite good, wasn't it?

Mr. Haggerty: Very creative.

Mr. Peterson: One positive, constructive way of encouraging Canadian companies to grow and prosper is through a government procurement policy. This government is content to give Canadian business a meagre 10 per cent preference, an amount any medium-sized foreign firm can easily afford to underbid, especially since the preference often only applies to a component of a product. We in the Liberal Party believe that meaningful procurement policies are essential. We believe that a captive domestic market is crucial as a base upon which domestic firms can build and become strong and large enough to expand internationally. The only way to guarantee this domestic market is through procurement policies.

In our industrial strategy paper we proposed that a Liberal government in Ontario would undertake all of its purchasing, wherever possible and reasonable, from Canadian controlled firms or from foreign controlled firms which comply with the code of corporate behaviour which we developed. Those firms would receive preferential treatment as

to the price vis-à-vis imports and noncomplying foreign firms. This preference could extend to as much as 40 per cent in some cases.

Our primary objective is to support Canadian manufacturing firms. To this end, qualifying firms would have to obtain a certificate from the government stating that at least half of the value of their product is added in Canada. This purchasing policy would extend to all the arms of government, to Ontario Hydro, the hospitals, the colleges and universities.

We would never let a situation arise like the one that occurred last spring when a small Canadian company, Canadian Applied Technology—you will recall this, Mr. Speaker, because it was a matter of some discussion in this House—lost a Ministry of the Environment contract even though the president was told his system was adequate to do the job, his bid was the lowest and his bid had the highest Canadian content; 82 per cent versus 32 per cent for the winning bid by a firm based in Texas.

The ministry's technical evaluation committee managed to get to Texas to evaluate that proposal, but it could not make it to Buttonville, just north of Toronto, to assess the Canadian proposal on site. How they love to travel!

4:30 p.m.

The minister's letter to Canadian Applied Technology, which explained its rejection, was written only after pressure in the House and was full of such terms as, "there was some doubt," or, "we did not feel"—hardly objective terms for rejecting a Canadian contract bid. It was not as if this company's work was unknown; it had previously successfully completed several contracts for the same ministry.

While this government talks up a storm about buying Canadian, its actions demonstrate the reality: This government simply didn't have enough confidence in this firm to support it over a big American competitor, even though it had proved itself in the past and it was judged more than adequate to do the job. If we don't support our own companies, how can we ever expect others to? The government here has a very important lead role to play.

The Ontario Liberal Party has been trying for two and a half years to get this government to accept the Small Business Act or introduce its own. We believe small business in Ontario deserves our legislative support and commitment. We also believe that before we can take seriously either this government's commitment to buy Canadian or its alleged

commitment to small business, it must begin to differentiate in its own purchasing between Canadian owned and operated businesses and subsidiaries of foreign multinationals. Let me tell you, Mr. Speaker, other governments around the world do it; why do we have to be so generous?

Our Small Business Act has a definition which provides for such differentiation. Our act also establishes a standing committee of the Legislature to look into and report on all matters relating to small business. The fiasco of Canadian Applied Technology's rejected bid would never have happened had our act been in place.

The House is familiar with another giveaway this year, on a smaller scale than the Employment Development Fund but with the same remarkable lack of soundness and logic and that was the sales tax rebate on automobiles. The Treasurer allocated some \$15 million for this program and ultimately ended up spending something like \$8 million or \$9 million to assist car dealers to clean up their 1979 car inventory during the month of February. Frankly, no one in the House, be it in this party, my Socialist friends to the left, or even in the Treasurer's own party, could understand that program.

He explained that he was jogging around Queen's Park and his brains were rattled and he came back and presented this program to his officials and made them implement it. Of course, there are other explanations. One is that he is a used-car dealer by training, by persuasion and by predisposition. It proves you can take the chap out of the used-car lot, but you can't take the used-car lot out of the chap. I don't know what the explanation is. Perhaps my leader, who has certain training in analysing these kinds of things, can be of assistance.

Mr. S. Smith: It is beyond me, I am afraid.

Mr. Peterson: It is beyond him. The Treasurer is beyond help. We should commit him to an institution and leave him there. In reality, what he did was punish the efficient car dealers who had already sold their 1979 inventory without his help. They were faced with cancellation of their 1980-model car orders from customers who wanted to take advantage of the rebate. It was the inefficient dealers who reaped the benefits. They were saved from having to lower their prices to get rid of their 1979 inventory. For a man who professes to believe in market forces, his scheme was the most misguided interference in the marketplace and represents a gross misuse of public funds, a terrible misuse of public funds.

It was not only wrong in principle, it was implemented without proper controls, so it was easy to find cases of abuse. Some dealers took advantage of the rebate scheme to raise their prices on particular cars, after the plan came into effect, and reap a windfall. Others imported cars from across the border and took advantage of the program. What progress was made in monitoring these abuses and seeing that remedial action was taken? There was none.

What were the real results of this foolhardy scheme? The Treasurer reports that more eight-cylinder cars than usual were sold. That means the government was using public funds either to subsidize buyers who wanted to purchase gas guzzlers or to subsidize car dealers to get rid of these white elephants. In either case, it seems to me there were other industries suffering from an unusually mild winter who had a far greater inventory problem and had as great a claim on assistance.

What about the snowmobile industry? What about the cross-country-skiing industry? What about all those tourist resort operators in Collingwood who were crying this year? How can the Treasurer possibly single out the car dealers for this assistance in inventory clearance?

It was unjust and it was inequitable. I can tell the House, a government which brings in that kind of a program loses credibility not only with the opposition members of the House but also with its own members. Many government members have told me privately they thought it was a ridiculous program and couldn't imagine what kind of funny tobacco the Treasurer had been smoking that day. They couldn't understand it and now he has no credibility.

Despite all this, the Treasurer claims the program was a success, with no serious repercussions for the 1980-model car sales. I would caution him that it is rather early to come to such a conclusion. I would remind him of the Canadian Tax Journal study that came out after the sales tax cut in 1975 which said the one effect was that the future sales would slump, essentially because the people changed the timing of their purchases, not the volume. It didn't sell any more cars; it only accelerated purchases.

The final point is that this scheme had no impact whatever in the all-important area of car production. In fact, Canadian automobile output in the first three months of 1980 was down 29 per cent from a year earlier.

While I am on the subject of misuse of public funds, I want to talk briefly about land assembly. In the early 1970s the gov-

ernment began buying up land for the new industrial sites for new cities it envisaged in the near future. John White, sitting in his office, had this new vision for Ontario. In 1974, the government bought the Edwardsburgh site in eastern Ontario for over \$7 million. The proposed industrial site was never developed, and in 1978 the Edwardsburgh assembly was transferred to the Ministry of Natural Resources at a book value of \$8.8 million for a not-so-successful experiment in growing trees. Some trees were already there.

But that's not the end of the Edwardsburgh story. Several weeks ago the Minister of Energy (Mr. Welch) announced Edwardsburgh's third proposed incarnation—none of them has actually taken place yet. Edwardsburgh is to be studied to assess the feasibility of producing methanol and other forms of renewable energy from wood. It would be nice if this proposal, or some other proposal yet to come, justified buying the land in the first place.

In 1975, the government spent over \$30 million buying land in South Cayuga that wasn't needed and still isn't needed. To date, the government has spent over \$34 million acquiring South Cayuga and \$7.5 million carrying it.

The most recent and expensive unnecessary land assembly which has come to light is North Pickering. There the government spent well over \$270 million before deciding to shelve the proposed community indefinitely. It should have realized the project was not required in 1975, when the Pickering Airport was cancelled, but it took it until the spring of 1980 to, as the Minister of Housing (Mr. Bennett) so aptly put it, "know enough to cut your losses and not be foolish enough to extend them."

As of March 31, 1979, the Ontario Land Corporation reported over \$481 million invested in land assembly. Was any of it worthwhile? According to a study undertaken by the Toronto Real Estate Board, "land values would have to double in the next seven years for the Ontario Land Corporation to break even on its investment. In 1985, the Ontario Land Corporation will have over \$650 million tied up in these three properties alone—Townsend, North Pickering and South Cayuga, even if it does not buy one more acre."

Our party has moved through public accounts for a complete investigation of this and other fiascos in the land assembly business. We expect to subject this to thorough scrutiny, hopefully sometime this

fall, in a committee under the able chairmanship of my colleague from Rainy River (Mr. T. P. Reid).

Minaki Lodge is another example of total mismanagement and misuse of public funds. What is remarkable about this one is they can do it with no shame. In 1974, the government acquired Minaki Lodge in order to protect the loans of about \$630,000 advanced by the Northern Ontario Development Corporation. It was estimated by the government that, including NODC loans and operating costs, the lodge could have been written off for about \$1.5 million in 1974 instead of buying it. In the summer of 1974 the lodge was closed because of major renovations that proved unnecessary. It has never reopened.

To date, the lodge has cost \$8.5 million and the government has now decided to spend a further \$10 million in the hope of opening it in two years. That will push the total renovation bill to \$23 million at least, and our judgement is that it will be far more than that. If it is ever reopened, it will certainly cost more to stay at Minaki Lodge than the average Ontario tourist can ever afford.

4:40 p.m.

This is the kind of behaviour we have come to expect from those so-called "great managers." Mismanagement has become ingrained. It has been managed for political reasons, not for substantive reasons; rigor mortis has set in.

This budget is further evidence, if such were needed, of the inefficiency, ineffectiveness and ineptitude of this government. This patchwork budget has nothing in it for northern Ontario, nothing in it for eastern Ontario, nothing for our young people, and nothing for the average family trying to make ends meet in very difficult times. In fact, despite the Treasurer's proud claim of "no tax increases," his own figures show that even without changes in tax rates the average Ontario family will pay something like \$235.50 more in provincial taxes this year. What is given is either so little as to be absurd or is given so inequitably that it hurts those who need the help the most.

I want to close with just a quote from a marvellous article—at least from my point of view—which appeared in the Toronto Star and was written by Jean Edward Smith. I thought it capsulized the whole thing very well:

"Instead of dynamic economic and social leadership, the best Davis can offer is the patent smugness of decades of responsibility

—the fatigued, churlish arrogance of too many years at Queen's Park which confuses the victories of yesterday with the battles of tomorrow.

"Encrusted by years of power, today's Tories have confused bureaucratic tidiness with good government. The slickness the Tories brought to Queen's Park once concealed a dynamic almost crusading drive to move forward. Today the retention of power rather than its exercise is all that is left."

Where is George Drew or Leslie Frost or John Roberts when we need them? They would be very much embarrassed by what has transpired in the last decade, so it will come as no surprise that I am going to move an amendment to the budget motion.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: Mr. Peterson moved that all the words in the budget motion after "that" be struck out and the following substituted therefor:

"This House finds that the government's failure to implement an economic strategy has contributed significantly to the economic decline of Ontario. It criticizes the government for a decade of irresponsible spending practices and high levels of public debt. It condemns the government for giving public monies to companies that have no need of such grants, especially without guarantees of important benefit to Ontario in terms of job or wealth creation. It indicts the government for its failure to introduce programs to ameliorate record high levels of unemployment, especially among our young people. It deplores the fact that, in provision of additional assistance to senior citizens, the government has chosen to do so in an inequitable manner, giving less to those most in need.

"And further, this House finds that the government lacks the ability and the leadership to respond to the challenges facing Ontario. It has failed to provide policies to support research and development activities, to assist and encourage Canadian owned enterprises, to train our young people to meet the skilled manpower needs of industry, to promote conservation programs and alternative sources of energy.

"For all these reasons, this House declares it has no confidence in this government."

On motion by Mr. Laughren, the debate was adjourned.

THIRD READINGS

The following bills were given third reading on motion:

Bill 32, An Act to amend the Telephone Act.

Bill 33, An Act to amend the Public Transportation and Highway Improvement Act;

Bill 34, The Elevating Devices Act, 1980.

Mr. Nixon: On a point of order, Mr. Speaker: Perhaps you could use your influence to have the lights dimmed a bit now that the main business has been completed so successfully?

RAILWAY FIRE CHARGE REPEAL ACT

Hon. Mr. Maeck moved second reading of Bill 38, An Act to repeal the Railway Fire Charge Act.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: Does the honourable minister have an opening statement?

Hon. Mr. Maeck: A very short one, Mr. Speaker. This bill provides a step forward in this government's commitment to deregulate. It repeals a tax, outdated by today's standards, which provides minimal revenue and which is applicable to only 29 taxpayers who are inequitably taxed when compared to other similar taxpayers in the unorganized areas of Ontario.

Only one of the four major railroads operating in northern Ontario is liable for this tax. Such railroad lands will still be taxable for provincial land tax purposes, a tax which, because of its base being established on assessed value, is more capable of recovering all service costs, including fire protection.

This bill will preserve the public's right of access to these lands for hunting and fishing purposes, but will remove a tax of questionable value which affects few taxpayers. It is in complete accord with both this government's and the ministry's commitment to deregulate.

Mr. Haggerty: Mr. Speaker, I want to address myself to this bill, An Act to repeal the Railway Fire Charge Act. I was listening to the minister's comment when he said it is a matter that relates to the deregulation of certain acts or amendments or sunset laws. He said the legislation may be out of date.

If I look at the background information which the minister was so kind to provide me with, I suppose it relates to the old steam locomotives that used to run across the railroads in Ontario. Many of them in those days didn't have a fire arrest to control the sparks.

It may seem to be outdated, but I would have to question the minister about the matter of the Mississauga train wreck. The background information does give a summary of

the fire statistics related to accidents on railroads. It mentions brake shoes. If one looks at a brake shoe on a locomotive, or even on an oil tank car or any other boxcar or freight car, that can cause a fire. I suppose it could cause a serious railroad accident. With the chemicals that are being transported on railroads, this could cause rather a serious fire. We've seen it in Mississauga.

I can relate one case to my area. At one time, my riding used to take in the municipality of the town of Pelham. I can recall a train accident back in the 1970s. That has never been settled yet. I can't recall that any of the property owners were compensated for the damages that occurred then. This relates to crown land and railroad lands that are owned by the railroad and those tenants who may be renting land from them.

It goes on to mention the steam locomotives and diesel locomotives. I suppose there are a certain amount of hot sparks that can come from a diesel engine that can cause fires. So I question it when he says it is outdated legislation.

4:50 p.m.

I am beginning to think there is more of a need today to amend the act to include revisions so that where there is a fire which originated from an accident or an incident along a railroad and where damage does occur, that person can be compensated instead of having to go to a higher court to try to get a settlement. I suggest that when the minister repeals this act we should be looking for a revamped act there.

The matter was raised about the loss of almost \$89,000 in revenue generated from this. It may come from about 29 property owners who share the land with the railroad for the services provided. I don't know who provides the fire protection. It relates to an unorganized municipality. The Ministry of Natural Resources may be called in to fight a fire and put it out.

Surely there is going to be some cost involved if 100 persons are sent in to fight a fire that has occurred along the railroad track. Somebody is going to have to pick up that cost. So I suppose when one looks at \$88,000 or \$90,000 that we don't generate from those persons who receive the benefit, it means that perhaps we would be looking to the consolidated revenue fund to pick up this cost.

When I look at the number of acres of land which is owned by the railroad in northern Ontario, and even in southern Ontario, it is a considerable amount. We look at the certain tax concessions that are given

on municipal taxation for assessment purposes, and there are some benefits given, because they are not really assessed for the value of the land. They can sit on valuable land that could be used for development purposes such as industrial sites but they don't have to move that land in a sense. Yet in the case of a fire, a train wreck or something, special people such as a fire department or emergency crews have to be called in. There is usually a cost.

In southern Ontario, through municipal taxation, they do pay for fire protection. Again, I think of the Mississauga fire. Will they actually get the true cost of that fire to the municipality? I don't think we'll find that true cost because that fire burned for almost a week, and involved all the fire apparatus and special firemen. I wonder if we should not be updating the legislation when we appeal this so that provisions are in there for a special charge for those who need special fire services.

As I said, on unorganized territories I know the government has now come forward with policies under which it is buying fire equipment for unorganized municipalities. I imagine a volunteer fire department is going to be called out and could spend days fighting a fire in northern Ontario. These men are going to be losing considerable wages. Who is going to pay that cost?

I know some industries in southern Ontario where, when a volunteer fireman leaves his place of employment for one or two hours, or four hours a day or two days, normally there it is the practice that the company will pay his wages. Maybe some companies in northern Ontario can't pay those wages. So I think the government is repealing something here because it relates to the old steam locomotive, but when I look at the accidents related to locomotives and equipment travelling on railroads, there is quite a number of accidents.

For example, for brake shoes, the number of fires is 192. This relates to the 1976 statistics. For diesel locomotives it is 56. They have steam locomotives here as well. They do not show the acreage but they list eight fires. Are there still steam engines in northern Ontario? Maybe there are. They may be around some mines or in someplace like that. The figure for journals, related to hot bearings, is 10. Fuses are another area. If one travels by train one knows there is a fuse box located in the passenger car. I imagine there are some located in the locomotive itself. It is quite a good-sized fuse box. I suppose they can burn, create a fire there and maybe throw out a hot fuse which may

catch on fire. There is a list of them there. Power lines along the railroad, for that matter, can cause fires.

I can say we support the bill in principle, but I think the minister should be looking at a new bill that is really going to cover the cost of providing this new protection. Once it is removed, he is going to have to pick up \$88,000 or \$90,000 and perhaps take it out of consolidated revenue. Other railroads have not been paying the tax when they probably should have. That is where the minister should have been making amendments so that everyone was treated alike in Ontario, regardless of what railroad it is.

We will support the bill repealing the act, but I would suggest the minister should be looking forward to bringing in a whole new bill that covers all accidents along the railroad. If a property owner has some damage done either by an acid soil or another problem along the railroad where there is an accident, sometimes it takes him years to get a settlement in compensation for the damages done to land. This is where we need an act whereby these persons shouldn't have to fight different levels of government agencies to be compensated for the damage.

I said we would support the repeal of the act, but I am hoping the minister will be bringing forward new legislation to give coverage. I can also agree with the minister on the subsection he is going to put in under the Game and Fish Act. The new subsection 10 says: "Except in accordance with a system established and approved by the Lieutenant Governor in council, no patentee of railroad lands and no owner or tenant who is a subsidiary or affiliated with a patentee of railroad lands shall charge any fee for the use of his railroad lands for the purpose of hunting and fishing. . . ."

I commend the minister for putting this particular section in under the Game and Fish Act so that there will be no charge to any person who wants to use those lands for hunting or fishing purposes.

Mr. Charlton: Mr. Speaker, my understanding of Bill 38 is somewhat different from that of my colleague from Erie. It is my understanding—and the minister can perhaps clarify all of this when he wraps up second reading debate—we are in this instance talking about repealing a charge which creates for some people a double charge.

It is also my understanding that in those instances where a fire in the unorganized areas is attributed to the railway they are charged for the costs of handling that particular fire. In the minister's note he says,

"In addition, persons held responsible for fires are charged for the cost of service," meaning the cost of servicing that fire; that is, putting it out. Perhaps the minister can clarify whether anybody who is now covered under the Railway Fire Charge Act in future will have the full cost of fighting that particular fire which he may cause charged to him, regardless of the fact that this act has been repealed.

I also take it from the minister's notes on the bill that although it doesn't specifically say so, the costs of the fires that are caused by railways would be in the millions of dollars as opposed to the \$88,900 which would be collected from the Railway Fire Charge Act tax. It would seem to us, most likely as a result of that, any other method which is used which would recoup a more satisfactory amount of the costs of putting out that particular fire than the obvious amount in this act which in no way reflects even a small percentage of the total cost of putting out the fire.

5 p.m.

We are going to support the bill because, first of all, we do not want railways that have their land grants from the province charged in a different fashion and charged more than federal railways and other land owners in the unorganized areas of northern Ontario. We want to see them being dealt with fairly and in the same fashion as everyone else.

I might comment, before I conclude, that as soon as you put "railway" or "tax" or "charge" into the name of the bill everybody wants to know if we can move an amendment to that bill to include something else. I was asked if we could amend this bill to extend the GO service and if we could amend it to repeal the income tax in Ontario. Unfortunately, I had to tell my inquirers that we could not, but it was a nice thought at any rate.

We are going to support the bill. It seems that the minister will confirm the things I have suggested and that this will be a fairer way of dealing with it. They will probably recoup closer to the real cost of some of these fires, and the railways in question will be dealt with in the same fashion as everyone else.

Mr. B. Newman: Mr. Speaker, I do not intend to be lengthy if the minister replies to the question I pose to him. Does this bill deal solely with unorganized territories? If it does not, then I have some extensive comments I would like to make.

Hon. Mr. Maeck: Yes, it does.

Mr. B. Newman: All right then, thank you.

Hon. Mr. Maeck: Mr. Speaker, very briefly, I think the member for Erie (Mr. Haggerty) misunderstood what this bill means. What we have at the present time is really a double taxation. This is a very old piece of legislation that I believe was brought in before provincial land tax—at least I think it was. I am not sure of that, but I believe it was in existence because there was no other way of collecting damages for fires.

At the present time, because of the way the bill is written, the tax applies only to railway lands that were granted by Ontario. It excluded all the other railways such as CNR and CPR which were federally granted lands, and it also excluded the Ontario Northland Railway, in the main because it is crown land. So the way it is written at the present moment it is a very inequitable bill in that some people are paying and others are not. It means that those people are paying a double taxation because they also have to pay provincial land tax. It deals strictly with unorganized areas. It has nothing to do with municipalities as such or organized areas.

The member mentioned the city of Mississauga fire. Of course, there are other means of dealing with those situations rather than this act, which would never have covered it under any circumstances because Mississauga is an organized municipality.

Basically what we are doing here is taking away an act that has been inequitable. The railway that actually is paying most of the \$88,000 we are talking about is the Algoma Central Railway, which happens to be located on lands granted by the province. We feel it is not fair that they should continue to pay. If there is a fire now on the railway right of way, and if it can be proved that it was the railway's fault, then they would be expected to pay the damages for the fighting of that fire. If it cannot be proved, of course, it is taken out of the general revenue fund which is built up by the provincial land tax. Basically, that is all there really is to the act. I think that answers all of the questions that were raised.

Motion agreed to.

Ordered for third reading.

House in committee of the whole.

CREDIT UNIONS AND CAISSES POPULAIRES

STATUTE LAW AMENDMENT ACT

Consideration of Bill 31, An Act to amend the Credit Unions and Caisses Populaires Act,

1976, and to provide additional powers in certain other Acts with respect to Credit Unions and Caisses Populaires.

Sections 1 and 2 agreed to.

On sections 3 to 6, inclusive:

Mr. Renwick: Mr. Chairman, I only have one comment. Section 81(1) of the Credit Unions and Caisses Populaires Act provides that no credit union shall accept deposits from persons other than its members, and I take it that sections 3, 4, 5 and 6 authorize certain insurers, certain loan corporations, certain trust corporations and certain trustees to invest their funds by way of deposit in term deposits in the credit unions of the province.

In the definitions section of the Credit Unions and Caisses Populaires Act, in which I may of course have missed some particular point, it states that "a member means a person who is a member or enrolled as a member of a credit union under this act, the articles and the bylaws of the credit union governing membership."

I guess my question simply is, is there a contradiction? If there is a contradiction appearing to me, could the minister resolve my contradiction for me?

Hon. Mr. Drea: Mr. Chairman, I don't think there is a contradiction. First of all, a corporation can be a member of a credit union. What we are doing here is giving the credit union the opportunity to accept certain kinds of deposits that previously were precluded from it by very specific acts other than the Credit Unions and Caisses Populaires Act.

The honourable member will recall on second reading he raised the point about the fact that under the Credit Unions and Caisses Populaires Act a credit union was entitled to provide guaranteed student loans, and why was it necessary to amend the Ministry of Colleges and Universities Act. He will recall I replied that while it was in the Credit Unions and Caisses Populaires Act that they could accept, under the other act there indeed was a contradiction because that loan could not be provided under the guarantees in the Ministry of Colleges and Universities Act.

5:10 p.m.

In this case, on all of those sections, the particular person or the particular corporation will become a member of the credit union as a prerequisite of depositing that trust account or that trust document. It doesn't provide a mechanism for control. They will have one voting share just as any other member. There are three trust companies operat-

ing in the province owned by credit unions. If they wish to put some of their funds or their trust accounts in the very credit unions that own them, they have every right to do so.

Perhaps I misunderstand the honourable member but I fail to see where there is a contradiction or anything other than what would be a normal business procedure with respect to the Credit Unions and Caisses Populaires Act. The fact is that the amendments the honourable member is referring to at this time were designed to open up a new field of deposits, a new field of account, that the credit unions or caisses populaires could compete for.

As I said last week, there is a potential—it is not an absolute guarantee—to provide them with the opportunity. I am very confident this will expand enormously the competition in the financial community. If you want new business you have to motivate somebody who is doing business with somebody else to come forward. That is precisely what we want in the financial marketplace, that it not be a restricted narrow area, that, within the definitions of responsibility, it be a very competitive sector of the economy.

Mr. Renwick: Mr. Chairman, my point has nothing to do with the purpose of the substance or the intention of the bill with which we agreed on second reading. That wasn't my problem.

My problem is a very simple one: Is it going to improve the potential capacity of the credit unions? I find it passing strange if National Trust Company, for example, is saying, "My, the Legislature has just passed this amendment and we will now take some of our funds under this duly-authorized investment opportunity, and we will find a credit union and deposit these moneys by way of term deposits with that credit union." So it goes to the credit union and somebody says, "You will have to join first." That applies, apparently, to each real estate or business broker who may want to take advantage of it—each trustee under the Trustee Act, or each loan corporation or each trust company.

I would have assumed that the anomaly of using the term that a trust company may invest its funds in the term deposits of a credit union would have meant in a very direct way that you would have carved out an exception for the requirement of membership so you do not clutter up the membership roles of a credit union by having them make a note on their books that the National Trust Company is a credit union

member or that A. E. LePage Limited is a credit union member or such and such an individual who is a trustee is a member of the credit union.

I can realize that your lawyers, skilled in the devices open to corporate lawyers, would have derided this could be done. But I think in a funny way it is a minor inhibition against this kind of investment being made by these kinds of organizations to have to go through the anomaly of becoming a member when that has nothing to do with the day-to-day business world of the credit union. So, as I say, it was a contradiction to me and it was an anomaly.

That was the only point I wanted to make and it is the identical point on sections 3, 4, 5 and 6. I have a further comment or question to ask of the minister under section 7, to which he referred very briefly.

I think, in case anybody is looking at the record of this debate, we should point out that while the reference is to only section 150(1) of the Loan and Trust Corporations Act, which of course refers only to a registered loan corporation, nevertheless, by virtue of the provisions of section 153 of the Loan and Trust Corporations Act, it is made available to a trust company also to participate in this enlarged investment field.

It will be interesting to see whether or not the credit union movement and the caisses populaires benefit in fact over a period of time from this enlarged investment power. I would hope there might be some occasion a year from now, in the estimates of the minister or his successor, whoever that is, when we could ask for that kind of information about the way in which this has contributed, if at all, to improving the liquidity capacity and potential of the credit union movement and the caisses populaires.

Sections 3 to 6, inclusive, agreed to.

On section 7:

Mr. Renwick: Again, Mr. Chairman, my question is simply relating to a section of the Credit Unions and Caisses Populaires Act which states that a credit union may make guaranteed loans under and in accordance with the provisions of the Canada Student Loans Act, the Farm Improvement Loans Act or the Fisheries Improvement Loans Act, all of which are acts of the federal Parliament of Canada. I am curious, simply by way of a question, as to whether or not there is any correlative amendment required in the Credit Unions and Caisses Populaires Act because of the intention to permit the

proposed amendments to the Ministry of Colleges and Universities Act, allowing the credit unions to make guaranteed student loans—that is, loans, as I understand it, guaranteed by the ministry of this government.

Hon. Mr. Drea: As I said before, section 84 of the Credit Unions and Caisses Populaires Act permitted a credit union to make that type of guaranteed loan under the Canada Student Loans Act, but the Ministry of Colleges and Universities Act in Ontario did not recognize a credit union for that purpose. It had the traditional line, “a chartered bank,” and therefore we had to amend the Ministry of Colleges and Universities Act to recognize the right of a credit union, as well as a bank, to make student loans.

The honourable member is absolutely correct. The Credit Unions and Caisses Populaires Act said, “Yes, you can do it,” except that the only place it could be done was under the auspices of the Ministry of Colleges and Universities and that act said the guaranteed student loan had to be obtained from a chartered bank. What we’re doing is amending it so that it can be obtained from a chartered bank and/or a credit union.

What has been happening is that the credit unions have wanted to handle this business, the Legislature has recognized that they are responsible to do it because it is in their act, and for some peculiar reason, until I started these amendments there was no initiative under the Ministry of Colleges and Universities Act to permit it.

5:20 p.m.

Mr. Renwick: Perhaps I’m not being as direct as I should be. I would have thought that section 84 required an amendment which would read somewhat to the effect, “A credit union may make guaranteed loans under and in accordance with the provisions of the Canada Student Loans Act or under the provisions of the Ministry of Colleges and Universities Act, 1972.”

I would have thought it was necessary to amend section 84 or to designate the Ministry of Colleges and Universities Act as an act by regulation which would permit the guarantee to be given by the Ministry of Colleges and Universities. That was my understanding.

Let me try again. The Ministry of Colleges and Universities Act, as I understand it from this amendment, will be able to guarantee loans made to students by credit unions. It

would guarantee the return of the principal and the payment of the interest on loans made by credit unions. I would, therefore, have assumed that section 84 would have required one of two things: either an amendment to section 84 designating the Ministry of Colleges and Universities Act, 1972, of this province as one of the statutes enumerated in section 84, or it would be done by way of regulation because the concluding words of section 84 state, “and such other act as may be designated by the regulations.” Is that a real question or is it not?

Hon. Mr. Drea: In fairness, I think it is a legitimate question, but in the drafting of these amendments it wasn’t felt we really had to go that far. What really happened is when the Credit Unions and Caisses Populaires Act was passed by the Legislature in 1976 there was every expectation that, following proclamation, other ministries with particular statutes would individually amend their statutes to provide what we are doing in this bill.

Piecemeal that began to happen. The Municipal Act was amended, and so forth. The municipalities and boards of education could put their funds into credit unions. But it was the feeling at this time that we should go the omnibus route, rather than have a bill a session for four or five years with all of the difficulties and time constraints there. Therefore, we are amending the Ministry of Colleges and Universities Act to say those guaranteed loans can be provided by a credit union.

I think it would have been very difficult to do it by regulation, I say to the member. It could have been done on an individual basis had Colleges and Universities as a ministry moved it. But, remember, we are moving it from the other side. We have spent most of the winter consulting with other ministries as to how far we could go in terms of an omnibus type of procedure. At the end, we did.

I think this method accomplishes exactly what the honourable member wants. It may not be legally as clean and tidy as the remedy or benefit he suggests, but in the interests of accomplishing the intent of what the credit unions wanted and what the Legislature obviously wanted four years ago, we thought this was the most expeditious and practical route to follow.

Mr. Renwick: Mr. Chairman, I will leave a question for the minister which in due

course he can say yes or no to after the act is passed. Does it require a regulation to be passed under section 84 designating the Ministry of Colleges and Universities Act, 1972, as an act that may be designated pursuant to that section?

Section 7 agreed to.

Sections 8 and 9 agreed to.

Bill 31 reported.

On motion by Hon. Mr. Drea, the committee of the whole House reported one bill without amendment.

The House adjourned at 5:26 p.m.

APPENDIX

(See page 1188)

ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS
ON NOTICE PAPER

HIGH-SPEED POLICE CHASE

118. **Mr. Renwick:** Will the Solicitor General table in the assembly the report of the chief of police of Metropolitan Toronto to the chairman of the Ontario Police Commission of the high-speed chase that occurred in Riverdale riding on Friday, March 28, 1980? (Tabled April 14, 1980.)

Hon. Mr. McMurtry: It would be inappropriate for me to table the information requested as the matter is before the courts.

EDUCATION STATISTICS

36. **Mr. Bounsall:** Will the Ministry of Education table for each school board in Ontario for 1978, 1979, 1980, using interim and estimate figures where necessary: 1. the average daily enrolment; 2. per pupil grant ceiling; 3. per pupil expenditures; 4. total expenditure; 5. total local taxation; 6. total provincial assistance; 7. rate of grant on recognized ordinary expenditures; 8. provincial contribution as a percentage of the total local school board expenditures; 9. rate of grant for French-language instruction; 10. decline or increase in number of students from previous year; 11. decline or increase in number of full-time equivalent teachers from previous year; 12. number of self-contained special education classes; 13. number of full-time equivalent teachers of special education classes; 14. number of heritage-language classes; 15. number of students studying heritage languages; 16. number of pupils whose first language is neither English nor French; 17. number of self-contained classes for pupils whose first language is neither English nor French; 18. number of full-time equivalent teachers of classes for pupils whose first language is neither English nor French? Will the ministry in each case also provide composite figures for each school region, the province, the separate school system, the elementary school system and the secondary school system? (Tabled March 14, 1980.)

See sessional paper 76.

Hon. Miss Stephenson: Available data, in response to parts 1-9 of this question can be found on exhibit 1-9A. The 1980 column is blank because the information for 1980 has not yet been received from school boards. Also, note that the asterisk in item seven

reflects the fact that the grants formula no longer is based on a rate of grant. The information shown is the effective rate of support.

Part 10 (see exhibits 10(a)(b)(c)(aa)(bb)(cc)): Exhibit 10 details school enrolment by board for the period 1977, 1978 and 1979 and shows the percentage change in enrolment between 1978 and 1979. Projected enrolments for September 1980 are included for those boards for which a projection is available. The projections for large boards were prepared by the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education under contract with the ministry. The Commission on Declining School Enrolments prepared the projections for the smaller boards located in northern Ontario.

Part 11 (see exhibits 11(a)(b)(c)(aa)(bb)(cc)): Exhibits 11(a)(b)(c) show full-time equivalency of all full-time and part-time teachers employed in the schools in each school board for the school years 1977, 1978 and 1979. Projections are not available for September 1980. The last column shows the percentage change in numbers between 1978 and 1979. The data include principals, vice-principals and other nonteaching certificated staff attached to the schools in each board.

Part 12 (see exhibits 12(a)(b)(c)(aa)(bb)(cc)): the ministry does not collect information on the number of self-contained special education classes provided by each school board. Exhibits 12(a)(b)(c) show for each school board, for 1977, 1978, and 1979, the number of students enrolled in self-contained classes. These data are obtained from the School September Report.

Part 13 (see exhibits 13(a)(b)(c)(ab)(cc)): Exhibits 13(a)(b)(c) show for 1977, 1978, and 1979 the full-time equivalency of all teachers of self-contained classes for exceptional children. The totals shown do not include teachers of specific programs regarding "language of instruction for new Canadians" or resource teachers who support a program or any other organizational structure for the delivery of special education programs and services.

Parts 14 and 15 (see exhibits 14 and 15): Data are provided for the school year 1978-79. School boards have been asked to submit comparable information for the school year 1979-80. The survey is in progress but the final results have not yet been compiled.

Parts 16 and 17: The ministry has no record of either the number of pupils whose

first language is neither English nor French nor the number of self-contained classes for pupils whose first language is neither English nor French.

Part 18 (see exhibits 18, 18A): The ministry has no record of the number of teachers working with students whose first language is neither English nor French. The June board report records the full-time equivalency of teachers involved in providing additional language instruction in English or French for pupils whose first language is neither English nor French in order that they may take advantage of regular instruction in the schools. Exhibit 18 provides the information

for 1977, 1978, and 1979 for those boards which offer this instruction.

In response to the request for composite figures, the educational regions were reorganized in January 1978. Therefore, comparative data by region are available for 1978 and 1979. Regional and provincial distributions are shown with each item's response as (aa), (bb) and (cc) for public, Roman Catholic separate, and secondary respectively. The addition of (ab) to an exhibit number means that the information is not available for public and Roman Catholic separate and a total elementary figure is reported.

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Auld, Hon. J. A. C.; Minister of Natural Resources (Leeds PC)
Blundy, P. (Sarnia L)
Bradley, J. (St. Catharines L)
Breithaupt, J. R. (Kitchener L)
Bryden, M. (Beaches-Woodbine NDP)
Campbell, M. (St. George L)
Cassidy, M. (Ottawa Centre NDP)
Charlton, B. (Hamilton Mountain NDP)
Cooke, D. (Windsor-Riverside NDP)
Davis, Hon. W. G.; Premier (Brampton PC)
Di Santo, O. (Downsview NDP)
Drea, Hon. F.; Minister of Consumer and Commercial Relations (Scarborough Centre PC)
Edighoffer, H.; Deputy Speaker (Perth L)
Gaunt, M. (Huron-Bruce L)
Grande, A. (Oakwood NDP)
Grossman, Hon. L.; Minister of Industry and Tourism (St. Andrew-St. Patrick PC)
Haggerty, R. (Erie L)
Kerrio, V. (Niagara Falls L)
Laughren, F. (Nickel Belt NDP)
MacDonald, D. C. (York South NDP)
Maack, Hon. L.; Minister of Revenue (Parry Sound PC)
Martel, E. W. (Sudbury East NDP)
McKessock, R. (Grey L)
McMurtry, Hon. R.; Attorney General; Solicitor General (Eglinton PC)
Miller, Hon. F. S.; Treasurer, Minister of Economics (Muskoka PC)
Newman, B. (Windsor-Walkerville L)
Nixon, R. F. (Brant-Oxford-Norfolk L)
Parrott, Hon. H. C.; Minister of the Environment (Oxford PC)
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Renwick, J. A. (Riverdale NDP)
Smith, S.; Leader of the Opposition (Hamilton West L)
Stephenson, Hon. B.; Minister of Education and Minister of Colleges and Universities (York Mills PC)
Stokes, Hon. J. E.; Speaker (Lake Nipigon NDP)
Swart, M. (Welland-Thorold NDP)
Walker, Hon. G.; Provincial Secretary for Justice, Minister of Correctional Services (London South PC)
Warner, D. (Scarborough-Ellesmere NDP)
Welch, Hon. R.; Minister of Energy, Deputy Premier (Brock PC)
Wells, Hon. T. L.; Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs (Scarborough North PC)
Young, F. (Yorkview NDP)



No. 33

Legislature of Ontario Debates

Official Report (Hansard)

Fourth Session, 31st Parliament

Tuesday, April 29, 1980

Afternoon Sitting

Speaker: Honourable John E. Stokes

Clerk: Roderick Lewis, QC

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Hansard subscription price is \$15.00 per session, from: Sessional Subscription Service, Printing Services Branch, Ministry of Government Services, 9th Floor, Ferguson Block, Parliament Buildings, Toronto M7A 1N3. Phone 965-2238.

Published by the Legislature of the Province of Ontario.
Editor of Debates: Peter Brannan.

LEGISLATURE OF ONTARIO

TUESDAY, APRIL 29, 1980

The House met at 2 p.m.

Prayers.

ESTIMATES

Hon. Mr. McCague: Mr. Speaker, I have a message from the Honourable the Lieutenant Governor signed by her own hand.

Mr. Speaker: Pauline M. McGibbon, the Lieutenant Governor, transmits estimates of certain sums required for the services of the province for the year ending March 31, 1981, and recommends them to the Legislative Assembly, Toronto, April 29, 1980.

NIAGARA ESCARPMENT HEARINGS

Mr. Cassidy: Mr. Speaker, I have a two-point point of privilege, on which I would like to ask for a ruling.

First, last Friday, in answer to questions I had posed with relation to the Niagara Escarpment hearings and the decision of the hearing officer not to hear any representations about expanding the planning area, the Premier (Mr. Davis) said individuals and groups who want to see their own property in the Niagara Escarpment plan can voluntarily do that.

In fact, the previous Wednesday, the hearing officer had ruled, with the concurrence of lawyers from the Ministry of the Attorney General, that the Federation of Ontario Naturalists, which has lands outside of the proposed planning area as well as inside it, could not make representations concerning their desire to add the land outside the proposed area of the plan so that those lands could be protected by the plan.

Second, during the question period yesterday, the Premier stated: "The hearings had been established to allow those people whose properties are being affected to register objections." In fact, section 10(2) of the Niagara Escarpment Planning and Development Act states categorically, "The commission shall appoint one or more hearing officers for the purpose of conducting hearings within the Niagara Escarpment planning area for the purpose of receiving representations respecting the contents of the plan by any person desiring to make representation."

Considering the obviously incorrect statements on this issue by the Premier in the House over the last week and the clear contradictions between what the Premier said to justify his government's position, as well as the ruling by the hearing officer on the one hand and the direction contained in an act passed by the assembly on the other, it is my contention that the privileges of this House and of all its members have been violated, and I ask you to rule accordingly.

Mr. Speaker: The leader of the New Democratic Party seems to be misconstruing what the privileges of a member of this House mean. If there is something that is going on in this House where the privileges of an individual member, as a member of this House, are being infringed upon or abrogated, clearly it is the responsibility of this House, through the Speaker, to rule as to whether or not it is, in fact, a bona fide point of privilege.

I fail to see where any privileges that are normally attached to being a member of this House, by virtue of being a member of this House, have been infringed upon in any way. The honourable member can interpret the various acts that he cites in his way. Others may interpret them differently. I see no way in which the privileges of the member, or any individual member of this House, are being infringed upon in any way, and I would have to rule that it is not a bona fide point of privilege.

STATEMENTS BY THE MINISTRY

USE OF ASBESTOS ON FIRE-STOP FLAPS

Hon. Mr. Drea: Mr. Speaker, on April 1, I took as notice certain questions related to the use of asbestos on fire-stop flaps. Although subsequent discussions have dealt with some of the questions raised, there are certain technical matters I would like to comment on.

At the outset, I would like to clarify the confusion caused by the terminology used in the questions. The Ontario Building Code does not require asbestos coverings on fire dampers. However, article 6.2.4.10 of the Ontario Building Code does require the use

of fire-stop flaps, which are covered with asbestos paper, when a ceiling is part of a fire-rated assembly and an opening to accommodate an air duct exceeds 20 square inches. This does not make the use of asbestos paper mandatory, as there are other design options acceptable under the building code which do not require the use of fire-stop flaps.

While I was asked questions specific to the use of asbestos paper coverings on fire-stop flaps, I would like to point out that there are other references to asbestos in the code. The construction industry has used asbestos in a variety of forms such as sheets, tile and boards. In those uses, the asbestos fibres are held in place by a cement or binder.

I want to emphasize that asbestos used on the flaps is in the form of paper. Although we are aware of the concerns about asbestos paper used by the home owner, we are not aware of any tests that have been conducted to determine the magnitude of fibre release under normal operating conditions. Therefore, we have retained Dr. John L. Sullivan, of the Occupational Health and Safety Resource Centre at the University of Western Ontario in London, to conduct tests on coated and uncoated asbestos fire-stop flaps. I expect to have the results within the next week or so.

We would normally await the results of these tests on fire-stop flaps and the completion of a review of other pertinent information before considering taking action. However, the use of asbestos paper on fire-stop flaps is of considerable concern to my ministry and, therefore, an amendment to the building code will be introduced immediately to repeal article 6.2.4.10. This action will not reduce the present level of safety in buildings. As I mentioned earlier, and I wish to emphasize, there are other design options allowed by the code that do not rely on fire-stop flaps.

At a meeting last week of the provincial advisory committee of the associate committee on the National Building Code, the revocation of article 6.2.4.10 was agreed to by all attending members. I am confident that the National Building Code, which is the basis of all provincial building codes, will be amended as soon as practicable. I want to assure the members that in view of our responsibility for the Ontario Building Code we will be cooperating closely with the recently announced commission into the use of asbestos.

Mr. Cassidy: The minister might have thanked the opposition for bringing that to his attention.

Hon. Mr. Drea: The member gave me the wrong data. I had to find it myself. That is what I said the first time.

I want to draw to the attention of the House that, when I used the words "amendment to the building code," I meant it is done by regulation and is already in process.
2:10 p.m.

NONRESIDENT OWNERSHIP OF AGRICULTURAL LAND

Hon. Mr. Henderson: Mr. Speaker, during the past few years the agricultural community has been concerned over the issue of foreign ownership. Municipalities and individual farmers, as well as the Ontario Federation of Agriculture, have recorded their concerns on this issue with the government of Ontario.

In response to these concerns, existing records were surveyed in 1976, 1978 and again in 1979, when I became Minister of Agriculture and Food, to determine the extent of foreign nonresident ownership. It was found that existing legislation and records were primarily designed for taxation purposes and not specifically intended to record the foreign ownership of agricultural land. Difficulty is encountered in determining the extent of foreign ownership as it is not consolidated in these existing records.

I am, therefore, pleased to say I will be introducing a bill before this House which will require registration of nonresident interests in agricultural land in Ontario. Once implemented, this bill should provide the government with a central source of data from which we can obtain a clearer picture of the development of nonresident ownership of our most valuable resource: the land used to produce our daily food.

This bill is not restricted to mere ownership of land but extends to cover the acquisition of interests in agricultural land or controlling interests in companies that own interests in agricultural land. It applies to persons who are not ordinarily residents of Canada, to companies controlled by such persons and to residents who knowingly acquire such interests on behalf of nonresidents. It is my hope, therefore, that it will give us a more complete picture than we have been able to achieve to date.

ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS ON NOTICE PAPER

Hon. Mr. Auld: Mr. Speaker, this is in connection with a question of privilege which the member for Essex South (Mr. Mancini) raised last Thursday. On April 24, the hon-

ourable member rose on a point of personal privilege regarding the answers to questions 38 to 42 on the Order Paper which concern my ministry.

The actual answers to the questions were prepared by the due date of April 1. However, they were not presented to the Legislature for two reasons: (1) We found what appeared to be an error in the revenue figures and required additional time to have all the figures checked to ensure that they were accurate; and (2) I did not wish to give some individuals, who were interested in tendering, an advantage because of being in possession of information contained in the answers to questions 38 and 39 but which did not appear in the tendering prospectus.

Some 25 persons in total had expressed an interest in tendering. I therefore chose not to release the reply until after the tendering date closure, which was 1:30 p.m. on April 18.

ORAL QUESTIONS

SEATON DEVELOPMENT

Mr. S. Smith: I beg your indulgence, Mr. Speaker. I have been informed that the Treasurer (Mr. F. S. Miller), the Minister of Housing (Mr. Bennett), the Premier (Mr. Davis) and assorted other ministers might be in the House shortly. Perhaps the acting government House leader could let us know whether that is true, in which case I might ask the indulgence of the House to ask my questions when those ministers are here. I am facing a rather empty row; I see 11 empty seats in that section of the cabinet alone.

Mr. Speaker: Do we have that permission from the House?

Some hon. members: Agreed.

Some hon. members: No.

Mr. Speaker: There is not unanimous agreement.

Mr. S. Smith: I suppose I can waste the time of the House and ask them of the acting government House leader.

First of all, I want to pay tribute to the member for Huron-Middlesex (Mr. Riddell) inasmuch as his initiative finally has been greeted with a bill from the government.

I will ask the Deputy (Mr. Welch), who is the government acting House leader if he would be good enough to look into the following matters.

The first question should go to the Minister of Housing. Is the Deputy Premier able to explain to this House what the Minister

of Housing meant on March 24 when he said he was going to delay the construction of Seaton because of prevailing economic conditions? He then described conditions, in the *Globe and Mail*, as "knowing when to cut your losses" and "not being foolish enough to extend them." Why then did the Assistant Deputy Minister of Housing tell the Durham regional council that housing construction at Seaton will start in 1984?

Hon. Mr. Welch: Mr. Speaker, I would be very happy to take that question as notice for the Minister of Housing.

Mr. S. Smith: One has to wonder why we even bother showing up if the cabinet isn't going to be here.

Will the minister make sure that his colleague, when he does report to this House, will also report on how much money is being spent on Seaton this year and what it is being spent for, in addition to the money that has already been spent? Could he explain why it is that the bureaucrats seem so determined to proceed with that North Pickering project even though a consultant's report has shown there is sufficient serviced land in Durham for residential purposes for the next 14 years and enough serviced industrial land for the next 50 years? Why are they proceeding with something as ridiculous and as ill-fated as that?

Hon. Mr. Welch: Mr. Speaker, I will draw the questions raised by way of supplementary questions to the minister's attention as well.

Mr. Braugh: Mr. Speaker, since the government has changed the name of its project three times in the last eight years and the government's position on the project has changed three times in the last three months, will the minister give us the Tuesday government position on whether it will or will not go ahead with the Seaton project?

Hon. Mr. Welch: Mr. Speaker, I will include that in my conversation with the minister. There is one thing the member can be sure of: it will not be called Braugh.

AID TO PENSIONERS

Mr. S. Smith: Mr. Speaker, I will direct my second question to the Premier. Does he recall that in 1973 his government presented a budget introducing the pensioner tax credit, a tax credit removed by this year's budget in favour of the augmented property tax credit system? Does he recall in 1973 that the pensioner tax credit was introduced to substitute

those tax credits for what were then supplementary grants to needy pensioners, given out in \$50 and \$100 grants?

Since the pensioner tax credit was designed for the most needy among our pensioners, and since that is precisely what the government has decided to cut in order to increase the property tax credit portion of its program, can the Premier explain the Treasurer's statement in the Sunday Star in which he said that the people losing the pensioner tax credit are "in the economic position where they can afford the cut"? What is the average income of the people who will be losing the pensioner tax credit?

Hon. Mr. Davis: Mr. Speaker, the Treasurer was here yesterday, and I am sure he would have been delighted to have answered that question if the Leader of the Opposition had been here yesterday. I would suggest he might wish to raise this with the Treasurer when he is here, I expect on Thursday.

I recall the program being introduced. We as a government have introduced a variety of programs to assist senior citizens over the years. The most recent program has been widely accepted and enthusiastically endorsed and supported by the majority of people, with the exception of the Leader of the Opposition.

Mr. S. Smith: Since the pensioner tax credit was originally introduced for the neediest of pensioners, and since these are the very people who will be losing out in this otherwise more generous system which the Premier and Treasurer are introducing, would the Premier agree that his program would be a lot better if, instead of introducing it exactly as presented in the budget, it were introduced with a change in it which allowed those people who might benefit by the previous year's way of calculating it? In other words, why does he not bring in this widely heralded property tax credit system in such a way that nobody gets less than he would have got under the last system?

2:20 p.m.

Hon. Mr. Davis: Mr. Speaker, I think the Leader of the Opposition can debate this at the time of the discussion of the bill, although I have to extend this observation. If the Leader of the Opposition has his way, we will not get an opportunity to debate the bill, and the pensioners in this province are going to be the victims of the sort of approach he wants to take on Thursday night.

Mr. McKessock: Mr. Speaker, the Premier says that only the Leader of the Opposition is opposed. In view of the fact that I have one more name, that of my mother-in-law,

who will be \$119 worse off next year than this year—I can give him this specific case and I can send the income tax form to him—would he reconsider, as there are some who are going to be worse off, and take the Leader of the Opposition's advice to see that pensioners can use either one scheme or the other next year, rather than being penalized by using the new scheme?

Hon. Mr. Davis: Mr. Speaker, apart from his political affiliation and the odd problems that he creates with escarpments and other matters, I have some respect for the very distinguished member for Grey. I cannot visualize him, being the kind of person he is, seeing his mother-in-law in any disadvantaged position. If we cannot find some way to solve it, he personally will look after it himself.

Mr. Laughren: Mr. Speaker, does the Premier not understand that he could solve the problem very simply by directing the Treasurer to ensure that no one will receive less this year under the new program? Would he listen to the suggestion by my colleague the member for Downsview (Mr. Di Santo) to get rid of the exclusion factor caused by the reference to old age security?

Hon. Mr. Davis: Mr. Speaker, there are a lot of problems we could solve if we had the wherewithal to do so. I understand what the honourable member is saying.

Mr. Speaker, in the great flexibility with which you run this House, now that the Leader of the Opposition is here today—he was not here yesterday—and as the Treasurer is also now here, perhaps he would like to have a supplementary on this issue.

Mr. S. Smith: Mr. Speaker, could the Treasurer explain, in view of the fact that in 1973—

Interjection.

Mr. S. Smith: Perhaps I could put it to him in my words, and then he could answer it either way: the Premier's way or my way.

Hon. Mr. Davis: Mr. Speaker, on that point of order: It would be the first time—

Mr. Speaker: There is no point of order.

Mr. S. Smith: There was not a point of order; it was a suggestion. My, my, we're getting touchy today.

Mr. Speaker: Just put the question.

Mr. S. Smith: Mr. Speaker, would the Treasurer explain his statement in the Sunday Star that the people who are losing the pensioner tax credit are the people who "are in an economic position where they can afford the cut"? Would the Treasurer tell us

the average taxable income of those people who will be losing out as a consequence of the new system?

Does the Treasurer not recall that the pensioner tax credit was introduced in 1973 to supplant grants to the neediest pensioners at the time and, therefore, is aimed at those who are particularly needy? What is the income of those who are going to lose out, and why not change it so that nobody loses?

Hon. F. S. Miller: Mr. Speaker, obviously when the Liberal Party's response to the budget was made yesterday they chose a number of examples—and I do not even blame them for it—which showed the kind of case where somebody could potentially lose. We did not try to hide those facts.

What they forgot, though, was how many people were doing very well. Later on I will read the kinds of increases those people who have to depend upon income supplements are getting.

The key thing is this: we had in the past a fairly broad-brush program; now we have a very specific program, one aimed at helping to pay up to \$500 a year of tax. If they are also one of those unfortunate people who have virtually no income of their own, we have, along with the federal government, enriched their income very handsomely. In fact, I believe they can get as much as \$660 a year or more in the family through income supplements.

They would have to have more than \$10,500 a year family income before they could possibly be in the category of being a loser. That's the point at which the guaranteed annual income supplement payment cuts out.

I can show the members graphs of the area of loss on the property tax part only; that was the part they were dealing with mostly in their examples. In turn, we have enriched those people who had virtually no other income so they would have at least \$10,500 a year in family income. That, I think they would have to agree, is desirable.

All programs should be aimed at helping those most in need. If the property tax is \$100 for one house and \$500 for another house, it does not in any way mean that the person paying \$500 can afford it any more than the person paying \$100 because, once that money is gone, they still have the basic costs of living to provide for; so we cover 100 per cent of the tax and leave them in an equivalent position to start with. Then, if they need income supplements, we give them income supplements so they will have enough money for those basic needs and we increase those low-level incomes so they will.

Mr. Laughren: Mr. Speaker, does the Treasurer not understand that one of the most serious problems is still being faced by single pensioners? Why does he not amend the guaranteed annual income supplement floor so that it at least meets the level of the Statistics Canada poverty line of \$5,320 a year? That would solve most of the problems.

Hon. F. S. Miller: Mr. Speaker, I do not have the exact figure in front of me. Let me see if I can find it here. I think the total guaranteed income comes to \$5,088 right now. If the member checks, I think he will find that, subject to the next adjustment for the federal government's basic program, the sum total—and I stand to be corrected—of guaranteed annual income supplement and old age supplement will come to \$5,088 for a single person. That's the figure I have, and I will be glad to have it verified rather than claim my notes are exact.

Mr. Peterson: Mr. Speaker, we recognize that some people will be getting more, and we welcome that. The Treasurer has admitted there are a number of people who, considering all of his programs, will be getting less in total. Would he be prepared to entertain an amendment to his legislation so that no person in this province will receive less under his new scheme than he received under the old scheme?

Hon. F. S. Miller: Mr. Speaker, we are going to have an opportunity to go through that when the legislation is debated in about two or three weeks. I would say that I and this government have been criticized very often in the past for not targeting on those who are in need. We broke the program into components. We believe it is doing a more effective job. Surely that is something the honourable member can afford to support too and is more important than the one we had before.

ATTENDANCE OF MINISTERS IN HOUSE

Mr. Riddell: Mr. Speaker, I rise on a point of order having to do with the attendance of the ministers in the House. When the question period first started, there were very few ministers in the House. Then, at the completion of my leader's questions, the ministers started to come in. We all know the question period now is being televised.

Mr. Speaker: That is not a point of order, and I thought the chair was very flexible in allowing the Leader of the Opposition and various members to question the Treasurer when he did arrive.

2:30 p.m.

AID TO CHRYSLER

Mr. Cassidy: Mr. Speaker, I have a question for the Premier about the government's proposed assistance package to Chrysler of Canada. In view of the fact that the United States Congress has had the opportunity to study and debate the American government's assistance package for Chrysler in the United States, will the Premier undertake, before the deal between Ontario and Chrysler Canada is finalized, to ensure that deal will be tabled in the Legislature for public study and debate so that we can quickly look at the terms? We then would be able to see we were getting a fair deal and ensure that we wouldn't get another kind of deal like we got with Ford.

Hon. Mr. Davis: Mr. Speaker, I really cannot give the honourable member that undertaking. I think it is fair to state that, whatever determination is made by the government of Canada and the government of this province, the terms will be made public and there will be an opportunity to discuss it here in this House.

We are not the only parties to the agreement; so I cannot give an undertaking that it will be tabled here and debated before it is communicated to Chrysler Canada or whomever. I cannot give that undertaking.

Mr. Cassidy: In view of Ontario's failure to defend the interests of workers and people in this province in the case of the Ford deal and in view of the fact that this is the largest single manufacturing investment ever made by the Ontario government, why cannot the Premier undertake to ensure that this House has a chance to look at and debate that assistance package before it is a signed commitment? Why is he trying to give us a deal to which there will be no input at all before it is signed?

Hon. Mr. Davis: I am not trying to give the honourable member anything. I question first whether it is the largest single deal; I would doubt that. Secondly—

Mr. Peterson: Second after Minaki.

Hon. Mr. Davis: The member doesn't like what we are doing in Minaki. I have to tell the member for London Centre—

Mr. T. P. Reid: It's a white elephant.

Hon. Mr. Davis: The member's brother likes it. He encouraged them. That's why that party won't get a seat north of Lake Ontario.

Mr. Speaker: Order. I heard nothing officially about Minaki.

Hon. Mr. Davis: There wasn't; you are quite right. The Speaker likes Minaki. That is unfair, Mr. Speaker; I wouldn't put words in your mouth.

I would only say to the leader of the New Democratic Party that it is just not possible to table here in advance whatever arrangements may be concluded with Chrysler Canada. If he wants to raise objections afterwards, if he wants to say that whatever is decided is wrong, I understand that. That is part of the process. But I just cannot say that the agreement, if there is one, will be debated here prior to there being some degree of finality.

It is important that we understand, and I hope some of the honourable members understand, that as a government we are trying to find a way, in conjunction with the government of Canada, to be of some assistance. If the leader of the New Democratic Party is taking the position that we should not be discussing anything with Chrysler, that we should not be supportive, then I wish he would get up and say so. That is not what his members have said and it is not what they are saying when they are back in Windsor. We are trying to help, and I or the minister will disclose it whenever we are able to do so. But we cannot do it at this moment.

Mr. B. Newman: Mr. Speaker, can the Premier assure us that Ontario's involvement will be on a formula set by the government with the Ford Motor Company and that we will also be assured our fair share of research, development and jobs?

Hon. Mr. Davis: I am not being critical, Mr. Speaker, but the honourable member asked exactly that same question yesterday.

Mr. B. Newman: I didn't ask that at all.

Hon. Mr. Davis: Yes, he did; the wording was exactly the same, and the Minister of Industry and Tourism (Mr. Grossman) gave the answer. That is the second part of the question.

Interjections.

Hon. Mr. Davis: No, no. The member asked the minister about research and development. The minister told the member specifically the answer to exactly the same question.

Mr. Kerrio: What was the answer?

Hon. Mr. Davis: The member should read Hansard. If he had been listening, he would remember.

Mr. Kerrio: I thought the Premier didn't remember.

Hon. Mr. Davis: Oh, I remember. On the first part of the question, I think it is important to point out that there is not a formula for situations of this kind. It is a question of negotiating in the best way possible to find the best possible results. We are not married to or committed to any specific formula.

Mr. Cooke: Mr. Speaker, I would like to ask the Premier or the Minister of Industry and Tourism, whichever one wants to answer it, if he can confirm the story that was in the *Globe and Mail* today, that the basic deal the federal government has struck with Chrysler deals only with the van plant, and that we will have to continue to operate with the production of large cars in Windsor; and large engines, although we are not producing any engines right now.

Will the Premier or the minister go on record, as we would like to do today, saying that if that is the deal, we are totally opposed and will not support that type of a deal with Chrysler Corporation, because it does not provide for long-term jobs in the total Chrysler production in Canada?

Hon. Mr. Davis: Mr. Speaker, there are many complexities in this issue which I have a feeling—I have not had a chance to talk to the minister since noon—are still in the process of discussion. As I said to the honourable member's leader, we are not in a position at this moment to table anything or to answer some of the questions; I think they are very fair, but we cannot answer them at this moment.

Mr. Sargent: Mr. Speaker, the Premier talked with great weight about his formula, whether it is going to be \$100 million or \$60 million, to Ford or Chrysler, or whatever. What is his formula when Owen Sound is getting a \$60-million Canadian Pittsburgh Industries plant, and we needed \$1 million to offset the freight factor, and he wouldn't give us a five-cent piece. What is his formula there?

Hon. Mr. Davis: Mr. Speaker, our formula related to the policy of the member's party and his leader's policy probably is that we should not be giving people like that any money.

HIGH-SPEED POLICE CHASE

Mr. Cassidy: Mr. Speaker, I have a question for the Provincial Secretary for Justice arising out of the high-speed chase in my riding of Ottawa Centre on Sunday, which had a Quebec police cruiser crossing the border from Gatineau and an officer firing a

shot at a suspect in a domestic dispute. The suspect finally was arrested by the Ottawa police, who had been informed by radio when the suspect crossed over into Ontario from Quebec.

Could the minister say what steps the government intends to take to ensure that this kind of incident does not happen again, where policemen from another jurisdiction are using their firearms in Ontario or engaging in high-speed chases in builtup areas rather than leaving the apprehension of suspects to Ontario or local police forces in this province?

Hon. Mr. Walker: Mr. Speaker, I know the Solicitor General is most concerned and most interested in it and intends to make some comment about it.

Mr. Cassidy: Mr. Speaker, I would like to redirect the question to the Solicitor General.

Hon. Mr. McMurtry: Mr. Speaker, I think I heard most of the question on the way in. I have had only a brief report. I have to say I am very concerned about the incident, and I have asked the Ontario Police Commission to give me a full report. As soon as I have that, I will share it with the leader of the New Democratic Party and other members of the Legislature.

Mr. Cassidy: In view of the concern the minister expresses, can he explain why there has been apparently no action taken following a similar incident last fall when a police constable from the city of Hull also was involved on the Ontario side of the border in similar circumstances? If the government is concerned over this particular incident, why did it not act the last time? What steps will the government take to ensure we do not have the difficulties created by police forces of another jurisdiction crossing into Ontario and discharging firearms?

Hon. Mr. McMurtry: It is not accurate to say that no action was taken last time. I think I recall the incident to which the leader of the New Democratic Party is referring and, as I recall, we expressed concern.

Mrs. Campbell: Concern?

Hon. Mr. McMurtry: No, we did not go to war with the Quebec police, if that is what the member for St. George is suggesting. We certainly indicated to them in very strong terms how we thought the matter should have been handled in a different way. Obviously a certain amount of co-operation is required between law enforcement agencies on both sides of the border. I will find out the details with respect to that, but certainly the Quebec police officials were

told very precisely that we thought that matter had been mishandled as far as the Quebec police force was concerned.

2:40 p.m.

Mr. Cassidy: In view of the fact that the suspect in the case last fall was involved in a case concerning property damage, and the suspect in this particular case, Luc Savard, was involved in a domestic dispute, would the Solicitor General make it very clear to the authorities in Quebec that we in this province do not think that suspects in such cases should be shot at with firearms, that we have different means of apprehending them in this province, and would they please keep their firearms at home and let these cases be resolved by our forces on this side?

Hon. Mr. McMurtry: When it comes to the involvement of the police in domestic disputes, I think the member for St. George might have a different view as to the extent to which police should get involved. Notwithstanding that, I am obviously awaiting a full report. I am not able to comment one way or the other as to all the facts that have been related to me by the leader of the New Democratic Party. Obviously I share his concern, and I will report back to the Legislature.

SUDBURY TEACHERS' STRIKE

Mr. Sweeney: I have a question of the Minister of Education, Mr. Speaker. Given the minister's comment of a week ago yesterday—I quote, "I am rapidly running short of patience with the parties in this negotiation, and I have established a specific date within my mind beyond which I will brook no continuation of this present impasse"—and since the Sudbury strike now is in day 53, has that date, in her mind, yet been reached? What is the present state of negotiations? Where do we go from here?

Hon. Miss Stephenson: No, Mr. Speaker, it has not been reached. I had a meeting this morning with the students from the Sudbury region, who expressed their concern about the state of their educational program. I tried to reassure them that a great deal of activity had been going on, relatively quietly, because usually that kind of quiet pressure and quiet activity is more likely to produce a settlement than noisy stands and specifically rigid positions which cannot be modified.

I am aware, although I have not discussed it with either party this morning, that there was a meeting last night of the Sudbury Board of Education. I am aware that certain

discussions have gone on within the last 24 hours. I shall be reporting to the House later.

Mr. Sweeney: I understand from some of the students that, given the provision within HS1 for independent study, which requires the school to provide examination possibilities for the students, those very students who are engaged in an independent study program are encountering difficulty in relation to having someone provide the necessary exams. Has the Ministry of Education given any direction to the Sudbury Board of Education or to the principals in Sudbury, or to anyone, that the provision for independent study is a legitimate one and must be upheld?

Hon. Miss Stephenson: There have been discussions about this between officials of my ministry and representatives within the Sudbury area. We are attempting to find a route to the solution of that problem.

Mr. Laughren: Mr. Speaker, does the minister not agree that, since the two sides are both talking, threatening back-to-work legislation at this time would be an impediment to a negotiated settlement?

Hon. Miss Stephenson: Mr. Speaker, if in fact there is some dialogue between the two sides—and I am not entirely sure of that at this point; there is a rumour that might happen—the announcement of a legislated settlement would not be an impediment. It would be a total prohibition of a negotiated settlement.

Mr. Nixon: Mr. Speaker, since the House will not be in a position to deal with special legislation next week because of our national unity debate, would the minister not think—

Hon. Mr. Davis: Is the member going to be here next week?

Mr. Nixon: I will be here. We are going to be talking about national unity. Would the minister not think it appropriate for her to consider action this week? Or is she in some measure deterred by the threat of the Ontario Secondary School Teachers' Federation to call a province-wide walkout on Thursday?

Hon. Miss Stephenson: Mr. Speaker, I am not in any way deterred by that threat. The suggestion is interesting. I will consider it.

SPECIAL TAX ON CRUDE OIL

Ms. Gigantes: Mr. Speaker, I have a question of the Minister of Energy. Can the minister inform the House whether the proposal for a federal wholesale tax on each barrel of Canadian-produced oil was one of the items he discussed in his recent meetings with the federal Minister of Energy, Mines

and Resources? If so, did he indicate to the federal minister whether the Ontario government is in favour of the federal wholesale tax approach?

Hon. Mr. Welch: Mr. Speaker, we did not discuss that with the federal minister at the time of my meetings a couple of weeks ago.

Ms. Gigantes: Does the minister expect to have an opportunity to thrash through this proposal with his federal counterpart? Does he consider it an important change in the federal government's outlook? How does the government look upon this kind of approach?

Hon. Mr. Welch: Perhaps it is early to be commenting on such a question. If the honourable member is making some reference to the article that appeared in this morning's paper, I take that as a speculative piece. I have no information that would indicate to me that this is the official position of the government of Canada at this time. Indeed, I would rather wait until such time as we have some indication from them as to what their pricing policy might be.

MUNICIPAL POLLUTION CONTROL EQUIPMENT

Mr. B. Newman: Mr. Speaker, I would like to ask a question of the Minister of Revenue. Is the minister aware that many Ontario municipalities have been required to complete substantial additions to their water pollution control plants at the explicit instructions of the government of Ontario? Is he aware that the amount of provincial sales tax that has been collected on the purchase of materials and equipment in the construction of these plants is quite substantial? Will the minister consider the return of such sales tax upon presentation of receipts by municipalities?

Hon. Mr. Maeck: Mr. Speaker, under the act municipalities are entitled to buy sales-tax free for that type of a situation. I certainly would consider it.

GENERAL BAKERIES PLANT SHUTDOWN

Mr. M. N. Davison: Mr. Speaker, I have a question of the Premier, in the absence of the Minister of Labour (Mr. Elgie), regarding the announcement today by General Bakeries Limited that on June 27 they will shut down Hamilton's last major bakery, which is currently employing 205 people in my riding. In view of the fact that the corporate rationale issued today was to increase the efficiency of their operation and therefore the profitability of the corporation, does the

Premier not consider it at least outrageous that this very company showed a profit increase in the last nine months of 1979 of 3,390 per cent over 1978? I would ask the Premier, should not the workers be allowed to share in this remarkable wealth by the company being obliged to accept responsibility for all those workers at the Sanford Avenue plant until such time as they are re-employed elsewhere?

Mr. Worton: They are in the dough.

Hon. Mr. Davis: What is the member from the Guelph area saying? I understand he knows a bit about bakeries.

Mr. Speaker, I am familiar with the facts only as they have been recited by the honourable member. I do not dispute them. I will discuss this with the Minister of Labour and have an answer for the member on Thursday.

Mr. M. N. Davison: While the Premier is discussing those specifics with his Minister of Labour, does he not think, given the number and nature of layoffs that we are seeing in Ontario nowadays—of which I admit this is only one example which specifically concerns me—that the time is more than overdue for the government to take a look at our labour laws in regard to these kinds of shutdowns and closures so that workers can be effectively protected and we can treat them with at least a modicum of human decency, because the people at this plant and other plants are not being treated that way in Ontario right now.

Hon. Mr. Davis: I do not say that our laws represent perfection. I have never claimed that.

Mr. Laughren: That is an understatement.

Hon. Mr. Davis: I would say, compared to most other jurisdictions, the time and notice required et cetera compare relatively favourably with just about any other jurisdiction I know. As I say, I do not suggest for a moment it represents perfection but it is some degree of protection for the working people.

2:50 p.m.

VINYL LINERS IN WATERMAINS

Mr. Sargent: Mr. Speaker, I have a question for the Minister of Health. In view of the recent article in the New York Times, which says that the water supply in more than 200 communities in New England may be contaminated with industrial solvent suspected of causing cancer that is solely being released from the vinyl liners inside water-

mains supplied to these communities by the Johns-Manville Company, could the minister say whether any of these watermains have been supplied by the company for use in Ontario?

Hon. Mr. Timbrell: Mr. Speaker, that is a question I will be glad to take as notice for my colleague the Minister of the Environment (Mr. Parrott). That is not a matter that comes under my jurisdiction.

Mr. Sargent: Surely it is a matter of health. Could the minister not check the work orders or the sales records of Johns-Manville to see whether or not these vinyl liners have been sold in this province? I talked to them previously and they said they work under the same standards as in the United States. The same formulas are operative here in Ontario as the guidelines for production in the United States. Would the minister check it out?

Hon. Mr. Timbrell: As I said, I will be glad to take it as notice for the Minister of the Environment. Matters relating to municipal waterworks for years came under the Ontario Water Resources Commission. More recently, since it was amalgamated with the Ministry of the Environment, they come under my colleague. If the member would like to send me the article, I will make sure the minister gets it so that he can give him an answer when he is next in the House, probably on Thursday.

Mr. Kerrio: Supplementary, Mr. Speaker: Is the minister aware of the literally thousands of feet of asbestos cement pipe throughout the watermains of Ontario? I wonder if he would look at the same time to see whether, when they drill, tap and let loose many minuscule amounts of asbestos in those water pipes, these are a hazard to the drinking water.

INCO EMISSIONS

Mr. Martel: Mr. Speaker, I have a question for the Premier in the absence of the Minister of the Environment (Mr. Parrott). Does it really come as a surprise to the government of Ontario that a paltry \$20,000 study by the feds revealed that Inco Limited is the strongest company in the world, by a strong margin, in the nickel business?

Is the Premier not aware that my colleagues and I have argued for many years that the \$245 million which was used to buy ESB in the United States in about 1975 should have gone towards the new smelter which was planned and cancelled with that purchase?

That was a suggestion of ours this government ignored. Isn't this government only now really getting tough with Inco because Inco has announced its intentions and its ability to reduce its emissions by at least 50 per cent, which is window dressing?

Hon. Mr. Davis: Mr. Speaker, the answer to the last part of the question is no. The answer is yes to the first part of the question, did we know before the federal study that Inco of Sudbury, Ontario, Canada, is one of the significant nickel producers in the world? We know that. As to the second part of the question, which comes between the first and the third, what was it?

Mr. Martel: Should the government not have followed the suggestion from over here that the money invested by Inco in ESB should have gone towards the new smelter which it cancelled in 1975?

Hon. Mr. Davis: I know exactly what the second part of the question was. We always take constructive, helpful advice from any member opposite if it makes sense.

Mr. Laughren: Supplementary, Mr. Speaker: In view of the fact that in 1975 an internal Inco document indicated that for \$300 million emissions could have been reduced to about 1,500 tons per day, would the Premier investigate to see whether or not that could have been done, whether or not his government was sold a bill of goods by Inco and whether or not the company was simply waiting for a good year in which to do it? This year, with first quarter profits of almost \$100 million, the time has come, and the Premier's government has caved in finally.

Hon. Mr. Davis: Mr. Speaker, I would be delighted to find out that information for the member. I am not familiar with that specific figure or the information he is referring to. What I think is really the relevant issue here is to what extent we can, in terms of our responsibilities as a government, reduce the environmental impact of one of the major employers of the Sudbury basin, an important economic asset to the people of Ontario, and do it in a way that makes sense.

ASSISTANCE TO FARMERS

Mr. Riddell: I have a question of the Minister of Agriculture and Food, Mr. Speaker. Having met with the Ontario Federation of Agriculture this morning regarding high interest rates and the impact they are having on the farming community, is the minister or the government prepared to indicate to this Legislature what kind of a relief program he may be implementing in order to help those farm-

ers who are having difficulty arranging finances so they can get their crop planted this year?

Hon. Mr. Henderson: Mr. Speaker, this morning I had the opportunity of meeting with four people from the federation of agriculture—the president, vice-president, a director and one of their economists. They told me that last Thursday in Ottawa they had pointed out the deficiencies to the federal Minister of Agriculture. We talked about many solutions that could be worked out, but at this moment I haven't had the opportunity to consult with my cabinet colleagues and I wouldn't be at liberty to pass out any further information.

Mr. Riddell: Supplementary: Does the minister expect he will be consulting with his cabinet colleagues and arriving at the decision within the next week? The planting season is upon us and these farmers are waiting and hoping there will be some kind of credit subsidy so they can get their crop planted and harvested this year.

Hon. Mr. Henderson: For the last six weeks at every cabinet meeting we have talked about this situation and tried to reach a solution. But I can't give assurance that it will be done this week. I can assure the honourable members that we are aware of the planting season as well as anybody and we will be consulting with the appropriate people within the appropriate time.

Mr. MacDonald: Supplementary, Mr. Speaker: The OFA indicated to us in their representations last week that up to 15 per cent of the farmers will not be able to plant their crops because they don't have working capital. The amount of money required to meet the needs of those who really have their backs to the wall is a relatively paltry \$25 million in loans or guarantee of loans, not a grant—less than the government gave to Ford alone. Does the minister not think it is time, after talking six weeks in the cabinet, that he give this House the assurance he will have a solution this week as of his cabinet meeting tomorrow?

Hon. Mr. Henderson: Mr. Speaker, cabinet met with the federation of agriculture last Wednesday afternoon. There is no indication from that body that 15 per cent of the crops will not be planted.

Mr. MacDonald: That's what they told us.

Hon. Mr. Henderson: They didn't convey it to us. I spoke to them directly about it this morning. They brought out maybe three cases they were aware of where there is real financial hardship—not 15 per cent of our 65,000 farmers. The real concern is about

the low prices, the income to the farmers. So the cabinet is fully aware of all these problems. We are working towards a solution.

Mr. Gaunt: Would the minister consider a loan guarantee as the immediate answer to this very important and pressing problem?

Hon. Mr. Henderson: Mr. Speaker, all types of solutions are being looked at.

Mr. Cassidy: Could the minister explain what I think I have been hearing? Is he now reneging on the commitment that was made by the Treasurer (Mr. F. S. Miller) just a week ago where he said, "We are prepared if necessary to take independent action to assist the farming community in Ontario"? Is that still a commitment or is he backing away on the commitment to the farmers of Ontario?

Hon. Mr. Henderson: Mr. Speaker, any commitments made by this government are and will be fulfilled.

3 p.m.

WASTE DISPOSAL SITES

Mr. Wildman: Mr. Speaker, I have a question of the Minister of Natural Resources if he is still in the environs. Could the minister explain the rationale for his ministry's new policy of privatizing waste disposal sites in wilderness areas, so that people who wish to place their garbage in a waste disposal area rather than just strewing it through the bush have to pay a fee? Is he aware that in the areas where this policy has already been put into effect, garbage is being left in the bush rather than being put in garbage dumps?

Hon. Mr. Auld: Mr. Speaker, if the honourable member would give me an indication of the site or sites in question, I will be glad to get him the answer.

Mr. Wildman: Supplementary: I will be glad to do that for the minister, but could he answer the question? Is it the policy of his ministry to privatize these dumps—that is, hire people to run them rather than run them directly themselves—and as a result, have cottagers and people who live in unorganized areas and in bush areas, who normally use these sites, pay a fee to deposit their garbage? Isn't he concerned that if this kind of policy is extended throughout the north it will lead to even more garbage being thrown around our wilderness areas, desecrating the areas that we should be protecting?

Hon. Mr. Auld: I can give a general answer which I think I have given before. We are looking at a number of options for

privatizing certain public services if we feel they can be done effectively, and we are trying some out, but I am very interested to know the areas to which the honourable member is referring.

LAND DRAINAGE IN RAINY RIVER

Mr. T. P. Reid: Mr. Speaker, I have a question for both the Minister of Northern Affairs and the Minister of Agriculture and Food—the answer will be the same—in regard to the Ontario Federation of Agriculture's proposal for drainage and land clearing in the Rainy River district.

When are the two ministers going to get together and deal with the brief that has been presented to them for over three years now for a comprehensive land-clearing drainage program in the Rainy River district, which would mean hundreds of jobs and thousands of acres more farm land could be available and would produce on a conservative estimate—if I may use that term—between \$15 million and \$25 million annually in the Rainy River agricultural area?

Hon. Mr. Bernier: Mr. Speaker, if I could respond to that question, let me point out to the honourable member that it was the Ministry of Northern Affairs that funded the community employment strategy study in the Rainy River-Fort Frances area, that did surface the need for improved drainage and clearing in the Rainy River district. It would, of course, provide that area with needed employment. We are following up with the recommendations of that study.

In fact, I was in Rainy River just a week ago, in the member's absence, I must admit. I regret that he wasn't with us, even though I did extend an invitation to him.

Hon. Mr. Henderson: Where was he?

Mr. T. P. Reid: I was there the night before.

Hon. Mr. Bernier: I did have an opportunity of meeting with the farming community. We advanced to them a proposal at that time where we suggested a pilot project could be undertaken for drainage. We asked them to identify a specific area that we could deal with. They had that area identified.

They also asked us to go back and look at the possibility of combining a drainage program with a clearing program. We are doing that now, and we hope to get back to them in the not too distant future with a pilot project.

Mr. T. P. Reid: Supplementary: Is the minister not aware that this has been going on

for three years, and that to do the entire project might cost in the realm of \$17 million? Is the minister aware that both he and the federal government have been dragging their feet on a northlands agreement in this area? Does he not further agree that \$17 million could have been taken out of the budget, say, of Minaki Lodge and provided employment year-round for a lot of people?

Hon. Mr. Bernier: This government has agreed to the Ontario north agreement for some considerable time now. The cabinet has approved it. We are ready to go in this province, if the member's brother would move—I have been after him and I asked the member to get after him—to get the federal government to sign it, and they won't. They are sitting on it. They just won't move. If he gets them to move, we are ready to move.

PEEL MEMORIAL HOSPITAL

Mr. Breaugh: Mr. Speaker, I have a question for the Premier. Has the Premier intervened in the dispute between Peel Memorial Hospital, which hired, on the advice of his Ministry of Health, outside consultants, Naus and Newlyn of Canada, to do a cost-saving study for 42 weeks for \$462,000? At the end of a 12-month period, no savings have been incurred and they are looking for their money back. Has the Premier intervened in that dispute at all?

Hon. Mr. Davis: Mr. Speaker, I haven't intervened but I am aware of it.

Mr. Breaugh: Supplementary question: Has the Premier informed the Minister of Health (Mr. Timbrell) of the great cost savings that have been generated there?

Hon. Mr. Davis: Mr. Speaker, I think the Minister of Health is also very aware of it.

MOVEMENT OF EMPLOYEES TO KINGSTON

Mr. Conway: Mr. Speaker, I have a new question for the Minister of Health, keeping in mind the government's Go East strategy and paying particular attention to the Minister of Health's oft-repeated commitment to ensure 900 Ministry of Health jobs for Kingston. He violently shakes his head. He will have a chance perhaps to comment on the article that appeared in the Kingston Whig-Standard of April 16 in which the Minister of Government Services (Mr. Wiseman) indicated: "I don't know about that number 900. I have heard that number but

that's why I always think it's not wise to give a time or an exact number because everyone holds you to that."

My question is: Three years after the minister and his government made the commitment to Kingston, can he at this time tell us and the people of Kingston the exact nature of the commitment to the city of Kingston? Is he prepared today or at a very early opportunity to table documents that indicate precisely what that commitment will amount to for the good people of Kingston and eastern Ontario?

Hon. Mr. Timbrell: Mr. Speaker, as a matter of fact, few members know better than I how good they are. First of all, I think I made it clear in Kingston in July 1978 that because of the decentralization of OHIP, the OHIP component of the move to Kingston would be something in the order of 300 jobs. We have in fact decentralized to the district offices the enrolment and the claims processing functions and thereby reduced the size of the head office. We reduced the overall size of OHIP in that process.

Secondly, I think I made it clear that the government's commitment to 900 jobs overall was intact, and as far as the details of the remaining positions between the OHIP head office component and the balance are concerned, they are being worked out by the Management Board of Cabinet and the Civil Service Commission. Any questions on that should be directed in that direction. The member may also ask my colleague, the Minister of Government Services, about the building, but the design of the general-purpose office building is proceeding for that number of staff.

Mr. Conway: A supplementary to the Chairman, Management Board of Cabinet, or whomever, across the floor: Can he tell me and the people of Kingston today the precise nature of those 900 jobs for the city of Kingston? What are his plans today? Where are those 900 jobs coming from? When, where and how does he plan to make that commitment? At what point will they understand in Kingston the specific nature of that commitment? Can the Chairman, Management Board of Cabinet, three years after his predecessor, Mr. McKeough, made the promise here and in Kingston, tell us by virtue of an oral response or a written document the exact nature of those 900 jobs?

Hon. Mr. McCague: Mr. Speaker, there's a commitment of some standing to transfer 900 jobs to Kingston. That's in the process of being done. The building will be started

quite soon and the jobs will come from within the public service. In due course the member will be given a list of the people who are going to be going there.

3:10 p.m.

ELIGIBILITY OF FOREIGN STUDENTS FOR PROPERTY TAX CREDIT

Mr. Isaacs: Mr. Speaker, I have a new question for the Minister of Revenue. How does the minister justify the fact that foreign students, who earn money as teaching assistants in Ontario colleges and universities, are deemed to be residents of Canada and therefore pay federal income tax, but are not deemed to be residents of Ontario and are therefore not eligible for Ontario property tax and sales tax credits even though they pay Ontario property tax and Ontario sales tax? How can it be fair to make them residents of Canada but not residents of a province?

Hon. Mr. Maack: Mr. Speaker, this is a matter which has been brought to my attention on two or three occasions now. The way the act reads, they are eligible to pay income tax to the federal government but they do not pay any income tax to the province. Because they pay no income tax to the province nor contribute in any way to the economy of the province, they are not eligible for the property tax rebate.

Mr. Isaacs: Supplementary: But they do pay a surcharge on their federal tax, roughly equivalent to what they would pay in Ontario tax if they were paying it. I do not accept that argument but I want to ask the minister a supplementary.

Given that the problem came to the minister's attention only last year, and given that it was the bureaucrats who found the problem, how can he justify going after the students to get money back that was paid to them in previous years when neither the students nor his officials nor federal officials knew there was a problem? Is it not unfair to make the students pay for a bureaucratic mistake?

Hon. Mr. Maack: Mr. Speaker, in this particular instance, members will recall the public accounts committee asked that some auditing be done in this regard. The public accounts committee and also the provincial auditor drew it to our attention and we started to audit. We have gone back and found these errors and are correcting them. It is that simple.

URANIUM CONTRACTS

Mr. Sargent: Mr. Speaker, a question to the Premier: Now that we have the two

heavyweights together there, what kind of mockery are we having in the House when repeatedly the Premier and the Minister of Energy (Mr. Welch) have told me and told the House they would give information about the \$339-million interest-free loan to Denison Mines Limited and Preston Mines Limited as to whether that loan has been paid out or what its status is?

I am concerned about the fact the Minister of Agriculture and Food (Mr. Henderson) is going to go to the Premier, to cabinet, and the whole province knows this is in limbo. I cannot find out from the Premier or the minister whether or not the loan is paid in progressive payments. Have they started to renegotiate as Westinghouse did in the United States? What is the status of this scandalous affair?

Hon. Mr. Davis: Mr. Speaker, I think the honourable member should be very careful about his language. I could be wrong but I think Ontario Hydro is part of the estimates of the Minister of Energy.

Mr. Sargent: It was a government contract, not Ontario Hydro.

Hon. Mr. Davis: With great respect, it was Ontario Hydro. It was not the government of Ontario.

Mr. Sargent: It was a government contract.

Hon. Mr. Davis: It was not a government contract. Ontario Hydro negotiated—

Mr. MacDonald: It was one that was signed and brought to this House to be debated before finalizing it.

Hon. Mr. Davis: We discussed it before and it is Ontario Hydro's contract. It is not a government of Ontario contract at all.

Mr. Sargent: What is the Premier going to do about it? Is he going to tell us about it or not?

Mr. Speaker: The time for oral questions has expired.

NOTICE OF DISSATISFACTION

Ms. Gigantes: Mr. Speaker, I rise under the provisions of standing order 28(a) to indicate my dissatisfaction with the response to a question I asked of the Minister of Energy (Mr. Welch) and to seek leave to debate this question at the end of the regular session this evening.

Mr. Speaker: Notice has been given of dissatisfaction under standing order 28(a). This matter will be debated at 10:30 this evening.

ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS ON NOTICE PAPER

Mr. T. P. Reid: Mr. Speaker, under section 81 of the standing orders, it is required that the ministry respond to questions on the Order Paper within 14 days. I tabled question 120 on April 14, 1980, to the Minister of Health (Mr. Timbrell) in regard to the provision of prosthetic and assistive devices. There has been no response to that question and we are now over the time limit.

Mr. Speaker: We will await a response to that point of order from either the government House leader or the minister affected.

INTRODUCTION OF BILLS

NON-RESIDENT AGRICULTURAL LAND INTERESTS REGISTRATION ACT

Hon. Mr. Henderson moved first reading of Bill 60, An Act to require the Registration of Non-Resident Interests in Agricultural Land in Ontario.

Motion agreed to.

TOBACCO TAX AMENDMENT ACT

Hon. Mr. Maeck moved first reading of Bill 61, An Act to amend the Tobacco Tax Act.

Motion agreed to.

Hon. Mr. Maeck: Mr. Speaker, this bill amends the Tobacco Tax Act to provide investigative and deterrent powers necessary to deal with the growing evidence of incidents of tax evasion arising from the illegal sale of tobacco products by unlicensed wholesalers.

There is increasing evidence of the sale by unlicensed wholesalers in Ontario of tobacco products on which the Ontario tax is not being paid. The origin of much of this tobacco is outside Ontario. This bill provides penalties and other deterrents commensurate with the tax involved and will make unlicensed wholesalers subject to the same liabilities for a breach of the law as now apply to licensed wholesalers.

SUCCESSION DUTY ACT SUPPLEMENTARY PROVISIONS ACT

Hon. Mr. Maeck moved first reading of Bill 62, An Act for the making of Additional Provisions for the Levy and Payment of Succession Duty by or in respect of Property or Persons to whom the Succession Duty Act remains applicable.

Motion agreed to.

Hon. Mr. Maeck: Mr. Speaker, this bill contains provisions supplementing the Succession Duty Act to stop the encroachment on the capital of the estate by life tenants solely for the purpose of avoiding duty. Further, for those cases where duty has been legitimately deferred to some future date, the estate may settle the deferred duty on the basis of property values at the date of the repeal of the act. This will enable the administration of the Succession Duty Act to be wound up more quickly.

I wish to emphasize that the purpose of this bill is to stop an anticipated loss of revenue that may result from the repeal of the Succession Duty Act and the Gift Tax Act.

NIAGARA ESCARPMENT PLANNING AND DEVELOPMENT AMENDMENT ACT

Mr. Swart moved first reading of Bill 63, An Act to amend the Niagara Escarpment Planning and Development Act, 1973.

Motion agreed to.

Mr. Swart: Mr. Speaker, the purpose of this bill is to alter the procedures relating to the preparation and implementation of a Niagara Escarpment plan for the Niagara Escarpment planning area. The bill also contains amendments to the development control provisions contained in the act.

3:20 p.m.

One major effect of the bill will be to remove development permit appeals from the Ministry of Housing and direct them to the Ontario Municipal Board and through it to the cabinet. The second major effect of the bill will be to cause the plan covering the Niagara Escarpment planning area to be incorporated into and composed of the official plans of the regional and county municipalities that have jurisdiction in the planning area.

The amendments require the Niagara Escarpment Commission to propose a plan in the form of official plans and amendments to existing official plans for municipalities in the Niagara Escarpment planning area. Proposed plans and plan amendments would be approved in the same manner as an official plan, and official plan amendments are approved under the Planning Act.

Mr. Speaker: Order. A brief explanation is permitted with regard to the principle and the intent of the bill. But surely ample latitude has been given by the chair in this instance.

Mr. Swart: Would the Speaker permit me one more sentence to finish the paragraph?

Mr. Speaker: If it was that important, you should have put it at the front.

Mr. Swart: The Niagara Escarpment plan is composed of the official plans and official plan amendments that result upon completion of the approval process.

NIAGARA ESCARPMENT PLANNING AND DEVELOPMENT AMENDMENT ACT

Mr. Swart moved first reading of Bill 64, An Act to amend the Niagara Escarpment Planning and Development Act, 1973.

Motion agreed to.

Mr. Swart: Mr. Speaker, the purpose of this bill is to limit the types of development that may be permitted or exempted under the act until the Niagara Escarpment plan is approved. Between April 29, 1980, and the day on which the plan is approved, only residential and agricultural development for which a severance is not required and additions to or alterations of existing buildings may be permitted, provided the estimated cost of completion does not exceed \$100,000.

The bill also amends procedures relating to appeals from decisions concerning development permits. The appeal right is broadened to include a 30-day notice period, during which an appeal may be made to the Ontario Municipal Board.

ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS ON NOTICE PAPER

Hon. Mr. Gregory: Mr. Speaker, I would like to table the answers to questions 17, 30, 33, 34, 123, 124 and 125 on the Notice Paper. (See appendix, page 1262)

ORDERS OF THE DAY

BUDGET DEBATE

(continued)

Resuming the adjourned debate on the amendment to the motion that this House approves in general the budgetary policy of the government.

Mr. Laughren: Mr. Speaker, it gives me great pleasure to respond on behalf of my party to the 1980 Ontario budget. As with any response to a budget, a lot of work goes into preparing a serious response. My case is no exception. I would like to pay special tribute to two of the key researchers in this area, Sym Gill and Anne Martin, who are sitting beneath the gallery, and my legislative assistant, Vivian McCaffrey, who is underneath the Speaker's gallery. Be-

cause of their knowledge of the Ontario economy and their editing skills, they are solely responsible for the lack of rhetoric and the quality of content.

It would not be possible to feel comfortable in a response to the budget without the wholehearted and 100 per cent support of my colleagues.

Mr. Nixon: Where is your leader?

Mr. Laughren: My leader will be in. Don't worry about that.

Mr. Nixon: I hear you are going to miss the vote on Thursday night.

Mr. Laughren: We will be here.

The Treasurer (Mr. F. S. Miller) has brought down a budget which provides increased grants to senior citizens, aid to small business and extra funding for selected social services. As New Democrats, we are proud of our fight for these increases and, quite frankly, we have every right to take credit for them. We know these increases are very important to the people who receive them and so we will not vote no confidence in the government at this time over this budget. I emphasize, "at this time."

There are, however, two points about the new increases to pensioners that I would like to make. We expect the Treasurer will find a way to include in the new program those senior citizens who have been arbitrarily excluded because of new eligibility criteria. The member for Downsview (Mr. Di Santo) has argued eloquently for their inclusion, and there should be no doubt about where this party stands: We want those senior citizens to have full access to the new program.

Second, we are concerned that some senior citizens will still be below the poverty line—in particular, single pensioners. As we have been urging for the last five years, the guaranteed annual income supplement (Gains) payments must be increased for single pensioners at least to the Statistics Canada poverty level. For those who do not know what that poverty level is, for 1980, for a single pensioner, it is in excess of \$5,700. By our calculation it is \$5,768 for a single pensioner and \$8,359 for a couple. The Treasurer should look very seriously at raising the Gains level at least to meet the poverty line that is established by the Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto and by Statistics Canada.

We are far from satisfied with this budget. We are dissatisfied with the inequities that remain in our tax system. We are not satisfied that the government has done all it can in funding social services. We are not satisfied with this government's response to the

problems being faced by home owners who may lose their homes because of rising interest rates. But we are willing to examine the options which we assume will be contained in the discussion paper to be tabled.

Unlike the Liberal Party, we do not believe it is wise to set up an expensive, bureaucratic and comprehensive scheme at a time when the number of hardship cases is still undetermined. We do believe, however, that relief must be provided to those in danger of losing their homes. I shall return to this problem in a few moments.

We were pleased that a commitment has been made to aid farmers who need assistance, and we assume that will be done immediately. The Treasurer has not provided interest rate relief for small business but instead has introduced an investment tax credit and reduced the small business capital tax. These two measures should encourage new investment and job creation. Together, they provide an alternative to interest rate relief. I suspect that these concessions will do infinitely more for the small business community than the Treasurer's 1979 brainchild, the small business development corporations. The SBDCs are not working as a tool to encourage risk capital and job creation. They have simply become a 30 per cent tax dodge and the Treasurer should abandon that program, because it is just crumbs to the small business community.

We are not satisfied with the Treasurer's initiatives for the economy in general. This budget, while providing assistance to individuals, does not address itself to the economic problems facing Ontario. We are appalled at the complete lack of initiative shown by the Treasurer and his obvious lack of understanding of the precarious state of Ontario's industrial sector.

The Treasurer states in his budget that "we must continue to develop and implement comprehensive policies to ensure that Ontario's economic performance improves steadily through the 1980s." Having said that, the Treasurer proceeds to tinker with the economy. The only initiative shown by this Treasurer, since he has assumed his portfolio, has been the Employment Development Fund in last year's budget.

Mr. Peterson: What about the car rebate? That was creative.

Mr. Laughren: That was creative, but it didn't do much for the Ontario economy.

The Treasurer is a sly fellow. He refers to 1980 as a year of growth, healthy job creation and strong investment performance in manufacturing. He hides on a statistical table the fact that the real growth rate for

Ontario will be only 0.3 per cent. Nor does he say that job creation will drop dramatically from 161,000 to 59,000 jobs. Nor does he mention that housing starts will drop from 57,000 to 50,000. We had to examine the statistical tables for that information too.

Of course, this Treasurer is renowned for his optimism. Last year he predicted a growth rate of 3.3 per cent. It turned out to be 2.6 per cent. He predicted housing starts at 71,700, and there were only 57,000. The Treasurer may well be too optimistic this year again. The Conference Board in Canada forecasts a negative growth rate of 0.6 per cent for Ontario, the second lowest in Canada. Of even more concern for Ontario is the conference board's prediction for the province's manufacturing sector of a 3.8 per cent decline in production. With the massive deficit in the manufacturing trade of \$17 billion, it is a serious matter indeed to see a forecast of a further decline.

3:30 p.m.

The Conference Board in Canada predicts a seven per cent decline in construction and a 16.5 per cent decline in housing starts for Ontario. That would be 10,000 fewer housing starts than last year and down 25,000 starts from two years ago. It is only a matter of time before those statistics translate into a housing shortage and a lack of rental accommodation. Given the 30 per cent unemployment rate in Metro Toronto's construction industry and the 34 per cent rate in northeastern Ontario, why is the Treasurer ignoring that problem of unemployment in the construction industry and the need to create more housing starts?

This Treasurer is preoccupied with trivia. He has provided increases to senior citizens but has not touched our tax system, which remains incredibly regressive. Ontario citizens pay the highest, most regressive taxes in Canada. I say that without fear of contradiction. When personal income tax and health premiums, less tax credits, are considered, a family earning \$15,000 a year pays a tax rate of 68.5 per cent of the federal income tax, higher than any other province in Canada. I say without fear of contradiction that those people are paying the highest rate of tax in Canada, which makes it a very regressive tax system.

I must say it is reaching rather deep for the Treasurer to boast about the absence of tax increases, when previous Tory Treasurers have already burdened us with the highest tax rate in Canada. The Treasurer fails to mention the tax he could have raised with-

out affecting the vast majority of Ontario residents. I refer, of course, to succession duties, which would tax only the top three per cent of estates and collect revenues in excess of \$60 million. Those are the succession revenues which this government wiped out last year. Corporation and mining profit taxes also could have been raised to increase revenues.

Let us contrast for a moment the burden of taxation of individuals with that of the corporate sector. A couple of weeks ago in this chamber we debated a private member's bill dealing with the phenomenon known as tax expenditures. We in the New Democratic Party have been demanding for years that this government come clean on the cost of tax write-offs.

Mr. Peterson: Which bill was that?

Mr. Laughren: That was the bill of the member for London Centre (Mr. Peterson), and we supported that bill.

Indications are that the cost to taxpayers is enormous. Estimates of federal tax expenditures are in the neighbourhood of \$30 billion per year. Since Ontario paid out most of the federal tax expenditures, we know that hundreds of millions of dollars are flowing into corporate coffers.

I recall a debate we had in this chamber with Treasurers John White and Darcy McKeough over the sales tax exemption on production machinery. And we are not talking only of sales exemptions. Tax expenditures include processing allowances, nontaxation of capital gains, depletion allowances and so on. Most of these measures have been shown to increase corporate profit much more than they have increased investment. The mining machinery tax exemption is just an example. How much does that cost us? If the Treasurer knows, he should tell us. His predecessors could tell us neither the cost nor the number of jobs it supposedly created.

We need a tax expenditure budget in Ontario. We need a tax expenditure budget that provides details on lost revenues, jobs created and income redistribution. The Treasurer is prepared to introduce a tax expenditure for large corporations without adequate evidence that it benefits either the private sector or high-income earners. Any tax expenditure, however, that provides relief to low-income earners is brought in with much statistical justification and breast beating.

The abolishment of succession duties and gift taxes last year was done with absolutely no proof that it was necessary, but a reduction in Ontario's Health Insurance Plan premiums or a freeze on tuition fees would

be unthinkable for this Treasurer. If it ever did happen, he would table mountains of documentation detailing arguments against any such scheme, or he would simply pass the buck to the federal government.

Let no one be misled: This budget is not one that a New Democratic Party government would introduce.

Mr. Kerrio: You probably can't support it.

Mr. Laughren: When I think of what the federal Liberals are going to do to this country in the next year, I can understand why the provincial Liberals are clamouring for an election now rather than in six months or a year from now.

Interjections.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: Order. Order.

Mr. Laughren: I would like to spend a few moments on the subject of interest rates. While I understand that interest rate policy is an area of federal jurisdiction and a responsibility of the federal Liberal government, the protection of small business, home owners and farmers is a provincial responsibility.

At the federal level, the NDP has rejected the Conservative, Liberal and Bank of Canada policy of importing its interest rate policy from the United States. The NDP says we need a made-in-Canada interest rate policy. That is where we differ from the provincial Liberals.

Surely the Treasurer can see that current high interest rates will cause lower investments, less residential construction, severe hardships for many Ontario residents and fewer jobs? This, on top of the Treasurer's own forecast of 0.3 per cent growth for Ontario in 1980! The NDP does not think it is good enough for the Treasurer to sit back if the federal government provides no interest rate relief for farmers and home owners. We believe that an interest rate relief program is incomplete if not accompanied by an economic plan to make us more independent of United States monetary policies.

Ontario's home owners and tenants will not be well served by a slump in the construction industry and a housing shortage two or three years from now, by rising rents or by the supply of apartment buildings drying up. Ontario consumers will not be well served if Ontario farmers have to raise prices substantially to cover their borrowing costs, if young farmers cannot continue to operate their farms, or if our farm land falls into fewer and fewer hands.

Ontario will not be well served if the small business sector faces a spate of

bankruptcies or if fewer jobs are created by this sector. It makes no sense whatsoever to allow high interest rates to cause such social and economic upheaval in Ontario.

The disastrous consequences of federal Liberal and Conservative interest rate policies are readily apparent. Indeed, this minister's own study in November of the economic impact of high rates spells out very dramatically what serious effects high interest rates will have. It showed that current policy is reducing growth and adding to unemployment.

One of the things we are losing sight of in the current debate is the basic cause behind our high interest rates. The Treasurer is right when he points out that monetary policy is in the jurisdiction of the federal government, but that does not absolve him or his government of responsibility to aid those who will be worst hit.

But the Treasurer and the Davis government have an even deeper and more significant responsibility, because it is not only the economic policy of the federal Liberal government which has led to the present crisis. Successive provincial Conservative governments have consistently and foolishly adopted an economic strategy which has led to the present crisis. A pox on both their houses when it comes to interest rate policies.

Let me be very specific. Our enormously high trade deficit with other countries has had to be financed by attracting foreign capital, and this has been done by raising interest rates. The primary cause for our high deficits has been the underlying structural weaknesses of our economy and the reluctance of both Tory or Liberal governments to deal with the real issues. The real structural problems have been pointed out to the Treasurer over and over again. But he and his predecessors have not only stood by, they have actively encouraged more foreign investment while doing nothing to stop the erosion of our manufacturing sector.

It is the dependent nature of the Ontario and Canadian economies which has led to the high deficits. These deficits have been covered by attracting foreign capital and foreign capital has guaranteed further deficits, thus perpetuating a vicious circle which can only be broken by a concentrated policy of readdressing the structural deficiencies of our economy.

The consequences of using high interest rates to attract capital and prop up the

dollar have been restrained spending, reduced growth, unduly high mortgage and loan rates, and excessive unemployment and inflation. That is why we feel so strongly that this government has a responsibility to assist those who are worst hit by interest rates and not to abandon them to the marketplace.

It is the government's policy of neglect of our basic industrial strength which has been a major contributor to conditions that have led to high interest rates. I will describe in detail later some of our proposals for dealing with these long-term structural problems.

However, it is clear that what they require is a vision and a capacity to formulate a manufacturing and industrial strategy that will free us from the shackles of a resource-based and dependent status. I seriously doubt whether this government has the vision and capacity to respond to that challenge, but at least it has the capacity to act in the short run to mitigate the worst effects of high interest rates.

3:40 p.m.

I am encouraged by some aspects of the budget in this regard. The aid to small business will go some way towards relieving the burden there, and we will insist that the budget's commitment to aid the farm community is kept by the Treasurer and his government.

That leaves us with the home owners. I fully understand the Treasurer's reluctance to jump in with a full-blown subsidy scheme and repeat the political embarrassments of Mr. Crosbie's mortgage deductibility plan. The federal Liberals recognized the inequity of that proposal, and I am sure they would recognize the inequity of handing over millions of dollars in grants to home owners with incomes of \$35,000 or 37,500, as their provincial counterparts would have us do, but inequity was never a preoccupation of the Ontario Liberals, anyway.

I hope the Treasurer agrees with me that we have to focus our assistance on those who need it most. What we are proposing to the Treasurer is the establishment of a temporary fund—my leader has called it a home owners' security fund—which would be able to provide either loans or grants to families in the income range of \$25,000 a year or less, who would be facing severe constraints to mortgage renewals at current rates. Such a program should embody the long-established principle that the gross debt service should not be higher than 30 per cent of family income. The Treasurer would

be following the principle of the assistance program for owners under the Assisted Home Ownership Program, which I believe both he and the Minister of Housing (Mr. Bennett) have welcomed.

As far as tenants go, there simply has to be an enriched tax credit program for tenants. That means that high mortgage rates for the renewal of apartments are not passed through to the tenant without relief. We say there needs to be an enriched tax credit program for tenants as well.

I will give a couple of examples of our program of interest rate relief. I know the Treasurer would want me to be specific. Let us use the example of a family with an income of \$15,000 a year and an outstanding mortgage of \$30,000, which is having its mortgage refinanced from, say, 11 per cent to 16 per cent. In order to get that family down to 30 per cent of family income on mortgage payments, it would receive an annual grant of \$1,320.

Another example is a family with an income of \$20,000 and an outstanding mortgage of \$35,000, and which is refinancing, for example, at 16 per cent. To get that family down to 30 per cent would require a grant of \$672 annually.

Finally, another example: A family earning an income of \$25,000, with an outstanding mortgage of \$40,000, would receive a grant of \$144.

We would have a more equitable system. In the case I have used, the family at \$15,000 would get a grant of \$1,320, the family with an income of \$20,000 would get a grant of \$672 annually, and the family with an income of \$25,000 would get a grant of \$144; so it is a more equitable system. We feel very strongly about that, and we assume the Treasurer, when he finally brings forth his plan, will give serious consideration to that plan which would help home owners in need.

I want to turn now to the fundamental challenge facing the Davis government, and that is the rebuilding of our industrial economy. Regardless of ideological stripe, no government will be able to turn our economy around without rebuilding its foundation. For it is that foundation, built on resources and foreign capital, that is now inadequate to carry the weight of an economy straining under high unemployment, high inflation and huge manufacturing trade deficits.

Ontario has always been the industrial heartland of Canada. Ontario accounts for 80 per cent of Canadian exports of manufactured goods. While the economic clout of the west is growing, Ontario will remain the

key to the industrial success or failure of this country for many years to come. But we are in trouble. Excluding trade in automobiles and parts, only 17 per cent of Ontario's exports are finished products, and the proportion of employment engaged in manufacturing in Ontario is declining from an already low level by international standards.

To rely on the expansion of resource exploitation to increase exports is unacceptable. Resource projects are both energy- and capital-intensive, and the spinoff or employment multiplier is lower than that for manufacturing. It is frightening to realize that while this country has a much-touted trade surplus on goods, nearly two thirds of that is in crude and fabricated material, and that surplus comes from a very narrow range of goods: cereal grains, natural gas, forest products, nonferrous metals and alloys, coal, and iron and steel products. Imports of all other foods and crude and fabricated materials exceed exports. We could have accomplished as much a hundred years ago. We have the standard of living of an industrialized country and the trade pattern of an underdeveloped one. But the area of both disaster and salvation for Canada and Ontario is manufacturing, especially the high-technology sectors.

Manufacturing has recorded a deficit for 25 years, but the picture is getting dramatically worse. In 1979 alone the deficit increased from \$12 billion to almost \$17 billion. It is not difficult to identify the worst problem areas. Auto production registered a record \$3-billion deficit in 1979 and machinery a record \$5-billion deficit. Both industries are essential to an industrialized economy.

In high-technology goods the Science Council of Canada has stressed that the trade deficit is growing by leaps and bounds. Trade deficits represent lost jobs, lost wealth, lost government revenues, less money for social and health services and a warning about the future. When a province is suffering serious unemployment, to export jobs through trade deficits is clearly wrong. If the huge deficit in manufactured goods speaks volumes about our future, the escalating deficit on services speaks to the indiscretions of our past.

The deficit on interest payments, dividends and business services was \$9 billion in 1979, up from \$3 billion just five years earlier. The services deficit is very substantially the result of excessive foreign ownership in the economy. Interest and dividends and fees for licences, machinery, consultants

and financial services now make up the majority of the services deficit. The establishment of the Foreign Investment Review Agency was an act to allay the growing fears that we were being completely sold out.

FIRA has acted as a perfect smokescreen which gives Canadians the impression that foreign takeovers and new investment are being monitored. In fact, since its creation in 1974 about \$20 billion in interest and dividends has been paid out to non-Canadians and foreign ownership is still growing rapidly. More than 90 per cent of all applications are approved and Ontario rubber-stamps most of them, in sharp contrast with Saskatchewan which has set out guidelines for each sector. If the takeovers continue, our services deficit will keep growing, making matters worse.

I was astounded yesterday when I heard the member for London Centre (Mr. Peterson) talk about the problems of a branch-plant economy, when it was the federal Liberal government that conducted a sellout of this country that has no equal in the world.

I can only hope the provincial Liberals are in contact with federal counterparts to tell them it is unacceptable and that kind of policy must end once and for all. It wears a little thin hearing the provincial Liberals talking in this chamber about the problems of high interest rates and the problems of foreign ownership. Maybe they should talk to their federal cousins in Ottawa so we can start rebuilding and repatriating the Ontario economy.

Mr. Nixon: If you had the guts to vote against the Tories. Talk about a lily-livered approach to policies. Yours takes the cake.

Mr. Laughren: If there is a lily-livered approach to the Ontario economy, it is by the provincial Liberals and the federal Liberals.

We cannot solve the problem of our deteriorating manufacturing sector or our huge services deficit without tackling the problem of foreign ownership. We cannot tackle the foreign ownership problem without government intervention in planning the economy. Thus an explanation surfaces—a solution ideologically unacceptable to this government.

Instead of action, the Davis government has decided to ignore the problem of foreign ownership of the Ontario economy. We have the spectacle of our Minister of Industry and Tourism (Mr. Grossman) begging for more

foreign investment with his glossy booklet *The Profit Centre*, despite the evidence that the advantages of such policies are short-run and illusory, and the disadvantages long-run and very tangible.

As though our dependency were not bad enough, the federal government, with the tacit approval of this government in Ontario, is steering us towards freer trade with the United States. One would think that the past experiments in free trade, such as the auto pact, would sound a warning to our government. But such is not the case. Our Treasurer, the Premier and the Minister of Industry and Tourism have put out a siren call to foreign investors to take advantage of free trade on the North American continent.

We all know the arguments for free trade, but we believe they are virtually irrelevant when applied to the Canadian economy. Free trade does little to stimulate exports by the branch plants which stalemate our manufacturing sector, because many have export restrictions and sell to the Canadian market only. The arguments for freer trade with the United States are based on the concept that trade occurs between equals, with each country exercising its natural advantages. This is not the case in Canada, particularly when we consider that more than 70 per cent of our trade is with the United States.

3:50 p.m.

Continentalism assumes that Canadian industry would be efficient and prosperous if it had access to a larger free-trade market. In fact, export opportunities exist for those industries which have first developed the expertise and efficiency to meet domestic demand. If the Treasurer and the Minister of Industry and Tourism were being honest with the people in Ontario, they would call continentalism by its real name instead of trying to gloss it over with fancy names, because that is really what they are all about.

Besides, the domestic market is not too small in several very key industries, sectors which are absolutely critical to the rebuilding of Canadian manufacturing. We have a large domestic market for machinery; electrical products, such as hydroelectric equipment, wire and cable; consumer electronics; agricultural machinery; mining machinery; processed food; automobiles and parts. These are the very industries where we have huge trade deficits and, in some cases, free trade with the United States.

Our serious problem will not be resolved with more foreign ownership, with a pre-occupation with export-led recovery, with free

trade with the United States, or with global product mandating. This is the Tory industrial strategy, but it is plainly and simply misguided. We in the New Democratic Party believe we should concentrate on replacing imports to revitalize secondary manufacturing, manufacturing owned by Canadians.

Let us further examine this government's strategy and the one we New Democrats propose. At the centre of the Ontario Conservative strategy is an export promotion gimmick called global product mandating. It is a strategy designed to encourage multinational branch plants in Canada to specialize in a narrow range of products for sale on world markets. It is a strategy known as export-led recovery. It is a wrong policy for Canada and Ontario, because it simply encourages the rationalization of Canadian manufacturing into the North American market, which is really disguised continentalism.

In Canada we will make one product line, according to this government's philosophy, and import the rest. When the parent company decides in the future to rationalize further and produce that line in the southern United States, we will import all the product line and our deindustrialization will continue. Recent cases in point are production cutbacks at Winchester-Western in Cobourg and Outboard Marine in Peterborough. How many examples does the government need before it understands that it is the wrong policy that it is pursuing?

Global product mandating is a fool's paradise. Who believes that the parent company will transfer research and development to Canada? Will such a strategy give us more skilled jobs? If the Treasurer is being honest, he knows that it will not. Global product mandating is the wrong policy because it means this government has abdicated to the multinationals any control it has over economic planning. The government is really saying to the multinationals, "Do your own thing." That is what it is saying, and that is not in the best interests of Ontario.

If the Treasurer believes that export-led recovery is the right strategy, I hope he will stand in his place and tell us of jurisdictions that created or rebuilt a healthy manufacturing sector without first meeting the demands of the domestic market. Surely it is understood by serious economic planners that we must develop the economies of scale and expertise in manufacturing by meeting domestic needs before launching ourselves into world markets.

Since the US is the prime target of global product-mandated sales, does the Treasurer

seriously believe the Americans, with their own balance-of-payment problems, will tolerate increased imports from Canada?

The Tory strategy has some other components besides continentalism through global product mandating: increased foreign investment, a Shop Canadian program, globe-trotting trade missions, government procurement with a paltry 10 per cent preference for Canadian-made goods, and the Employment Development Fund. The Ontario government has put a lot of effort into attracting more foreign investment to Ontario this past year. Not only did they approve 92 per cent of foreign investment applications, but they also actively sought capital on trips to Japan, Europe, England and the southern United States. If I did not know better, I would think the Treasurer was a Liberal, the way he is trying to sell us out.

Hon. F. S. Miller: The member can call me many things, but not that.

Mr. Laughren: That is what we have to think. The federal Liberals have sold this country out, and now the provincial Tories are doing it. I am glad someone, and I am proud it is our party, is standing up and saying it is time to repatriate the Ontario economy. Somebody has to say it.

The most tangible effort is the government's slick brochure called *The Profit Centre*, in which Ontario is sold as a lucrative place to invest industrial capital, because of the large market, moderate corporate taxes, no restrictions on the use of capital, and competitive wage rates. No restrictions on the use of capital means, in other words, they make their money here and take it out. And we wonder why we have a trade deficit.

The only real argument the government can make for this blatant pitch for more foreign control is the creation of jobs in the short run. In fact, it only neutralizes the hundreds of jobs that are disappearing from existing branch plants as the parent companies rationalize their production. It does nothing about the 350,000 jobs that are lost as a result of our manufacturing trade deficit or about the thousands of jobs that are represented in the annual billions of dollars in service payments that flow out of Canada.

The cornerstone of the Treasurer's budget last year was the Employment Development Fund. It was designed to provide funds for new investments and, above all, jobs. When the scheme was introduced, we criticized it because it had no focus. No commitment was made to rebuild any particular sector. One year later, our criticism remains valid. If no change is made in the employment develop-

ment program, the money will continue to be scattered over the entire manufacturing sector with no coherent strategy in place.

The New Democratic Party is committed to rebuilding and repatriating our manufacturing sector. But if public funds are to be used, we believe the result should be a public presence in the manufacturing sector. We would select a sector and make it count. The Ontario taxpayers would have a tangible stake in their economy by insisting on equity and performance guarantees to go along with the public's investment. When I see the agreements this government is signing, in conjunction with the federal Liberals, who after all are putting up a third of the money in these employment development programs, I have to wonder what kind of managers they are of our economy. A combination of Liberals and Conservatives trying to dabble in the economy is a disaster.

The Davis government's measures are not the way to repatriate and rebuild the Ontario economy, and they will have no significant effect on our balance of payments deficit. The New Democratic Party has a strategy for Ontario. We believe there is enormous potential to rebuild our manufacturing sector, to further process our resources and to repatriate our economy. I know that the Davis government would claim the same goals, but the crucial difference between what they say and what we say is that we are willing to challenge the traditional theories and strategies that have put us in our present untenable position.

We see Ontario's economic problems as deep and structural, and we would intervene to solve them. Import replacement would be our main goal. We would shift demand to Canadian-made goods. We would work with the private sector to rebuild our manufacturing industries and intervene publicly in strategic sectors where private businesses are unable or unwilling to do the job. Since the rebuilding process will take time, we would carefully select particular sectors, especially in high-technology areas, where we have a large domestic market and where imports capture a large portion of the market.

Transportation, processed foods and beverages, synthetic textiles, health-care products, energy conservation, consumer electronics, electrical products, and machinery are examples of sectors that desperately need rebuilding. Mining machinery is a classic example of a structural deficiency that must be corrected. I have raised this

issue many times, but the government's only response has been to have a trade show.

(The Minister of Industry and Tourism is the master of saying one thing and doing another. On February 29, 1980, he said to the Edmonton Chamber of Commerce, and I quote: "During the mining boom of the 1950s, firms in Canada placed orders for hundreds of millions of dollars worth of mining equipment with companies in Sweden, Germany and the United States. Those orders effectively underwrote the research and development work that has made their manufacturing industries internationally dominant. In short, we helped to create the industrial strength within those nations which now rank among our major international competitors.")

I hope no one ever accuses the minister of learning from his mistakes. His government has done virtually nothing about the problem, and here we are importing an increasing proportion of our mining machinery. We are still doing it. Seventy-three per cent of our mining machinery is imported, up from 48 per cent in 1964. We are number three in the world in the production of minerals, we are number two in the consumption of mining machinery, and we are number one in the importation of mining machinery. If ever a high-technology sector screamed out for government intervention, it is the mining machinery sector.

4 p.m.

We have the world's greatest laboratories, and the potential for growth is awesome when we contemplate projects such as heavy oil. In northeastern Ontario alone, Inco, Falconbridge, Rio Algom and Texasgulf provide a potential for \$750 million in sales per year. The federal Department of Energy, Mines and Resources estimates that new mining projects in Canada already scheduled up to 1990 will require \$3.5 billion worth of equipment, and even that is not all-inclusive.

We estimate that, with spinoff jobs included, mining machinery imports represent a total of 10,000 potential jobs in Canada. But this government, as a direct result of its ideological paralysis, refuses to intervene and establish a crown corporation to produce mining machinery or explore the possibilities for joint ventures.

The New Democratic Party, with resources in the public sector, would have the leverage to develop an aggressive, modern mining machinery complex. We believe this would provide Ontario with new jobs and research and development expenditures. We

believe that further processing of our ores in northern Ontario, combined with the production of mining machinery, would give northern Ontario a new lease on life, while taking an important step towards rebuilding secondary industries.

In other high-technology sectors already mentioned, the justification for our commitment to replace imports is as compelling as that for mining machinery. The Treasurer has not taken a single new initiative in this budget to create jobs. I know the Treasurer views all government job creation as make-work projects. He does not understand that government can create new wealth, rather than simply absorb it.

New Democrats are not confined by such ideological straitjackets. We believe there are enormous opportunities in Ontario and that this government has an obligation to take advantage of them. We have huge trade deficits in mining machinery; we should produce the machinery here. We desperately need alternatives to nuclear energy, alternatives that are cheaper and more labour-intensive.

We are in the middle of a severe residential construction slump, and it is going to get worse. We need affordable homes and rental accommodation. An enriched home insulation program would conserve energy and create jobs. A solar heating subsidy would save energy, encourage research into this key alternative energy source and create jobs. Special grants for hard services for northern Ontario would provide much-needed sewer and water supplies and create jobs.

It should be noted that this budget ignores northern Ontario, except for minuscule mining exploration incentives. There was a day when this government would not have brought in a budget which so totally ignored northern Ontario. It is a sad commentary on the government.

We have an increasing deficit on processed food. We should grow and process it here. I am sure the Treasurer has seen the Ministry of Agriculture and Food's poster showing a fork laden with processed mixed vegetables—carrots, peas, green beans and corn—suspended over the declaration, "Good things grow in Ontario." The poster should read, "Good things used to grow in Ontario." For that matter, they used to be processed here, and the cans and containers were manufactured here. Instead, that one forkful of vegetables cost Ontario farmers and workers close to \$1 million in lost wages in 1979. Add to this the other \$33 million in forfeited wages in just 12 other processed

fruits and vegetables crops, and the seriousness of the situation becomes obvious.

Thirty-four million dollars in lost wages translates into a good many jobs. It could mean the difference between some Ontario farmers staying in production or going out of production. It does mean the difference between jobs and unemployment. While this Treasurer is forever bragging about jobs being created by the private sector, he chooses to ignore situations where the private sector is failing miserably.

Food processing is an industrial sector which the government should regard as critical. The Minister of Agriculture and Food (Mr. Henderson) sees his responsibilities as beginning and ending at the farm gate. The Minister of Industry and Tourism (Mr. Grossman), who should be concerned about this, thinks that food is grown and processed at La Scala. The Treasurer regards the problem as one that the marketplace will resolve. That is a fine combination of concerns.

There is one major issue simmering throughout Ontario and that is nuclear energy. While I have grave reservations about the safety of nuclear power plants and the storage of their wastes, I would like today to deal with the economic and job-creation aspects of energy. The conventional wisdom being preached is that, while nuclear energy is expensive, there are no acceptable alternatives. The facts, however, show that alternative forms of energy have real potential for providing jobs. The introduction of a broad range of currently feasible conservation measures could simultaneously cut the consumption of rapidly depleting energy resources and create hundreds of thousands of new jobs. The expansion of solar energy programs has similar potential.

Perhaps the Treasurer would prefer an analysis using some Bay Street language. There are numerous studies that compare the impact of large-scale, highly centralized technologies like nuclear power, or tar sands plants with that of the smaller-scale, dispersed, decentralized option. These studies conclude that, normally, the turnaround for capital invested in conservation measures is much shorter than for capital invested in large-scale megaprojects.

As an internal Department of Energy, Mines and Resources memo put it: "Consider energy conservation in buildings: payback of investment in residences of five years, at 1977 energy prices; in commercial buildings, the criterion is overall probably closer to two

years. Furthermore, energy savings often commence immediately investment is made.

"Now compare that with investment in energy supply enhancement projects, such as an oil sands plant. At international prices, the payback on investment when production commences would be at least five years. The sum of the investment must be made seven years before production ever commences. On average, that payback is probably closer to 10 years at international prices. At 1977 prices, the payback would be over 12 years."

The intervening years have changed the numbers, but the principle illustrated remains the same. As we members from northern Ontario know all too well, there is a boom-and-bust cycle associated with very large-scale projects, which tend to leave the regions involved with little to show for the investment once the project is completed.

For instance, despite the investment of at least \$34 billion in the Bruce nuclear power development, the region remains economically sterile and dependent on continued investment in project construction for economic health. Investments in conservation or solar, on the other hand, tend to be considerably more dispersed, extend over a longer period and create more stable employment because of the relatively small scale of the projects or products involved.

It should be emphasized that small-scale diversity will not work for all our energy problems, but it will work for many sectors in cases and has advantages to recommend it quite apart from cost comparisons.

The Treasurer should step back for a moment, from the immediacy of the debate over nuclear safety, Darlington, and his government's hype over the superiority of the Candu reactor. He should investigate very thoroughly the alternatives to nuclear. He should take a long and sober look at the economics of nuclear power.

Despite the obvious need for job-creation projects such as the alternatives to nuclear and others I have just discussed, the Treasurer has chosen to ignore these needs and the unemployed in Ontario. It is simply breathtaking to see the Treasurer deliberately overlook this while taking credit for holding down provincial spending and castigating the federal government for its excessive spending.

In addition to government planning and intervention in key sectors, an NDP government would provide an infrastructure for manufacturing, including skills training and research and development. One key area that needs attention is skills training.

It is an astonishing indictment of this government that in 1980 we are still hearing about the lack of skilled tradespeople in Ontario. In the 1960s, both the select committee on manpower training and the then Minister of Labour, Dalton Bales, argued that it was no longer satisfactory to rely only on immigration and informal training to meet our manpower needs. That was in the 1960s. Despite these longstanding concerns, the Ontario government still actively helped employers to import almost 1,000 skilled workers in 1979. In fact, over the last five years, the Ontario government has aided in the importation of 5,580 workers.

The announcement in the budget of funds for employer-sponsored training (EST) does not indicate that this government has yet taken seriously the need for a comprehensive manpower training policy. The EST program remains the government's main new initiative, but there were only about 915 trainees as of February of this year, and about 325 completions. That is hardly a sufficient response to the needs.

4:10 p.m.

There are a number of myths that surround the whole area of industrial training which this government must face up to in designing and supporting adequate training programs. First, it is contended that new trainees are often not attracted to skilled trades because of the negative image associated with blue-collar work. There does not seem to be any evidence to support this notion.

Indeed, a second myth, that there is a shortage of applicants for skilled trades training, is also false, and belies the notion of a negative image for skilled trades. Almost every single training program or technical course is oversubscribed. Contrary to the assertions of the Minister of Education (Miss Stephenson), there is no lack of applicants. Instead, there is a lack of suitable programs which this government should be providing.

In this connection, let me say that even a relatively small addition of budgetary funds for the colleges of applied arts and technology would see immediate returns. Many of their technical courses have twice as many applicants as there are places.

Another persistent myth revolves around industrial training and the perception by employers that it is unproductive to train because of poaching by other employers. In fact, the most recent evidence suggests that

the retention rate is quite high and much less of a problem than is supposed.

Finally, employers are reluctant to train because they think the investment required is too high and will not be paid back. Again, the evidence suggests that not only are the costs of training relatively low, but also the investment in training is returned quite quickly in the form of increased productivity and output.

This government has had study after study over the last 20 years telling it that skilled trades training was being ignored. The response over the last 20 years does not inspire great confidence in this government's capacity to come to grips with manpower training.

Lastly, I will offer some suggestions about how to begin that process.

1. There needs to be a much larger infusion of funds and staff for technical courses in the community colleges. These are suffering from inadequate facilities, not lack of applicants.

2. Retraining and upgrading programs should be established which would allow tradesmen in the construction trades, for example, to retrain for industrial purposes. It does not make any sense to import industrial electricians when unemployed construction electricians could be easily retrained.

3. A much greater responsibility for manpower training must be assumed by industry. Serious consideration should be given to a policy of requiring funding from industry for training, with a system of returning such funds as training is actually carried out. Since the main beneficiaries of training are employers themselves, it is only equitable that they share a fair portion of the cost.

A second area needing government intervention is research and development. If we are to put Ontario on a sound industrial footing, we must do it by becoming less dependent upon second-hand technology. It should be clear to this government that encouraging foreign corporations to do more research and development here is not enough.

This government's global product mandating scheme embodies the pious hope that branch plants will do more research and development work for a product line here in Canada. We believe the Ontario government must impose a research and development levy on large producers who fall short of research and development targets. A grant levy system would ensure a pool of funds for research and development purposes. The fund could be used by the Ontario Research Foundation and by private firms as well. At the same time, tax

credits could be enriched to encourage research and development by small and medium-sized firms in those industries that have the greatest potential.

This role will increasingly fall to the provinces because the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade now defines subsidies as nontariff barriers, thereby allowing foreign firms to retaliate. Provincial subsidies, however, are exempted from this rule.

In addition, the Ontario government must, in conjunction with federal departments and a beefed-up Ontario Research Foundation, sponsor important programs of applied research. We would also expand university research programs to encourage research and development in areas such as energy conservation as well as other programs which would benefit both the public and private sectors.

Finally, an NDP government would strengthen government procurement programs by increasing the 10 per cent price preference for Canadian content. As well, the private sector must be persuaded to more vigorously seek out Canadian-made goods and services before awarding contracts to non-Canadians. As a matter of fact, when I examined the Employment Development Fund criteria for manufacturing and for the pulp and paper companies, it struck me that the regulations for procurement of Canadian goods and services were extremely weak; they should be strengthened.

If we in Ontario are to direct our economy rather than allow it to drift, ad hoc government tinkering is not good enough. Private corporate planning effects us all, often adversely. It is essential that the government plans as well, using the growing public economic power to overcome the dominance of the private sector and to maximize the benefits of public- and private-sector activities for Ontario's social and economic future.

The New Democratic Party would create a crown investments corporation to direct long-term planning for Ontario. Following the example of Saskatchewan, a crown investments corporation would exercise financial control, provide policy direction, co-ordinate operations and establish major investment priorities for public holdings. It would bring existing and new commercial crown corporations and agencies into the crown investments corporation system, including Ontario Hydro, the Ontario Energy Corporation and the Ontario Development Corporations. It would ensure full public accountability by having the board of directors of the crown investments corporation include cabinet ministers, who as a major part of their responsibility

would also head up one or more of the constituent crown corporations within the crown investments corporation.

The province of Saskatchewan has a crown investments corporation; while we do not argue that our economies are similar, nevertheless the role the public sector plays in the economic development of Saskatchewan is very impressive. In Saskatchewan, of the 17 commercially operated crown corporations, 16 had a profit in 1978—the exception being the Saskatchewan Mining Development Corporation, which is just commencing uranium production.

In Saskatchewan, crown corporations are primarily active in the resource sector. In Ontario, we must determine our own priorities. The New Democratic Party believes we must emphasize the rebuilding of key manufacturing sectors, but we also recognize the fundamental importance of the resource sector.

This government has not provided a coherent resource policy or a manufacturing strategy, or any policy to link the two together. This government has no intention of establishing a public presence in the Ontario economy. While this may be ideologically satisfying to the Treasurer, it is appalling to see such a posture maintained in the face of overwhelming evidence that intervention is necessary.

I could not talk about economic planning without spending a moment on our nonrenewable resources. The neglect of our resource sector is more than serious. It is beyond belief that we receive less than two per cent of the value of mineral production in Ontario. Saskatchewan receives revenues in excess of 13 per cent of the value of production. I am talking about mineral production, and not about oil and gas production.

The noninterventionist resource policy of the Davis government is guaranteed to provide a negligible return. Taxation without threat of public intervention is ineffective, because the private sector simply extracts a higher grade of ore as the tax level rises. We call it high-grading.

Of course, there is always the threat of shutdowns or layoffs; we have seen that.

Mr. Makarchuk: They give us acid rain.

Mr. Laughren: Yes, it's a nice trade-off.

In Saskatchewan, a resource policy was developed with three key objectives: (1) diversification of the economy away from agriculture; (2) stabilization of economic growth by smoothing out the booms and busts associated with resource sales; and (3)

reduction of regional disparities, particularly in northern Saskatchewan.

Those are three reasonable objectives, and in Saskatchewan the government moved to achieve them with government intervention. The Davis government falls short on all three counts. Rather than using our resources to further diversify, with more processing, this government encourages precisely the opposite.

In 1979, this government awarded Falconbridge a 10-year exemption from section 113 of the Mining Act which requires that refining of ores be done here in Ontario. This government has, in effect, told Falconbridge, that even after producing in Ontario, extracting all ores in Ontario for almost half a century, it can ship its ores to Norway for refining and then be allowed to write off those Norwegian refining costs against taxes they should be paying here in Ontario. There is no better example of adding insult to injury, Mr. Speaker, and I can tell you agree with me.

4:20 p.m.

This government exports jobs and reduces resource revenues all in one fell swoop. This government encourages neither forward links from our resources to further processing and secondary manufacturing nor backward links to the purchasing of supplies, such as mining machinery. It sees resources as one part of our economy and manufacturing, as a separate part. We have no evidence that the Treasurer has any understanding that the level of social and health services we can afford depends on the health of our wealth-producing sectors.

A laissez-faire government such as this one always fails to achieve the delicate balance between economic development and social cost. In Ontario, we get no sense at all from the government that our nonrenewable resources are being husbanded in such a way as to maximize their lifespan. We get no sense that development will be controlled in order to string out production to protect markets, maintain prices and minimize social environmental costs. Regional disparities continue in Ontario precisely because of the lack of a sensible resources policy. The people of Ontario have every right to expect more from this government.

We in the New Democratic Party know we could do better. We know there is enormous potential to use our resources to create new wealth, to create jobs, to improve our manufacturing trade balance, to build better and more stable communities in northern Ontario and to make a substantial contribution to provincial tax revenues. The New Democratic Party has been calling for many

years for a Northern Ontario Tomorrow Fund derived from resource revenues. Such a fund would maximize revenues from our resources and provide a pool of money with which to deliver improved social services in the north and to use as a hedge against the day when nonrenewable resources run out. Both Saskatchewan and Alberta have heritage funds. That would be our commitment, and not just to northern Ontario because all of Ontario would benefit by such a strategy.

Rather than establish a tomorrow fund or a heritage fund, this government created a Ministry of Northern Affairs. There is a world of difference between government action to increase resource revenues for the people of northern Ontario and the creation of a pork-barrelling, bureaucratic ministry which consumes wealth rather than creates it.

I want to address myself to the most critical situation now facing any industrial sector in Ontario, the layoffs in the auto industry. It is because the auto industry is by far the most important industry in Ontario, employing one in six, that I was distressed at the lack of action taken on the automobile sector in this budget. Because the reason for these layoffs reaches deeper than the downturn in the business cycle, I expected more than a statement of intent in the Treasurer's budget.

There are some 20,000 auto workers laid off indefinitely across Ontario this month. Both Ford and Chrysler have laid off 35 to 40 per cent of their work forces. In Windsor, the city which used to boast, "What Chrysler builds, builds Windsor," 20 per cent of the labour force is out of work. The auto makers have so far closed the doors on nearly 10,000 people. The Chrysler supplementary unemployment benefits fund ran out last September, and thousands more have exhausted their unemployment insurance benefits.

Other southern Ontario towns have been severely hit with auto parts layoffs. Chatham and Kitchener each have 2,500 indefinite auto parts layoffs. Plants like Sealed Power of Stratford, Canada Ferro Limited in the Premier's own riding and Firestone in Whitby are shutting down completely.

The layoffs tell the human side of the story. The other side of the coin is the deficit in trade in automotive products with the United States, a deficit that affects each and every Ontarian by pulling down our dollar and pushing up interest rates. As the Treasurer noted in his budget, in 1979 the auto deficit reached \$3 billion and the parts deficit rose to \$4 billion.

This deficit represents \$355 for every Ontario resident and \$32,000 for every auto worker. Experts predict it will exceed \$5 billion by 1985. These deficits are climbing, despite the fact that sales of North American vehicles in Canada rose last year, with the exception of Chrysler products. That is something the Treasurer seems to forget: It is not the slump in the Canadian market that is causing the problem; it is the slump in the American market.

The reason for these high deficits is the recession and the energy crisis in the United States which have caused sales of cars there to plummet. Since more than 70 per cent of Canadian car and parts production is shipped to the United States, Ontario auto workers are bearing a disproportionate share of the American slump. The same thing happened in 1975. Exports have declined while imports of vehicles have risen by more than 30 per cent.

Together with parts, imports into Canada last year increased by 20 per cent. This increase alone represents about \$2 billion worth of business for the giant auto companies. The irony of the situation is that while Canadian auto workers are bearing the brunt of the American recession, the expanding Canadian market is providing a vital safety cushion for GM, Ford, American Motors and even Chrysler.

This government has chosen to hide behind the market slump in explaining away the severity of these layoffs. Day after day the Premier, the Treasurer and the Minister of Industry and Tourism have stood in this chamber promising a return to normal once the American auto market picks up. Unfortunately, most economists and critics are less optimistic. The American automobile industry is in decline because of energy restrictions, market saturation, poor management decisions and increased foreign competition. It is a telltale sign that Chrysler Canada Limited has just announced a giant sidewalk sale of 1980 cars and trucks at its silent Windsor car plant. We can only be thankful that the Treasurer was not jogging past that sidewalk sale, or he would be there buying one of the bargain cars.

The crucial factor for the future of the Canadian car industry is not just the upturn in the Canadian market, but rather the mix of cars we will make. The fact is that while overall sales of Big Three automobiles plummeted in the United States last year—thus denying Canada its usual level of auto production and export—US sales of subcompacts soared, and none of these is built in

Canada. While relief will be on the way with the retooling next September of the American Motors plant in Brampton and with the opening of the new six-cylinder engine plant in Windsor, the Canadian industry nevertheless will be saddled with a preponderance of large cars and vans whose popularity has sagged in the United States.

That is why my colleague from Windsor was being very firm this afternoon when he said that aid to Chrysler should not be based on production of vans only. Even what production of smaller vehicles there is in Canada fell by some 26 per cent last year. In contrast, compact and subcompact production in the United States rose by nearly 40 per cent last year.

As the auto industry retools for the new generation of small cars and parts, it is crucial that we assess the prospects for a fair share of that investment in Canada. Only that investment will ensure the future health of our auto industry. The auto companies, like the oil giants, are experts at confusing and twisting the facts about investment prospects. But what figures are available about Canada's share raise an alarm.

GM plans to spend \$38 billion around the world to 1985, \$30 billion of that in the United States. Canada deserves at least \$3 billion of the investment, based on sales. We have been promised only \$2 billion. Some of that was a reannouncement of earlier investment intentions. Ford will spend \$20 billion to 1985. Canada will get an engine plant and an aluminum casting plant, but that is not a fair share.

Chrysler, if it gets through its immediate financial troubles, plans to spend \$14 billion to \$15 billion in the United States. Chrysler promises us from \$1 billion to \$1.4 billion in investment in Canada. That is roughly six per cent of the North American total, but the Canadian market accounts for 12 per cent of the North American sales of Chrysler products. One does not have to be a mathematician to understand that if we got 12 per cent of the sales we deserve more than six per cent of new investment. The auto pact has failed to provide a reasonable and fair share of parts production, investment and research and development.

In a recent study by the Science Council of Canada, Canada's shortfall was once again confirmed. This study estimated a shortfall of 1,400 engineers plus 2,800 support staff, as well as 19,000 in in-house parts industries, by the major auto makers. Despite its own calculations that achieving a fair share would mean an additional 25,000 auto jobs

in this province, this government and the Liberal government in Ottawa have so far shown no sign of putting strong pressure on the auto companies to live up to the pact. Year after year, customs duty remissions totalling more than \$400 million to date have been granted to manufacturers who have failed to live up to the production-to-sale ratios of the auto pact.

The approaches of this government amount to tinkering with some of the most powerful corporations in the world, trying to offset the reality that the American auto industry is centralizing investment south of the border. For the Ontario government to sit in neutral while the Minister of Industry and Tourism revs his engine is irresponsible.

Mr. Cassidy: He spins his wheels.

Mr. Laughren: He spins his wheels and revs his engine, and he goes nowhere.

4:30 p.m.

The New Democratic Party believes that the status quo is unacceptable. The governments in Ottawa and Ontario are not powerless in this matter. Canada's market is large and important to the Big Four. As well, the United States trade surplus with Canada is a very important element in the overall US trade surplus of manufactured goods. With America's deteriorating trade position in the 1970s, this surplus with Canada was doubly important. Neither the auto makers nor the US government can afford to turn their backs on the Canadian market.

Canada's market for automobiles is very large in world terms. Canadians buy 1.4 million new cars and the same number of new trucks, for a total value of nearly \$10 billion. Canada's market exceeds the production of most successful European auto makers. France's Peugeot-Citroen produces 1.6 million cars and trucks, with sales of \$10.6 billion. Daimler-Benz of West Germany thrives on the production of 560,000 cars and trucks. Sweden's Volvo is profitable on the production of 300,000 vehicles. And Japan's Honda turns out 745,000 cars and trucks, with sales of less than \$4 billion.

This government must make it clear to the auto makers and Washington that the present functioning of the auto pact is unacceptable to Canadians. The rules in the North American auto game must be changed. The auto pact must be revised to reflect a justifiable increase in Canadian content in the North American cars that are produced and bought in Canada. The current Canadian value added of 70 per cent must be raised at least to 75 per cent or even to 80 per cent. It is estimated that

each five per cent increase in Canadian content would provide 7,000 more jobs.

New letters of commitment for investment in small cars and their components must be forthcoming from the auto makers in return for continued duty-free access to the Canadian market. The waiving of millions of dollars in duty remissions required, because the auto makers, particularly American Motors, have failed to live up to the auto pact safeguards over the years, must be halted.

In the auto parts sector we have two proposals which would increase production in Canada. The provincial government must come out strongly in support of federal duty remission schemes with offshore producers. Foreign vehicle imports now are capturing 18 per cent of the Canadian market. It would be foolhardy to deny Ontarians thousands of job opportunities which can be secured for making parts for these vehicles in return for a reduction in custom duties.

Canada is the only industrialized nation in the world which has allowed its automotive industry to function as the adjunct of the automotive industry of a larger nation. Internationally, 31 countries have created jobs at home through the imposition of local content requirement on vehicle imports without entering into formal treaties.

Duty remission schemes with foreign producers must be extended and strengthened. The threshold of Canadian content required in order to qualify for duty remission should be raised. Faced with rising foreign imports, the American Auto Workers Union is currently pressing for a content rule of 75 per cent for foreign auto makers, as well as quotas. The US demand vis-à-vis the Japanese auto imports are remarkably similar to those heard in Canada over the auto pact, yet the US-Japan auto deficit is only one third the size of the Canada-US deficit on a per capita basis.

This government should also establish a provincial research and testing facility for auto parts. Companies would have access to this facility on a user-pay basis. The government should also set up an agency to help provide a link between parts producers and auto makers. Too often insufficient lead time and opportunity are given to independent Canadian parts producers to develop parts for vehicles of the future.

Those are two positive, precise suggestions we have for the Treasurer to try to turn around the problems in the auto sector.

The matter of financial aid to ailing Chrysler is one I want to discuss for a

moment. This government has been singularly unforthcoming about lack of participation in the negotiations. We in the New Democratic Party find this appalling since Ontario taxpayers likely will have to put up some 40 per cent of the funding. We want Ontario's aid package debated in this House before the deal is signed, as has been done in the US Congress. That is not asking too much. We think it is completely outrageous to have a fait accompli presented to us after it is signed. We are saying that, as they have done in the United States, that package must be debated here in this chamber. We are most insistent upon this.

Chrysler has a bad record of taking public money and not providing jobs. We must not repeat the British fiasco in Ontario. We have reason to question the business sense of this government because of the totally inadequate guarantees contained in the agreement with Ford. We discovered that jobs were not even mentioned. We found that production at only half the capacity of the plant was guaranteed, and no production is guaranteed after 1987. If those agreements had been debated here, they would have been inserted, because the opposition would have insisted on it.

The New Democratic Party expects that negotiations with Chrysler are taking place against the background of its poor performance under the auto pact. The people of Ontario are not willing to watch their government bale out the seventh largest corporation in Canada without strict guarantees that the company be maintained as a viable operation far into the future.

As a first step, we have urged the two levels of government to ensure the wellbeing of the Chrysler workers by establishing a proper temporary assistance program during the transition period necessary for establishing a viable and reorganized Chrysler Canada. We say the workers deserve an equal portion of any aid given. We have said that financial assistance should be a combination of loans and equity in Chrysler's plants, subject to the following:

1. that reorganization of Chrysler be undertaken, with Chrysler Canada being set up as an independent corporate entity with an arm's-length relationship to its parent; and
2. that development by Chrysler Canada of an automobile that is competitive in the small-car market be undertaken, with guarantees that research and development be done in Canada;
3. that parts, including engines, be manufactured in Canada; and

4. that it has the freedom to seek the United States and world markets.

In the event that Chrysler in the United States goes under, we would want to consider the new set of circumstances, of course. In preparation for this possibility, the net worth of Chrysler Canada and an inventory of its facilities and technological capabilities should be established now.

Shoring up the auto pact and extending duty remission schemes to foreign car makers will not, however, remove the gnawing fact that Canada on its own does not have the technological expertise required to build an all-Canadian automobile. Many Ontarians are beginning to think about this possibility. They are wondering why Canadians can design, build, and sell a sophisticated aircraft, yet have never pursued the viability of producing an all-Canadian car. It is time this government put some technical and financial experts to work on exploring these possibilities. The possibilities would include bargaining for auto technology when awarding major contracts to foreign producers. The most recent case when such an opportunity was thrown away was when the \$3-billion contract was awarded for fighter aircraft.

It would also include actively seeking joint ventures with competent foreign manufacturers for the development of modified vehicles for use in Canada's resource industries and suitable for its cold climate.

Many people have suggested the idea of producing a safety car modelled on the one mothballed by Chrysler. I want to remind the Treasurer that in its brief to the Bladen commission on the automotive industry 20 years ago, the CCF government of Saskatchewan recommended that Bladen give consideration to the production of a Canadian automobile "that would be more utilitarian, less subject to model changes, easier to repair, and less expensive than the recent American models."

Finally, I want to impress upon the Treasurer the fact that the current crisis in the auto industry may last for another one or two years. Layoffs have already reached crisis proportions and will continue to occur. In the US, tens of thousands of auto workers are receiving compensation for layoffs due to imports. Because of the special problems facing auto workers, largely resulting from the weaknesses of the auto pact, we will continue to support the United Auto Workers in calling for some form of temporary assistance benefits. It is terribly important that not only the auto pact—the whole problem of the auto industry—be turned around, but also that the

auto workers be given some assistance in the meantime.

I want to spend some time talking about the provision of social services as mentioned in this budget. In his budget, the Treasurer promised a 14 per cent increase to day-care programs. The increase is welcome, but the Treasurer should understand that the need is much greater. The New Democrats believe that the provision of affordable, quality child care for all who require it is absolutely essential to achieve the goal of full and equal participation of women in the economy.

4:40 p.m.

In 1979, there were 54,437 day-care spaces in Ontario. Of this number, only 22,378 were subsidized. In 1977, the Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto estimated that 114,000 children needed day care in Toronto alone. Given that there are no comparable studies on day-care needs for the province as a whole, one can only dare to imagine the number of spaces needed all across Ontario. And 1979 was the third year in a row that the Minister of Community and Social Services (Mr. Norton) failed to spend his full day-care estimate allotment. In 1976-77, he returned \$4.38 million in unspent day-care operating funds; in 1977-78, \$3.99 million and in 1979, \$1.5 million.

Such action is irresponsible, given the glaring need for significantly increased day care across this province. Lack of public financing directly affects access. Until the current system of subsidies to families is drastically overhauled, good day care will continue to be the preserve of the very poor who are subsidized and the relatively affluent who can afford fees. The larger group of low to middle-income working families will be excluded.

In November 1979, the Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto published a study which pointed to 100,000 pre-school children in Metro who are in unsupervised, substitute child-care situations while their parents work. The council considers these children to be at risk. The risk factor may involve physical injury because of overcrowding, lack of training of those providing the care or the less dramatic but equally tragic risk to children's developmental capacities by unstimulating, limiting environments.

Mr. Peterson: Like your speech.

Mr. Laughren: The member for London Centre may not like my speech, but there are some very positive suggestions in it by which, if the government would take them

up and implement, we would have a better Ontario.

Any equitable day-care policy must have the concept of universal access embodied in it. This will be the only means by which the needs of all Ontario children will be met. The system most closely approximating a universally accessible day-care service is our system of public education. Day care administered through local school boards would give parents closer proximity to the democratic process through locally elected trustees.

A publicly funded day-care system is the only way by which day-care staff will ever achieve reasonable salaries and working conditions. The establishment of an equitable system assumes the elimination of a municipal funding involvement with its regressive property tax base. This would leave the responsibility for funding day care in the hands of the province with, one would hope, possible federal participation. But, given the federal Liberals' commitment to women's causes in this country, I doubt there would be much hope of getting much from them.

The Treasurer is still living in the days of his own childhood, when the proportion of women in the labour force was a fraction of what it is today. We in the NDP understand very well the competing demands on limited tax revenues, but we also understand twisted priorities when we see them. Perhaps the Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto said it best in its paper of last fall, entitled 100,000 Children. The council said: "High-quality child care is a basic necessity for healthy development and is therefore the right of each child. Since all parents are not able to provide this care, supervised care as a basic social and economic service must be made accessible and affordable to all parents who desire such a service for their children."

One of the welcome announcements in the budget is the commitment to increase the health-care budget by 11.4 per cent, or \$487 million. During this past year, Ontario New Democrats were engaged in a long, hard and sometimes frustrating battle to stop the erosion of universal access to health care. We launched a caucus health tour and visited 11 communities and made contact with 13 general hospitals, four district health councils, three community health clinics and more than 40 union locals and community groups.

During the fall we conducted a campaign around the crisis in health care, and we were impressed with and reinforced by the public concern over the deterioration in health services in Ontario. As a result of that campaign, we collected the most signatures ever

on a petition presented to this Legislature. Almost 300,000 Ontario residents told this government that protecting our medicare system is absolutely essential.

Our struggle last year would have been easier, Mr. Speaker, I speak to you very frankly, and our victory speedier, if we had been joined in battle by the provincial Liberals. May I remind you, Mr. Speaker, that the Liberal leader refused even to sign our petition calling for an end to the erosion of health care in Ontario. He even refused to sign the petition.

The struggle to maintain our health-care system demanded hard work, thousands of volunteers and a commitment to a cause, and the Ontario Liberals are lacking in all three commodities. That is why they did not get involved. They thought there were no votes in preventing the erosion of health care, and they were wrong. Now they are feeling guilty about it. It is only because they know they were wrong.

Mr. T. P. Reid: Oh, baloney. You had a chance a week ago, and you'll have another chance this Thursday night.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: Order.

Mr. Laughren: Mr. Speaker, as a party we are proud of our efforts last year and of the labour movement who worked with us. Medicare is more than a political issue with us. It began in this country under the CCF government of Tommy Douglas, and nothing rallies New Democrats to the cause as quickly as a threat to universal health care.

Mr. Peterson: Is that the Treasurer's suit the member is wearing?

Mr. Laughren: This is a Socialist blue suit.

Last year, in response to the budget, when we talked about medicare—we do not just talk about it when it seems convenient to do so—I quoted my colleague from Parkdale (Mr. Dukszta). He said: "The fight for universal health care is a significant part of our party's struggle to equalize the distribution of wealth and income in our society." We believe that profoundly, and we are proud of both that belief and our efforts to defend it.

Mr. Peterson: Stand aside, the NDP are coming through.

Mr. Laughren: As a matter of fact, we are. There is no doubt in my mind whatsoever that as the people in Ontario increasingly understand the close relationship between the federal Liberals and their destructive policy, and the provincial Liberals, their kissing cousins, they will reject the Ontario

Liberals out of hand. There is no doubt whatsoever that as the months go by we will certainly witness the decimation of the Ontario Liberal Party. The Ontario Liberals cannot forever defend the policies of the federal Liberals. They cannot continue to do it and have any credibility whatsoever. I said some time ago—I was going to ask the Speaker if I really said that, I thought it sounded so well—that we are coming through. I meant it then, I mean it now and I will mean it when we go to the people of Ontario.

Mr. T. P. Reid: You are driving backwards.

Mr. Laughren: Mr. Speaker, I wonder if the members would let me conclude my speech. Maybe that would quieten them down.

In conclusion, I say to the Treasurer that in bringing down this budget he could have done much better. He and his government have failed to grasp the nettle. No serious attempt has been made to take advantage of the industrial opportunities that exist for Ontario. We have the social infrastructure and natural resource base to build an exciting province, but it will not happen with a Tory Band-Aid or a Liberal wishing wand. Those are the alternatives for Ontario: an NDP alternative, a Tory Band-Aid or a Liberal wishing wand. Those are the alternatives for the people of Ontario.

Mr. Peterson: That's clever rhetoric. Who wrote that line? Mickey Mouse?

Mr. Laughren: I wrote that line.

4:50 p.m.

An exciting, healthy Ontario will happen only if the government realizes that it is no longer possible to divorce government from economic planning and management.

We are prepared to make a number of commitments to the people of Ontario. We would encourage the farming and small business communities in Ontario. The New Democrats would manage our resources better in the public sector and create new wealth through further processing and by building mining and industrial machinery.

The New Democrats would rebuild and repatriate manufacturing in Ontario by concentrating on sectors vital to an industrial economy. We would build affordable housing and create jobs for the construction industry. We would emphasize alternative energy sources and high technology to create more jobs, save money and protect our non-renewable resources.

The New Democrats would rebuild the auto industry into a revitalized Canadian

auto parts industry. We would obtain a fair share of the North American auto production or begin to build and develop our own auto technology.

The New Democrats would make a major commitment to universal day care so that equal opportunity becomes a reality, not just for women, but for children as well.

The New Democrats can do these things, and we will do them very soon.

Mr. Ramsay: Mr. Speaker, it is distressing to hear the remarks being made by the members opposite with respect to the excellent budget brought forward last week by my colleague the Treasurer of Ontario. It is part of the nature of the parliamentary process that we in government should be requested by the opposition to defend our propositions; that is well and good. However, it is distressing to feel that the members opposite are motivated primarily by what they perceive to be potential political advantage, rather than by the positive benefit to the people of Ontario that a responsible government is able to work towards.

In many ways it is important to emphasize that we are living in a real world, as the saying goes, and that the proposals contained in this year's budget are geared to the responsible management of those things over which we, as a provincial government, have control.

The people of Ontario have no reason to feel any lack of confidence whatever in the Progressive Conservative government's management of our economic affairs. The whole country has entered a new decade and a year of critical choices. Our economic progress and wellbeing require continuous steadfast, stable and capable leadership. Drifting about aimlessly and panicking are two options we must avoid at all costs.

While Canada as a whole saw marked economic improvement over the past decade or so, it is erroneous to say that the economy of our province has declined. Relative to some other provinces, possibly it has, but is this not a desirable element? To have every region and province in the country achieve maximum prosperity is in everyone's best interest.

We have not declined in any absolute sense. While the historically unprecedented prosperity of the decades following the Second World War may no longer be the norm in the industrial economies, there is no reason to say that our economy is on the skids or that Ontario is in a period of serious decline. That is quite incorrect. Despite spill-over from the recession that appears to be

under way in the United States, as well as the impact of high interest rates and international economic forces, Ontario continues to experience a relatively high degree of prosperity.

There are, in addition, many signs of strength on the horizon. Where I think the main strength of the budget lies is in its absolute recognition of those dynamic trends and tendencies and in its support of them. Let us consider one example: responses to the problem of interest rates. The opposition has been crying out for us to step in and interfere with free market forces and with circumstances that are in many ways beyond the control of any provincial government.

Even while this pleading has been going on, the rates have begun to come down. Had we moved instantly to put into place some mechanisms intended to provide stop-gap relief, such measures might very well have had the effect of reinforcing the very pressures that were causing rates to go up.

My colleague's budget recognizes squarely that interest rates are a national problem, not a provincial problem. In fact, I believe it would be more accurate to say they are an international problem. His budget outlines three areas where the provincial government may be able to act. In the housing area, the Ontario government will be continuing to demand that some national initiatives be undertaken to reduce interest rates, particularly for those home owners participating in the federal Assisted Home Ownership Program. Following a meeting between my colleague the Minister of Housing (Mr. Bennett) and federal officials, some relief has been extended to AHOP participants.

Second, as the budget address indicated, in May the government will table in the Legislature a discussion paper on interest rates which will outline the options for action that we actually have in dealing with this pressing situation. I understand it is intended that this paper shall detail several national alternatives to provide short-term assistance for home owners, small business people and farmers, should the rates still be so high as to present difficulties.

In addition, I understand the paper will explain the roles of various parties, including borrowers, lenders and government. I look forward to that paper, as I am sure do all members of this House, because this is a very complicated area and one which I know is of pressing concern to many of our citizens.

Let us not forget that high interest rates like everything else, it seems, are a two-sided coin. While they present undoubted hardship

to some members of our society, they also represent an earned reward for those with capital to invest and move the wheels of our productive machinery. We must not lose sight of that, for those with savings to invest make a very important contribution to our wellbeing and they deserve to be rewarded for it.

As the Treasurer stated in some remarks he made a couple of months ago, "There is an onus upon all public lenders to explain the facts and to behave responsibly when it comes to establishing the climate of investment opinion." I agree with my colleague in taking strong exceptions to attempts made by some members opposite to tarnish the image of our economy. Fiscal, economic and monetary matters are not the easiest area to understand. Thus, it is doubly important for all of us to exercise great discretion when we discuss these matters should we not wish to have a negative impact, directly or indirectly, on the actual turn of events.

Mining is one industry that is of particular interest to me as it is an economic mainstay of the area of the province I hail from. Therefore, I was particularly pleased at some of the provisions in this year's budget which promise to be of tremendous assistance to the mining industry. It is a very important one to Ontario and the source of much of our wealth. The mining industry has traditionally received special attention from the Ontario government as it is a major source of employment and provides a large chunk of our provincial exports.

The Ontario Mineral Exploration Program announced last week in the budget offers new incentives to encourage mining incentives. It will provide part of the risk capital to the prospector and those corporations actively involved in mineral exploration. It also will encourage individual investors and independent companies not currently active in mining to become involved in financing mining exploration.

These measures will be most welcome in Ontario's mining community. I am sure that such measures hold great potential to stimulate growth and development in this important industrial sector. These measures also typify the responsible approach to the management of our economy that people have come to expect from this government.

Under the Ontario Mineral Exploration Program, individuals who invest in a joint venture involved in mining exploration in Ontario will be eligible for a grant equal to 25 per cent of their investment. This is in addition to existing personal income tax incentives.

5 p.m.

I think we can take tremendous pride in this year's budget. Its positive proposals stem directly from the responsible and dedicated efforts of every citizen in this province. Ontario's outstanding quality of life and sound financial position are the outgrowth of the collective contribution to the Ontario economy of all Ontarians.

Just as each of us must act in a responsible manner when it comes to managing our affairs, so too has the government of Ontario been committed to carrying out a mandate of prudent management of this province's fiscal resources. As a result, Ontarians will see no tax increases in 1980-81.

To those who would downplay the hard-earned progress we have made in Ontario over the past few years, I would point out some salient facts about this province's economic performance. Not unlike other jurisdictions, Ontario faced major adjustments during the 1970s, in large part because of spiralling trends in oil pricing. Despite a decade of inflationary and recessionary pressures, we outperformed West Germany, the United States and the combined countries of the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development in terms of real output growth.

As the budget points out, during the past decade Ontario's labour force grew three to four times faster than those of West Germany and Japan, not to mention the fact that the past 10 years have seen the creation of more than one million new jobs in this province. Furthermore, we have moved effectively towards curbing disproportionate growth of employment in the public sector. The record shows that over the past two years we have created 294,000 net new private-sector jobs.

As outlined in the budget, Ontario is clearly committed to laying a secure foundation for industrial expansion in the 1980s. Created last year, the Employment Development Fund now serves as Ontario's foremost vehicle for investment and job creation. Sectors critical to our economy, such as the pulp and paper, automobile, textile, clothing and knitting industries, have received necessary assistance from the EDF to improve their competitive position. An important spinoff is job security for the thousands of people who work in these industries.

In view of its success, the EDF program will continue to operate in the coming year. It will allow for initiatives to finance urban transportation development and expansion of our ambitious manpower training program. An amount of \$5.3 million has already been added to the \$200 million federal-provincial manpower training program currently in operation.

Significant tax measures have been introduced to help stimulate small business, research and development, farming and energy conservation. As well, increased funding has been allocated to the Ontario Youth Employment Program, to provide for an additional 10,000 summer jobs out of a total anticipated 75,000 jobs for youth in 1980-81. As well, employers who hire young individuals under the Ontario Youth Employment Program will receive a direct wage subsidy of \$1.25 per hour.

Health expenditures will increase by 11.4 per cent this year, or \$487 million more than last year. This is certainly proof that in Ontario health care remains a non-negotiable item.

I am particularly pleased that the budget for the day-care program operated by the Ministry of Community and Social Services will be increased by 14 per cent in order to help working mothers.

Perhaps more than any others, pensioners feel the pinch of inflationary pressure. For this reason, the government of Ontario is extending relief from property and sales tax through a direct rebate. Grants of up to \$500 will be directed to pensioners to offset their property taxes, while a sales tax grant of \$50 will be paid to pensioners receiving the old age security pension. There will also be a substantial increase in guaranteed annual income supplement assistance.

The budget represents the desire of this government to deal with the problems of inflation and, in particular, to alleviate its effects on small businessmen and pensioners. As the Treasurer pointed out in his budget speech of last week, inflation may well worsen in the year ahead. Job creation will be slower, but real economic growth is expected.

Though interest rates have started to decline in the past few days, spelling some temporary relief for the bond market, market analysts project further increases in the long term, as the federal government will continue in its attempt to protect the value of the Canadian dollar by matching interest rate increases south of the border. In this context, the demand for goods and services would have declined drastically in the face of higher interest rates had this government not acted in a sound fiscal manner by following a policy of no tax increases. Unlike the federal government's excise tax increases as a response to our economic situation, this government hopes to stimulate consumer demand or at least to maintain existing levels of demand in the hope that this will encourage expansion of small business concerns throughout the province.

It would be fiscally naive to provide business tax incentives on the supply side without matching such efforts on the demand side. This we have done by not increasing taxes in the coming year and by providing sales tax relief and property tax or rent relief to pensioners. This government takes its fiscal responsibility seriously and recognizes the combined effects of fiscal policy.

Accordingly, our budget assists low-income pensioners by increasing guaranteed annual income supplement payments by \$10 per month. It provides more job opportunities for the young and provides a needed expansion of our health-care system. It opens up a new source of capital for Ontario Hydro and provides new incentives for energy conservation. All of this is done while holding down the provincial deficit.

Ontario has a great future ahead of it—a future shaped by this government and a future assured by this budget.

Mr. McKessock: Mr. Speaker, I want to take a few minutes to elaborate a little on what I mentioned in question period and to bring a specific case before the House pertaining to the so-called pensioners' benefits in the budget.

Each year I fill out my mother-in-law's income tax form. I happen to have a good relationship with my mother-in-law. I had just finished filling out her income tax form when this budget came in; so it was very fresh in my mind. What she will be getting back this year is a \$337.90 tax credit. That involves 20 per cent of her rent. This year she is paying \$70 a month in the small town of Chesley, where rents are not as high as they are in some parts of Ontario. There are a lot of small places in Ontario like this where pensioners moved into buildings some years back.

My mother-in-law moved into a house in Chesley after my father-in-law died, and the rent has not been increased on her over the years to any great extent. She pays \$70 a month, which works out to \$840 a year. Twenty per cent of that is \$168. To that is added the 10 per cent occupancy cost, which adds another \$16.80. That gives a total occupancy cost of \$184.80. To that is added the sales tax credit, which comes to one per cent of her total exemptions, which is \$43.10. Then, of course, there is the pensioner tax credit of \$110 for those over 65 years of age. The total of those three items adds up to \$337.90.

5:10 p.m.

Now look at the budget and the new proposal for this year. Here one gets 20 per

cent of one's rent, up to \$500. So 20 per cent of my mother-in-law's rent for the year comes to \$168. Add to that the \$50 grant from the sales tax, and that gives \$218. If we subtract that from the \$337 she is getting this year, she will get \$119 less money next year than she receives this year. That is as far as the property tax is concerned. One could say there is more in this budget in that it gives an extra \$10 a month on Gains. That is true. Add on that extra \$10 a month and she just about breaks even. She will still be a few dollars under, but it will be close to the same thing.

This program is going to cost the government a lot of dollars because it is going to have to pay this now to pensioners who are millionaires. They will get their \$500 cheques, whereas my mother-in-law will get a cheque for \$218. That will be less than she gets this year.

It would be better if this new program did not come in at all. It would save the government money, because it would not have to pay it to all the people who do not need it. My mother-in-law would get more money and so would a lot of others throughout Ontario. The government would not have to send those cheques out every year, which is going to cost an enormous amount in administration. Right now it is very simply done on the income tax form.

It was amazing to me how the Treasurer (Mr. F. S. Miller) seemed to make reference to how it would be much easier now as they would not have to fill out their income tax forms. We know how pensioners and older people hate filling out forms, but they are going to be filling out the form most likely anyway; so it might as well be done on that form. Now they are going to have to fill out another form to qualify for the property tax credit. It has already been said they are going to be sent a form in the fall. They have to prove their taxes have been paid before they will get it. They are going to be very confused about filling out another form.

I can see what is behind it. The government thinks it has gone too long on the income tax form and too many people now are unaware the tax credit comes from the provincial government. They feel if they pull it off the income tax form and send them a cheque it is going to be visible that it is coming from Ontario. That is a very poetical way of looking at it and a very costly way. It would be much cheaper to leave the old program in place, and it would be of greater

benefit to those who really need it than the new program.

If it costs the government any more in the new program, it will only be because it is paying it to those who have never had it before. When they take a look at the program and say it is going to cost another \$34 million, it means it is going to go to people who really do not need it and to those who have not been getting it before.

Mr. Eaton: A lot of those people are home owners who are trying to pay taxes on the same amount of money your mother-in-law is getting.

Mr. McKessock: The same people the honourable member is talking about could get it under the old plan.

Mr. Eaton: But not as much.

Mr. McKessock: All I am saying is there are some who will get less and it is going to cost the government more money, which is going to put us further into debt.

Mr. Watson: Next year you won't have to file that income tax form for your mother-in-law.

Mr. McKessock: Yes, I will have to fill out her tax form for her, because she has \$900 in interest.

Mr. Watson: On the first \$1,000 you don't have to file it.

Mr. McKessock: Another thing that really disturbs me every year when the budget comes out is how the Treasurer can stand up and mince words or put it in a way so it sounds as if they are reducing the deficit. When you first hear it, you think the deficit is going to be reduced. He makes a statement like the one on the first page: "It is with some pride as Treasurer that I can inform the members of our achievement of a reduction in the deficit of \$494 million below the original target for the fiscal year just ended." It reduces the deficit from how much he thought he was going to be in debt.

We still have a deficit but, instead of it being close to \$1 billion, it ended up being more than \$600 million. The debt this year will add another \$300 million or more to the debt we had last year, which puts us into the position of being just about \$1 billion in debt. There is some argument going on about whether it is \$1 billion or a little more than \$1 billion, but we know it's around \$1 billion the budget this year puts us in debt.

When the Treasurer says there is no increase in taxes this year, one reason is that we are \$300 million further in debt, or he has made a \$300 million bigger deficit this

year than he did last year. If he does that, of course, he does not have to increase taxes. He can give out a few little goodies without increasing taxes if he puts the province further in debt.

I hope the public is aware of this. I do not like the way it comes across. I would rather the Treasurer stood up and said, "I'm sorry that I couldn't balance the budget again this year," because that is the point. We have not balanced it for how many years? It has been 10 or 12 years since the budget in Ontario was balanced. I think a balanced budget would be a great thing, as would be the day he could stand up and not mince words by saying: "I reduced the deficit by \$494 million."

If we are going to distribute the wealth in this province and put it where it should be, maybe we will have to increase the taxes to give the farmers what they deserve. That brings up a good point I want to mention. We were certainly looking to this budget to give something to the farmers as being the place where the money was coming from. I was not going to take any excuses that it should be coming from the federal government and that we should wait for it, or whatever.

An industry like the food industry, which gives us 40 per cent of the jobs in this country, should get a little more reward than it gets from the Ontario government. Is it one per cent of the provincial budget that is given to agriculture? That is shameful. The food industry creates 40 per cent of our jobs and gets one per cent of the provincial budget.

If the Treasurer has to raise taxes to get a bit of money for an industry that does that much for the province, then all well and good, but I still believe he should be balancing the budget. Of course, that would mean either raising taxes or cutting out some useless programs.

5:20 p.m.

There is one program that we could dispend with and that is the Minaki Lodge project. At least \$25 million has been put into that useless cottage up north which would have brought the farmers through this distressed period. To think that another \$12 million is going to go into that lodge before anybody gets a chance to sleep there! The government could not find anybody in Canada to run the place. They had to go to the United States to get a manager for it. It seems every time the budget comes down, there are another few million going

into Minaki Lodge. It does not deserve that amount of money or that type of thought. I do not know why they do not just write it off as a bad debt and sell it to somebody. I guess it is pretty hard even to give it away. That seems to be the problem.

I hope the Treasurer and the Minister of Agriculture and Food (Mr. Henderson) are working hard on an announcement to help the farmers in Ontario that they did not make in the budget, an announcement that should give the farmers the same competitive opportunities that farmers in other provinces are getting. Other provinces did not wait for the federal government to help their farmers. They took the initiative themselves. They realized the advantage of agriculture to the province and they stepped in and assisted the farmers on interest rates and allowed them to keep their share of agricultural production in their own province.

Ontario has been gradually losing its share of Canadian production over the last 10 years in the staples of swine, beef and dairy products. Gradually Ontario's percentage has been dropping, while the other provinces have been holding their own or increasing their share of Canadian production. If we are going to even hold our own, we are going to have to give agriculture a lot more thought than we have in the past.

Mr. Wildman: That's the problem. The minister has been giving it lots of thought.

Mr. McKessock: That's right. We got from the budget that they were going to come out with a little more discussion of the problem before they made any announcement. I feel we have had enough thought and enough discussion; it is time we had a bit of action.

In Quebec, the farmers get the first \$15,000 at 2.5 per cent interest and the next \$185,000 at eight per cent interest. That seems to be a reasonable thing. If Ontario would like to come through with that, I think the farmers would be quite happy. I think we deserve as much as Quebec.

But that's only Quebec. Take a look at Alberta and Saskatchewan and British Columbia. I listed them here the day the resolution was debated. They are all giving similar aid. In fact, they were not all listed on that day. If we want to get into what Quebec does for their farmers, there are about four pages of the initiatives they took to support their farmers.

Mr. Eaton: You ought to take a look at why they did that.

Mr. McKessock: I would like to. I know a French farmer who lives in my riding, and I would like to take him with me on a trip through Quebec, especially at this time with the referendum. It would be very educational for me. He is quite bilingual; I could ask the questions and he could get the answers from the Quebec people, and I think I could have a very enjoyable time.

But I am afraid of doing that, because I am afraid he might stay there. As a farmer, when he became familiar with all the programs they have in Quebec, he might be tempted to leave Ontario and go to Quebec.

I know of some farmers in Bruce county who have sold their farms and moved to Alberta because of the greater opportunity that is there. I feel sad about that. I feel Ontario is the best province in Canada. I hate to see it going downhill the way it has been doing over the last years, and not only in agriculture. When we talk about economics, industrial expansion and so forth, we do not seem to have any trouble coming in 10th.

The problem is that not only are we going to lose a lot of our farmers if we do not give them help now, but we are also going to lose that production to the provinces that are giving assistance. Right now, there are buyers going through Ontario buying beef cows for British Columbia and Quebec. They are picking up the production we are dropping. Nobody in Ontario wants to buy beef cows today with the interest he has to pay on them.

Mr. Eaton: What are the figures on the drop in production? Our production hasn't dropped.

Mr. McKessock: Does the member for Middlesex want me to get him the figures? I have them in my office. They show the facts. Our percentage of the Canadian production is dropping and has dropped over the last 10 years.

Mr. Eaton: That is different to the drop in production.

Mr. McKessock: Not in production, but in our percentage of the Canadian share.

Mr. Eaton: Then make it clear.

Mr. McKessock: I have made it clear. Why should we not keep our percentage up? Why should we have a drop in our share of production? It is because we have not given agriculture the assistance and thought it should be given in this province. Ours is the best province in Canada, and we would like it to stay that way, but it can not float on its own without giving it the assistance that is needed.

Mr. Eaton: We were ahead of other provinces and they decided to catch up.

Mr. McKessock: Yes, at one time we were ahead. It is too bad we had to slip back.

I came on here very suddenly, and there are other things in the budget. Maybe there aren't. There is not too much in the budget worth mentioning. I was going to say that maybe there is, but really there is not too much. There were two things of concern to me. One was that there was no help for the farmers. That was very disappointing to me. The other thing was that it appeared as if there was help for the pensioners, but when we get into it we find out there really is not.

I appreciated the chance to say these few words on the budget. We will just have to hope for better things next year.

Mr. Cooke: Mr. Speaker, I would like to begin by noting that yesterday, when we received the Liberal response to the budget, it was raining outside and very dismal weather. Yet today when our critic began his speech we had similar weather, but by the time he finished the light had appeared on Ontario and it was sunny outside. The clouds returned when we got a Tory speech and another Liberal speech.

I would like to spend a few minutes talking about the budget. In particular, I would like to mention that one of the areas of great concern to the people in my riding is the health-care problems we have been experiencing over the last couple of years. I am very pleased to see that in this budget there is an 11.4 increase in health-care spending. I think there is no doubt at all that the party that can take credit for that health-care increase is the New Democratic Party, which led the fight by bringing specific cases in front of this Legislature.

Mr. Eaton: You would take credit for anything.

Mr. Cooke: Doesn't the member for Middlesex have some constituency work to do down in his office?

The 11.4 per cent increase was a result of specific cases that were raised in this Legislature by each and every member of this caucus. We talked about the backup in hospitals and the use of hallways and emergency rooms for people who did not have beds to go into because of the budget cutbacks. As a result, the government took a poll and found out that what we were talking about was getting through to the voters of this province, and it had no choice but to respond.

I am glad we fought that battle alone. We introduced no-confidence motions to try to force the government to bring in the extra increase for hospitals. We did not get the support of the Liberal Party last year at all. We did not even get questions from the Liberal Party. They were basically supplementary questions to our questions. I think the New Democratic Party can take a great deal of pride in that part of the budget, which is something we are responsible for.

Mr. T. P. Reid: You've got to look for something, because there is no pride left in you now since you started to support the government.

Mr. Cooke: I don't know what that says about the Liberals' pride. What does that say about their pride in the last three years of support they have given the Tory Party?

Interjections.

Mr. Acting Speaker: Order. The member for Windsor-Riverside has the floor. Will he proceed and try to ignore the interjections.

5:30 p.m.

Mr. Cooke: Mr. Speaker, if the member from the Liberal Party who talks about our pride is saying we have lost our pride, I do not know what that says about the Liberals' pride. They have always supported the Tories.

I want to spend the majority of my time, Mr. Speaker, talking about the auto industry, and in particular the auto pact, something this budget and the throne speech did not address in a way I would like to have seen.

The state of the auto industry in Ontario is critical and crucial to our industrial future, because it is the hub of our manufacturing industry in Ontario. That is not the case in the United States, where when there are major layoffs and a downturn in the auto industry, they have other major industries to turn to, such as the chemical and electricity industries, and a large military production.

In Canada, as I have said, we rely almost totally in the manufacturing industry in the production of automobiles. In 1976, 75 per cent of Ontario exports of manufactured goods came from the automobile industry and the auto parts industry. Auto assembly and auto parts assembly employ 10 per cent of all Ontario manufacturing workers. One in six is employed directly in auto-related activities.

Auto assembly and auto parts industries account for one ninth of the gross provincial product. Cities like Talbotville, Windsor, Oakville and Oshawa are virtually company towns

because they are primarily auto towns. One-industry towns, of course, either prosper or fall when their particular industry is on either an upswing or a downswing.

There are many other regions that rely very heavily on the auto industry. They include Durham county, outside of Oshawa itself, which has 1,057 auto workers; Owen Sound, which has 845; Simcoe, which has 560; Toronto, which has nearly 5,000; Waterloo, which has 4,076; and the Niagara region, which has 8,607. These statistics show very clearly that the problem in the auto industry must be of concern not only to members of the Legislature who represent auto cities, but also to members of the Legislature from all regions of the province.

Ontario is very vulnerable to a downturn in auto sales. Layoffs are said not to be as dramatic in Ontario as they are in the United States. However, because our dependency on the auto industry is so great and we do not have the diversification in other manufacturing industries as they do in the United States, when there is a downturn it is felt very drastically in this province.

I realize that the auto pact is a federal responsibility, a responsibility that has been neglected by the federal Liberal government for 12 years under Mr. Trudeau's leadership. Now we have returned to his leadership, and while there is a lot of talk from the Minister of Industry, Trade and Commerce again, I am waiting to see the result of this talk. To date, it has been all talk. He made a promise that he was going to take Ford Motor Company to court to make sure that the jobs at the casting plant in Windsor were maintained. He made that statement which raised expectations in Windsor and he had no justification for making it.

One just has to look at the Ford agreement the Ontario government signed. One could go through it in five minutes and realize there were none of the safeguards that Mr. Gray was threatening to take Ford to court on. I think he took a very irresponsible approach on the Ford deal.

In this province right now there are 20,000 indefinite layoffs in the auto industry, and Ford and Chrysler have an unemployment rate ranging between 35 and 40 per cent. Ninety-five per cent of the auto jobs are in this province; therefore, it is appropriate that we have a full discussion of this industry in this Legislature. The Minister of Industry and Tourism, the Treasurer and the Premier all have a responsibility to make sure that industry is turned around and developed in a

way that will create jobs for the people of Ontario.

In the throne speech there was only one paragraph that dealt with the auto industry. I want to quote it: "The Minister of Industry and Tourism will develop approaches to assure the long-term health of the automobile industry in relation to the Canada-US auto pact, the shift to lighter, fuel-efficient vehicles and import competition."

That statement was made in the throne speech. We have now been in the Legislature for a number of weeks and we have heard nothing at all as to what approach the government plans to take. This is in 1980. The government did realize there was a problem back in 1978. In an open letter the Premier sent to Mr. Trudeau, the Prime Minister at the time, he stated the following:

"I am concerned at the slow progress you and we seem to be making with the major automobile companies in gaining a fair share of jobs and investment in Canada. It appears that Canadians are being asked to provide subsidies and special financial assistance for this industry. I would suggest that the point has to be made that we expect a fair deal, not an auction-block deal in which the highest bidder wins. I am most concerned when the spirit of the auto pact is being eroded by the use of unfair cost comparisons with fire-sale tax deals and capital grants offered by many states in the US.

"My view is quite clear on this matter. This is a Canadian market. The federal government made a pact with the companies and the US government. The companies have received millions of dollars in rebates on import duties as part of the arrangement and we expect that, in return for their dominant share of sales in our market, we have a fair share of the investment and jobs in the North American industry."

We in this party have absolutely no disagreement at all with that statement by the Premier. Not too long after that, this government and the federal government got involved with a deal with the Ford Motor Company. They gave out \$28 million of the money of every taxpayer in this province, including my money, to the Ford Motor Company after the Premier was very critical of the auction-block approach he referred to.

The concerns in 1978 were appropriate but they were too late then. Now in the throne speech we see there is a paragraph that mentions it, and in the budget the auto industry, and in particular aid to Chrysler, has been all but ignored by this government.

We have had 13 years since the auto pact was signed, and the annual deficit grew to \$3.1 billion in 1979. That represents \$322 for every Ontarian or \$32,000 for each auto worker. We are talking about significant amounts of dollars and a significant increase that could result in a better standard of living for this province if those jobs were located in our country. But that deficit was very much concentrated in the auto parts section, where the deficit was \$4 billion. While we may think that is the total deficit in the auto industry, those figures do not include the exported profits to the Big Four that go south of the border as well as the export of research and development charges to the Big Four that also go south of the border. I will talk about that later in my presentation.

In the early 1900s we had a Canadian-owned automobile industry. In Oshawa there was the McLaughlin company, which was sold in 1918 to General Motors. With the tariff protection that grew, albeit with a branch-plant economy here in Ontario, the auto industry also grew in this country. But after the Second World War the industry grew more slowly. Then in the late 1950s and early 1960s there was a very serious slump, although not as serious as the one we now appear to be getting into.

The decision in the 1960s was either to integrate the Canadian and US markets or to produce a Canadian car to serve the Canadian market. The decision was to go for an integrated market. It left Canada with a branch-plant economy in the automobile industry. It was felt that the Canadian industry would benefit from a larger market and that Canadian cars would be lower-priced.

I would like to point out to members something I do not think many people realize: the price never did get lower in Canada. We always paid a higher price than they did in the US, and statistics show that the difference in price between the same car sold in the United States and the one sold in Canada has paid for every bit of investment the Big Four made in Canada.

5:40 p.m.

There has been no flow of money from the United States to Canada from the Big Four to increase production and to invest. They have not had to dip into any of the profits that would normally have been achieved if we had sold cars here in Canada at the same price as the United States. They have simply been able to take the differential in price between the Canadian car and the same car sold in the United States and apply that to investment. They have not had to

spend another cent. I think that is a disgrace and speaks very loudly to the problems we have with the auto pact and with the branch-plant economy.

Looking at it now, I wonder whether it was a wise idea to integrate the market in the 1960s or whether at that time we should have made a decision to look at the industry and see whether a Canadian car would not have been the better approach in the long term for Canada and for Ontario.

It is surprising that Japan has seven auto companies that are profitable and Sweden has two auto companies. Canadians each year purchase 1.4 million cars and trucks at a value of more than \$10 billion; so we are talking about a significant market.

In Japan, for example, Honda produces 745,000 cars a year, with \$4 billion in sales, and it is a profitable company. In West Germany, the Benz company produces 560,000 cars and trucks per year and is a profitable company. In Sweden, Volvo produces 300,000 cars a year and is a profitable company. In Canada, our auto industry sells 1.4 million cars per year, valued at more than \$10 billion; so the market is there for a Canadian automobile industry.

Mr. Rotenberg: The workers want too much money. That's the problem.

Mr. Cooke: The member can blame it on the workers. I choose to look at the industry. I have studied it a lot more than he has. The problem is not with the workers. The problem is bad planning on the part of the companies and the governments of this country.

Mr. Eaton: How many cars are produced here?

Mr. Cooke: I will get into the production and the investment we have got over the years, which I think will answer that question eventually.

The Canadian market in 1965 was 6.8 per cent of the North American market; in 1972, it was 6.7 per cent; in 1973, it rose to 7.5 per cent; in 1974, it went to 9.8 per cent; in 1975, it was 11 per cent; in 1976, it was nine per cent; in 1977, it was 8.4 per cent; and in 1978 and 1979, it was approximately nine per cent of the North American market.

I want to compare those figures with the investment figures we have got from the Big Three in North America. In 1972, while we had 6.7 per cent of sales, we got only 4.3 per cent of investment; in 1973 we had 7.5 per cent of sales, but we only got 5.8 per cent of investment; in 1974, 9.8 per cent of sales but only 7.4 per cent of investment; in 1975, incredibly enough, we got 11 per

cent of sales but only 6.8 per cent of the investment. The latest figures are for 1979, when we had approximately nine per cent of the sales but only 7.3 per cent of the investment.

From 1965 to 1970, the average investment was only 7.4 per cent; from 1970 to 1976, the average was 5.4 per cent. In 1965 to 1976 altogether, for the entire life of the pact up until 1976, the average was only 6.4 per cent. Our sales figures as a percentage of the North American market are now running close to 10 per cent; so it is obvious we have not got our fair share of investment.

On the employment side, in 1970 we had 8.3 per cent of the total North American jobs in the auto industry. In 1978, even though there had been a dramatic increase in sales and a percentage of the market here in Canada, we still had only 8.6 per cent. It has gone up 0.3 per cent of the North American market. Our percentage of the market has grown dramatically, but our percentage of the jobs has not grown dramatically at all. In fact, it has stayed pretty stable.

In Canada, 50 per cent of our workers are involved in parts and 50 per cent in assembly. In the United States, 65 per cent of their workers are involved in parts and 35 per cent in assembly. There has to be a redistribution of parts production in North America. We should be getting more of our parts production.

Parts production requires more skilled labour, higher-paying jobs and more research and development. Those are all areas in which we have not been doing very well. In fact, in the total automobile industry of Canada, 65.3 per cent of its workers are nonskilled, 28.5 per cent are semi-skilled and only six per cent are skilled workers, whereas, in the United States, only 44.5 per cent of their workers are nonskilled, 46.7 per cent are semi-skilled and 8.8 per cent are skilled workers.

In other words, we are not getting our fair share of skilled workers, and, therefore, we are not getting the higher-paid jobs associated with that. On this page I wrote down some other statistics that were not included originally. I just got them today and found them very interesting.

In 1979, Canada's production of small and compact cars fell, incredibly enough, by 26 per cent. That is obviously where the demand is. In the United States, production of small compact cars rose by 40 per cent. No one can say that we are getting our fair share of investment, jobs, research and development or skilled workers. These kind of statis-

tics have not been dug up by the New Democratic Party. They are statistics verified by this government, some of them out of a government document, verified by the United Auto Workers and by the federal government.

Research and development in the automobile industry is concentrated overwhelmingly in the United States. The importance of this automotive research and development to the American economy is described in the Arthur report. The report says:

"An important consequence of this concentration of development effort is that the United States has experienced most of the indirect benefits that flow from this form of activity. Opportunities for industrial research and development projects in the motor vehicle industry will grow as the level of government involvement increases and cost factors escalate.

"This will stimulate the concentration of research and development activity not only in the motor vehicle industry but in other manufacturing sectors as well, which will more pointedly identify technology as the main vehicle of economic progress in the future, although it is not all that clear that there is a direct relationship between research and development expenditures in a country and the level of economic growth.

"It is generally accepted, however, that industrial research and development and the consequence of this activity do affect the way in which a country develops in the long run."

Here are the statistics on research and development in the auto industry. Research and development in the United States has averaged 2.3 to three per cent of net sales in the United States, or \$2 billion per year. In Canada this would mean \$230 million a year of research and development.

The Arthur report states that approximately \$230 million a year is transferred by the Big Four to the United States for research and development. Research and development has not come to Canada because we have a branch-plant economy and because we have a government that has not bothered to put pressure on the Big Four to get some of that research and development here. With strong pressures on the companies and perhaps letters of commitment and, in the end, changes in the auto pact, we could expect our fair share of research and development in Canada.

5:50 p.m.

Concurrent reliance on an industry which gives us assembly jobs and little opportunity for skilled workers and research and development, means we will not progress as the industry progresses.

Mr. Conway: The member is too close to being a new Disraeli to have to read his speech. I want to hear those from-the-heart flourishes.

Mr. Cooke: After being in here for three years and hearing the types of things the Liberals present and the answers we get from the government, it is hard to speak from the heart any longer. I can do that back in Windsor where I talk to people who understand.

Mr. Conway: Standing orders notwithstanding.

Mr. Cooke: The implications for lack of research and development in this country are clear. In my portfolio as colleges and universities critic, I see that many of our graduates have to go south of the border. Now they are travelling to some of our western provinces, such as Alberta and Saskatchewan, which are getting more research and development and are producing the types of jobs we should have here in Ontario.

We can talk about the problems with the auto pact all we want, but we also have to talk about some solutions. Canada obviously entered the auto pact to gain the benefits of a North American market and to gain the jobs we expected would come with getting entry into the American market. The United States and the companies entered the agreement to gain permanent duty-free access to the Canadian market, which is a healthy, profitable market, as I have already stated.

I have pointed out many times that Canada has one of the most lucrative automobile markets in the world. I believe it is third or fourth. However, in the auto pact there are two very important clauses which seem to be contradictory and which must be ironed out.

Article 1(b) reads: "The liberalization of the US and Canadian automotive trade in respect of the tariff barriers and other factors tending to impede it, with a view to enabling the industries of both countries to participate"—and this is the important part—"on a fair and equitable basis in the expanding total market of the two countries." That clause clearly indicates what should be happening; that is, as the Canadian market takes up a larger percentage of the North American market we should be getting the jobs that develop from that.

Article 1(c) is the clause that causes problems: The development of conditions in which market forces may operate effectively to attain the most economic pattern of production and trade. Of course, what that means is that the auto companies have it

within their power to locate their new plants wherever they feel it is most beneficial to them. We see a lot of companies now locating down south trying to avoid unions and trying to pay lower wages. Therefore, Ontario is losing out on jobs it should be guaranteed under the auto pact.

There is no doubt in my mind, and I do not think there is any doubt in anybody's mind here in this Legislature who understands the auto pact, that it was the intention of the Canadian government to make sure article 1(b) was the operative clause. That was the clause that indicated we were to share equitably any new markets and expansion of markets, therefore getting our fair share of jobs. To me, a fair share of investment and jobs means not just a fair share of assembly jobs, but also a fair share of jobs in the auto parts sector, a fair share of jobs in research and development, and a fair share of our skilled, semi-skilled and nonskilled jobs. As I have said, research and development is one of the most important parts if we are going to expand and progress in the automobile industry.

However, this has not happened because article 1(c) basically states that the companies can place their plants wherever they want. The two articles are not complementary, and they must be rationalized or clarified in some way.

If we were to get our fair share under the assumption our federal government was involved in, and probably our provincial government, we would have between 20,000 and 30,000 more jobs in the automobile industry.

If the same pattern continued, the vast majority of those jobs, something in the neighbourhood of 25,000 to 28,000 would be located here in Ontario.

Where do we go from here? I think we have a perfect opportunity with one of the corporations that is now bargaining with our federal government for aid, namely, Chrysler Corporation. They need assistance from our federal government, and they are going to need part of that assistance from this provincial government. This will be, as I understand it, the largest investment from this government in the manufacturing sector in its history. Chrysler Corporation needs our help, and I think we have to put conditions on that corporation which will guarantee long-term jobs and our fair share in all sectors of the automobile industry.

If the report that was in the *Globe and Mail* today is accurate, the federal package is primarily looking at the van plant. It will be for retooling that plant only for what they are going to call van-wagons, which is a cross between a station wagon and a van. It will be the first van ever to fit into a home garage. If that is the only area the federal government is negotiating with Chrysler, and that is the only plant that is going to be retooled, then I say with no hesitation at all that we would be opposed to that package. The package has to look at all the plants in Windsor, which includes the spring plant, the engine plant, the car plant, and the van plant. They all have to be retooled to meet the new down-sized market.

The House recessed at 5:57 p.m.

APPENDIX

(See page 1233)

ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS
ON NOTICE PAPER

EMCA EXAMS

17. Mr. Breaugh: Will the Minister of Health list the data indicated below for each set of emergency medical care assistant examinations which has been written to date:

(a) the failure rates on the theory component; (b) the failure rates on the practical component; (c) the percentage of candidates who failed at least one component of the examination (which is equivalent to a composite failure rate)? (Tabled March 13, 1980.)

Hon. Mr. Timbrell: Our answer to the above question is as follows:

Date	Theory		Practical		EMCA successful (both components)
	Pass	Fail	Pass	Fail	
January 1978	44	31	29	46	21
July 1978	101	27	87	34	75
January 1979	99	27	87	44	75
July 1979	254	75	135	127	152

Results of the fifth set of examinations are not yet available, as the examination is just being completed.

BILLING BY OPTED-OUT
PHYSICIANS

30. Mr. Breaugh: Would the Minister of Health table all correspondence which he has had with the Ontario Medical Association, as well as its correspondence with him, regarding the "understanding" between the minister and OMA regarding billing by opted-out physicians, which the minister announced in the House on March 29, 1979? (Tabled March 13, 1980.)

Hon. Mr. Timbrell: The following letters are tabled in response to the question:

December 3, 1979

Dear Mr. Minister:

As you are aware, since April of this year the Ontario Medical Association has maintained a doctor information service in order to provide patients with a selective list of physicians along with their billing options in a geographic area or specialty, and in addition we have used the service to attempt to resolve potential disputes over billings between patients and physicians.

As we have gained experience in this endeavour, a number of patterns have evolved and I feel you should be aware of them:

1. The number of enquiries has increased moderately with each ensuing month, from 199 in May (the first complete month) to 303 in October.

2. Almost two thirds of all enquiries originate in Metropolitan Toronto and the sur-

rounding area: e.g., 204 of the total of 303 in October.

Because, during the late summer we began to receive a number of calls in which the patient simply wanted the name of the physician in a geographic area with no specification as to the status, in September we began asking all callers whether they wanted the services of an opted-in physician. During September, 52 per cent of our enquirers said they were more concerned with getting a specific physician than with his billing status. In October this figure represented 42 per cent of enquiries.

3. The actual number of complaints from patients concerning billings has only been a fraction of the number of other calls in the seven months since the service began. In fact, most fee complaints have originated with members of the legislature, rather than directly through patients.

The number of these complaints has been between 30 and 40. The vast majority have been resolved amicably, although we admit that a handful have remained unresolved; mainly, it seems, because the disputes have gone beyond the confines of the physician and the patient and been exploited in the public forum.

During the past two months, we have had no complaints concerning the billing practices of opted-out physicians as far as office consultations or procedures are concerned. All have involved in-hospital procedures and, as you are aware, this prompted my recent letter to the membership about in-hospital notification and billings.

In summation, therefore, I feel the service performed by the staff of the OMA has been

exemplary. Indeed, I am informed that the vast majority of the profession has been most co-operative when approached by the staff on all of these matters. At the same time, they have also been quick to inform our staff that opted-out physicians do not charge all patients above the OHIP benefit. This no doubt has some bearing on the small number of complaints which have surfaced.

If you wish clarification or further discussion on any of these matters, I shall be happy to pursue them at your convenience.

Sincerely yours,
D. Y. Caldwell, M.D.,
President,
Ontario Medical Association.

JANUARY 1980

	Sources					Doctor Request	
	OMA Telephone Number					Opted in	Opted-in or out
	Directory	OHIP	Health Agencies	News-paper	Other		
Carleton		9	2			11	
Durham	1	1	1			2	1
Essex	1	2				3	
Halton	3	6				7	2
Lambton		2				2	
Middlesex		2				2	
Niagara		2				2	
Nipissing			1			1	
Peel	17	3	1		2	18	5
Peterborough		2			1	3	
Simcoe		2			1	3	
Sudbury		1				1	
Waterloo	1	2	1			4	
Wellington	1					1	
Wentworth	1	4	1			5	1
York	110	23	17	1	10	113	48
Total request for doctors				235			
Requests for Opted-In Doctors				177	75%		

1979

	April	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.
General Practitioner	100	92	83	78	86	89	108
Obs/Cyn	13	26	21	24	17	20	31
Ophthalmology	24	25	21	22	14	20	29
Orthopaedics	8	14	9	6	7	12	11
General and Plastic Surgery	4	4	5	5	10	2	6
Internal Medicine	1	3	11	6	10	15	17
Psychiatry	4	5	2	5	8	9	9
Dermatology	4	8	5	8	6	7	7
Urology	5	3	1	5	4	2	3
Otology	4	4	1	5	4	5	5
Paediatrics	2	1	7	2	3	5	5
Other		3	4	7	9	6	6
Inquiries		11	52	71	62	64	66
Doctors' names not required							
Total	168	199	222	244	240	256	303

1979 - 1980								
	Nov.	Dec.	Jan.	Feb.				
General					Internal Medicine	10	10	13
Practitioner	105	52	120	99	Psychiatry	6	7	11
Obs/Gyn	29	9	24	22	Dermatology	6	1	4
Ophthalmology	25	10	25	23	Urology	3	3	6
Orthopaedics	8	4	9	2	Otology	7	1	6
General and					Paediatrics	5	5	8
Plastic Surgery	9	2	5	7	Other	1	3	4
					Inquiries	78	51	105
					Total	292	156	340
								269

Nov/79 Dec/79 Jan/80 Feb/80				Nov/79 Dec/79 Jan/80 Feb/80			
Algoma				Middlesex	1	2	2
Brant				Manitowlin			
Bruce				Muskoka			
Carleton	6	4	11	Niagara	2	1	2
Cochrane				Nipissing			1
Dufferin				Northumberland			
Dundas				Oxford			
Durham	1	1	3	Parry Sound			
Elgin				Patricia			
Essex	2		3	Peel	18	13	23
Frontenac				Perth			27
Glengarry				Peterborough	4	3	3
Grey				Prescott			
Haldimand				Prince Edward			
Norfolk				Rainy River			
Haliburton				Renfrew			
Halton	2	3	9	Russell			
Hastings				Simcoe	5	2	3
Huron				Stormont			
Kenora				Sudbury			1
Kent				Temiskaming			
Lambton			2	Thunder Bay			
Lanark				Victoria			
Leeds/				Waterloo	4	4	4
Grenville				Wellington			1
Lennox/				Wentworth	9	1	6
Addington				York	160	75	161
							143

March 7, 1980

Dear Mr. Minister:

I should like to take this opportunity to update you again on the doctor information service which our association put in place last April with regard to patients requesting the services of opted-in physicians and queries concerning specific billing procedures.

Let me first say that the pattern of enquiries per month has only varied slightly over the 11-month period. In essence, we average approximately 275 calls per month, of which two thirds originate in Metropolitan Toronto. In all cases we have been able to provide the caller with three or four names in the immediate geographic area and in the specialty required.

The same pattern holds true for queries concerning specific billing procedures. We have averaged about four of these per week and, in the vast majority of cases, they have been settled amicably. Of the handful we have not been able to resolve, nearly all have been because the issue became part of a public debate.

On the basis, therefore, I would suggest to you that the service has fulfilled its mandate as well as possible and, in the interest of public services, our association is willing to continue with it as long as there is a perceived need.

Sincerely yours,

Douglas T. Caldwell, M.D., President,
Ontario Medical Association.

AMBULANCE MILEAGE FIGURES

33. **Mr. Breaugh:** Would the Minister of Health indicate how many ambulances are at present in use in Ontario with more than 50,000 miles of use? Are there any vehicles presently in use with more than 100,000 miles of travel? (Tabled March 13, 1980.)

Hon. Mr. Timbrell: Ontario has a fleet of 538 ambulances. Of these 171 ambulances have between 50,000 and 100,000 miles on their odometers. It is anticipated that these 171 vehicles will be retired during the fiscal year 1980-81. There are 19 vehicles with odometer readings of over 100,000 miles. These will be phased out within the next two months.

NEW AMBULANCES

34. **Mr. Breaugh:** Would the Minister of Health please indicate how many new ambulances have been put into operation in Ontario as of March 31, 1979, to date, and in which localities and under whose auspices are these ambulances now being operated? (Tabled March 13, 1980.)

Hon. Mr. Timbrell: The following table indicates the number of new ambulances issued as of April 21, 1980, by locality and service name. We anticipate that a further 51 ambulances will be put into operation within the next 6 weeks, bringing the total to 224.

Location	Number of new vehicles issued	Name of ambulance service
Ajax	1	Ajax and Pickering Ambulance Services
Alliston	1	Stevenson Memorial Hospital
Ancaster	1	Ancaster Township Volunteer Ambulance Service
Armstrong	1	Armstrong Area Ambulance Service
Arnprior	1	Arnprior and District Memorial Hospital
Bancroft	1	Bancroft Ambulance Service
Barrie	3	Royal Victoria Hospital
Belleville	3	City Ambulance of Quinte Limited
Belleville	2	LaSalle Ambulance Service
Blind River	1	St. Joseph's General Hospital
Bobcaygeon	1	Bobcaygeon Ambulance Service
Bracebridge	4	Muskoka Ambulance Service
Bradford	1	Lewis Ambulance Service
Brantford	2	Brant County Ambulance Service Limited
Cambridge	1	Cambridge Memorial Hospital
Chapleau	1	Chapleau General Hospital
Chatham	4	Chatham and District Ambulance Service Limited
Cobourg	1	Cobourg and District Ambulance Service
Cochrane	2	Lady Minto Hospital
Collingwood	1	McKechnie Ambulance Service
Cornwall	3	Cornwall Provincial Ambulance Service
Dryden	1	Dryden District General Hospital
Fenelon Falls	1	Fenelon Ambulance Service
Fisherville	1	Yeates Ambulance Service
Finch	1	Brownlee Ambulance Service
Fort Erie	1	Greater Welland Ambulance Service
Fort Frances	1	La Verendrye Hospital
Foleyet	1	Foleyet Volunteer Fire Fighters Association
Geraldton	2	Fawcett Ambulance Service
Gogama	1	Gogama Volunteer Ambulance Service
Guelph	2	Royal City Ambulance Service
Haileybury	2	Buffam Ambulance Service
Haliburton	1	Haliburton Ambulance Service Municipality of Dysart et al
Hamilton	2	Fleetwood Ambulance Service
Hamilton	1	Superior Ambulance Limited

Location	Number of new vehicles issued	Name of ambulance service
Hastings	1	Hastings Volunteer Ambulance Service
Hearst	1	Notre Dame Hospital
Hornepayne	1	Hornepayne Community Hospital
Kapuskasing	1	Sensenbrenner Hospital
Kenora	4	Lake of the Woods District Hospital
Kingston	2	Kingston Ambulance Service
Kitchener	3	Kitchener-Waterloo Regional Ambulance Limited
Leamington	3	Sun Parlour Emergency Services Incorporated
Lindsay	2	Lindsay Fire Department and Ambulance Service
Listowel	1	Listowel Memorial Hospital
Little Current	2	Manitoulin Health Centre
London	5	Thames Valley Ambulance Limited
Longlac	1	Longlac Volunteer Ambulance Service
Lucan	1	Lucan Ambulance Service
Matheson	1	Bingham Memorial Hospital
Mattawa	1	Mattawa General Hospital
Midland	1	Midland District Ambulance Service
Moosonee	1	James Bay General Hospital
Morrisburg	1	St. Lawrence and District Ambulance Service
Mount Forest	1	Mount Forest District Ambulance Service
Newmarket	1	York County Hospital
Niagara Falls	3	Niagara Falls District Ambulance Service
North Bay	3	North Bay Civic Hospital
Oakville	4	District of Halton-Mississauga Ambulance Service
Orangeville	4	Dufferin Area Hospital
Orillia	2	Orillia District Ambulance Service
Oshawa	2	Oshawa District Ambulance Service
Ottawa	8	Ottawa Ambulance Service
Owen Sound	3	Owen Sound Emergency Service Incorporated
Parkhill	1	Parkhill Ambulance Service
Parry Sound	1	Parry Sound and District General Hospital
Pembroke	3	Pembroke District Ambulance Service
Petawawa	1	Upper Ottawa Valley Ambulance Service
Peterborough	2	The Peterborough Civic Hospital
Port Elgin	1	Bruce District Ambulance Service
Red Lake	1	Margaret Cochenour Memorial Hospital
Renfrew	2	Renfrew Provincial Ambulance Service
Rodney	1	Padfield Ambulance Service
St. Catharines	1	Hotel Dieu Hospital
St. Mary's	1	St. Mary's Memorial Hospital
Sault Ste. Marie	3	Sault-Algoma Ambulance Service, Plummer Memoria Hospital
Schreiber/Terrace Bay	1	North Shore Ambulance Service
Shelbourne	1	Shelbourne District Hospital
Simcoe	1	Green's Ambulance Service
Sioux Lookout	1	Sioux Lookout General Hospital
Smith Falls	1	Smith Falls District Ambulance Service
Stratford	1	The Stratford General Hospital
Streetsville	1	Lee Ambulance Service
Sudbury	5	Sudbury District Ambulance, Sudbury General Hospital
Thedford	1	Gilpin Ambulance Service
Thunder Bay	5	Thunder Bay Ambulance Incorporated

Location	Number of new vehicles issued	Name of ambulance service
Tillsonburg	2	Tillsonburg District Memorial Hospital
Timmins	2	Porcupine Area Ambulance Service
Upsala	1	Upsala Volunteer Ambulance Service
Uxbridge	1	The Cottage Hospital
Walkerton	1	County of Bruce General Hospital
Welland	2	Greater Welland Ambulance Service
Windsor	5	Windsor Provincial Ambulance Service
Wingham	1	Wingham and District Hospital
Woodstock	1	Woodstock Ambulance Limited
York	3	York South Ambulance Service
Total	173	

SOCIAL ASSISTANCE REVIEW BOARD APPEALS

123. Mr. McClellan: How many cases has the Ministry of Community and Social Services taken to court on appeal against decisions of the Social Assistance Review Board for each of the years 1977-78, 1978-79, 1979-80? What is the breakdown of these cases, by programs? What was the judgement of the court in each case? (Tabled April 16, 1980.)

Hon. Mr. Norton: The ministry has appealed a total of three cases to the divisional court of the Supreme Court of Ontario from decisions of the Social Assistance Review Board, between January 1, 1977, and April 25, 1980. The following is a breakdown of the cases by year and judgement of the court. All of the cases have arisen out of the Vocational Rehabilitation Services Program.

1. The director of the vocational rehabilitation services branch of the Ministry of Community and Social Services v. Tom Hackett, a decision of the divisional court released January 17, 1977, per Garrett and Labrosse, JJ., Cromarty, J. (dissenting).

The ministry appealed from the decision of the Social Assistance Review Board to provide continued funding to Mr. Hackett, a victim of poliomyelitis, to enable him to pursue a degree in medicine after having successfully obtained a degree in biochemistry. The issue was whether Mr. Hackett could still be considered disabled within the meaning of the Vocational Rehabilitation Services Act, in the light of the extent of his education.

The court held that while the appeal appeared to raise a question of fact only, they were prepared to deal with the case on the question of whether there was any evidence upon which the board could have

made a decision. The court held that there was evidence to support the board's finding that Mr. Hackett was still disabled within the meaning of the act in that he was unable to pursue a substantially gainful occupation and dismissed the ministry's appeal.

2. The director of the vocational rehabilitation services branch of the Ministry of Community and Social Services v. The Social Assistance Review Board and Derek A. Benness, a decision of the divisional court released November 9, 1979, per Eberle, Linden, Callaghan, JJ.

The ministry sought a judicial review of the decision of the board to reopen for reconsideration in 1979, a decision that was made by the board in 1976 and that was favourable to the ministry. The main issue was whether the board could unilaterally extend the usual 30-day limitation period for requesting a reconsideration of one of its decisions, or whether natural justice required that the board give the opposite party an opportunity to address the question of whether the decision ought to be reconsidered. The court held that it was "incumbent upon the board to give a reasonable opportunity to the director to be heard" on the issue and the ministry's appeal was allowed.

3. The director of the vocational rehabilitation services branch of the Ministry of Community and Social Services v. Stuart Alexander Mekler, a decision of the divisional court, released February 14, 1980, per Osler, Cory, Gray, JJ. (Leave to appeal to the Court of Appeal refused on March 3, 1980.)

The ministry appealed from the decision of the board to provide funding to the 21-year-old applicant. The issues were whether it is necessary that there be a connection between the program sought and a vocational goal and whether general education is pre-

vocational training within the meaning of the legislation. The court held that "general betterment or improvement" of a person is not prevocational training and that a "course or program must be specific in its aim and direction to comply with the requirements of the act." The ministry's appeal was allowed and the matter referred back to the director to determine whether the program requested was an appropriate rehabilitation program.

ADOPTIONS

124. Mr. McClellan: Would the Ministry of Community and Social Services advise: (i) How many private adoptions have been carried out in Ontario since the Child Welfare Act was proclaimed? (ii) What is the nature and extent of intervention by the official guardian on behalf of minor parents as required by section 19(4) and section 69(13) of the Child Welfare Act? Does the official guardian participate in all actual or proposed adoptions involving minor parents? If not, in what percentage, and according to what criteria? (iii) How many newborn babies have been apprehended because of parents' prior reported child abuse? (Tabled April 16, 1980.)

Hon. Mr. Norton: (i) We have issued 200 licences for private adoption. (ii) Official guardian participates in all proposed adoptions involving minor parents. Involvement means interview with minor parent by their representative prior to signing of consents to adoptions. (iii) We do not maintain statistics on the number of newborn babies apprehended because of parents' prior reported child abuse. Each children's aid society has this information in its records. It would therefore be necessary to canvass all societies in order to obtain this figure.

CHILDREN WITH LEARNING DISABILITIES

125. Mr. McClellan: Would the Minister of Community and Social Services advise: (i)

What are the statistics for the number of applications under the Vocational Rehabilitation Services Act on behalf of children with learning disabilities, from April 1, 1979, to date? (ii) How many applications were approved, how many rejected? (iii) How many rejections have been appealed to the Social Assistance Review Board? How many of these appeals were successful? (iv) How many such appeals have occurred since February 14, 1980, and how many of these were successful? (v) What is the present backlog of applications for this service: 1. at the director's decision level; 2. at the appeal stage? (vi) What is the percentage of vocational rehabilitation applications involving training for learning disabled children between April 1, 1979, and today? (Tabled April 16, 1980.)

Hon. Mr. Norton: (i) From April 1, 1979 to Mar. 31, 1980, 186 referrals were received by vocational rehabilitation services on behalf of children (under 16 years) with learning disabilities; (ii) approved 325, rejected 125, includes applications from previous year; (iii) rejections appealed to Social Assistance Review Board April 1, 1979, to April 16, 1980; appeals received, 76*; appeals granted, 8; appeals denied, 20; referred back, 2; number pending, 46; (iv) Number appeals received since February 14, 1980-14. These are still pending; (v) 1. 50; (v) 2. 46; (vi) number of new requests for training or major restoration services from April 1 to December 31, 1979-1,665. Of these, 197 or 11.83 per cent were requests for basic education for learning disabled clients. (Figures for period January 1, 1980, to March 31, 1980, available end of May 1980.)

*Includes (a) 73 received in fiscal year April 1, 1979 to March 31, 1980; (b) three received in period April 1, 1980 to April 16, 1980.

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Bernier, Hon. L.; Minister of Northern Affairs (Kenora PC)
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Cassidy, M. (Ottawa Centre NDP)
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Cooke, D. (Windsor-Riverside NDP)
Davis, Hon. W. G.; Premier (Brampton PC)
Davison, M. N. (Hamilton Centre NDP)
Drea, Hon. F.; Minister of Consumer and Commercial Relations (Scarborough Centre PC)
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Edighoffer, H.; Deputy Speaker (Perth L)
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Gigantes, E. (Carleton East NDP)
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Isaacs, C. (Wentworth NDP)
Kerrio, V. (Niagara Falls L)
Laughren, F. (Nickel Belt NDP)
MacBeth, J. P.; Acting Speaker (Humber PC)
MacDonald, D. C. (York South NDP)
Maack, Hon. L.; Minister of Revenue (Parry Sound PC)
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Martel, E. W. (Sudbury East NDP)
McCague, Hon. G.; Chairman of Management Board; Chairman of Cabinet
(Dufferin-Simcoe PC)
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McMurtry, Hon. R.; Attorney General; Solicitor General (Eglinton PC)
Miller, Hon. F. S.; Treasurer, Minister of Economics (Muskoka PC)
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Stokes, Hon. J. E.; Speaker (Lake Nipigon NDP)
Swart, M. (Welland-Thorold NDP)
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Timbrell, Hon. D. R.; Minister of Health (Don Mills PC)
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(London South PC)
Watson, A. N. (Chatham-Kent PC)
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Wildman, B. (Algoma NDP)
Worton, H. (Wellington South L)



No. 34

Legislature of Ontario Debates

Official Report (Hansard)

Fourth Session, 31st Parliament

Tuesday, April 29, 1980

Evening Sitting

Speaker: Honourable John E. Stokes

Clerk: Roderick Lewis, QC

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Hansard subscription price is \$15.00 per session, from: Sessional Subscription Service, Printing Services Branch, Ministry of Government Services, 9th Floor, Ferguson Block, Parliament Buildings, Toronto M7A 1N3. Phone 965-2238.

Published by the Legislature of the Province of Ontario.
Editor of Debates: Peter Brannan.



LEGISLATURE OF ONTARIO

TUESDAY, APRIL 29, 1980

The House resumed at 8 p.m.

BUDGET DEBATE (continued)

Resuming the debate on the motion that this House approves in general the budgetary policy of the government.

Mr. Speaker: When the House recessed, the member for Windsor-Riverside had the floor.

Mr. Cooke: Mr. Speaker, I will be just a few more minutes. When we recessed, I was talking about where the provincial and federal governments could go on the auto pact now. I was talking specifically about the Chrysler Corporation and the golden opportunity that both the provincial and federal governments have been given for making sure we get our fair share of jobs, of research and development, and of skilled, unskilled and semi-skilled jobs.

When I had my dinner break, I read with interest the headline story in the Toronto Star. It said the reason the provincial and federal governments did not make an announcement today on Chrysler is that they are having serious problems with Chrysler corporation, in particular, with the international president, Lee Iacocca. He is refusing to give both levels of government the kinds of job guarantees that this party has been pushing for and told the provincial government it did not get in the Ford agreement. I think we have done our job in criticizing the provincial government on the Ford agreement. I think we hit home, and showed the provincial government that it had to push hard for job guarantees. Now those criticisms are bearing fruit in the negotiations with Chrysler. I say to the provincial government to hang tough. There is no use giving Chrysler corporation the money if we do not get the guarantees we need. When they do get the agreement, I look forward to having it tabled in the House and, before it is signed, sealed and delivered, having the opportunity to debate it, to see whether the government did hang tough.

We have a golden opportunity with Chrysler. One of the basic things we have

to do with that corporation is to attempt to form, as closely as is possible with a multinational corporation, a truly separate Canadian Chrysler corporation that operates at arm's length from the parent corporation. I think that can be done in the case of Chrysler because most of the parts they use in their car production are not in-house parts, as they are in the other two of the Big Three. They source most of the parts from independent suppliers.

We can put a condition on Chrysler that their parts be sourced in Canada, which would obviously mean primarily in Ontario. We could demand that in their car plant they produce a small, compact car that has worldwide appeal and can be marketed not only in Canada, but also in the United States and throughout Europe and the rest of the world.

If we create that kind of corporation, and if the parent corporation ever does go bankrupt, we will have a viable corporation operating in Ontario that can maintain itself and maintain jobs. It will be a viable corporation that can survive.

As you know, Chrysler Canada has made more money over the years, whereas the parent corporation has been in serious trouble. To make Chrysler Canada a viable corporation, we have to make sure the deal that is struck with our two levels of government includes the retooling of the car assembly plant, the van plant, the engine plant and any other adjustments in the Ajax and Etobicoke plants, and any necessary changes in the spring plant.

We have a golden opportunity. We must be tough in the negotiations. We must maintain our status and insist on job guarantees that can be enforced.

One of the ways that job guarantees and the other parts of the agreement can be enforced is if we maintain or attain an equity position in Chrysler so that, if they do not live up to their obligations in the deal, we will have a piece of the action that we can use to enforce the agreement.

(As far as General Motors, Ford and American Motors are concerned, over the years we have given at least two of those corporations a fair number of concessions

when it comes to duty remissions. To maintain the credibility of the auto pact, we must stop the duty remissions for those corporations. We must insist that they live up to the letter and the spirit of the auto pact.

We know that over the next number of years—I think up until 1985—we are expecting something in the neighbourhood of \$60 billion to \$80 billion in North America of new investment from the Big Four. We must now make sure we get our fair share of that investment for down-sizing. Up to this point, we have not done a very good job. Before we recessed for the dinner hour, I did go through the statistics for investment. Looking at the latest layoffs at the Ford Motor Company in Ontario, we see in Oakville that they closed down or reduced to a great extent production of LTDs, which obviously are not in demand any more. They closed down the casting plant in Windsor, and they gave us absolutely no commitment at all about retooling.

The Minister of Industry and Tourism (Mr. Grossman), as well as the president of Ford of Canada, has simply stated to us that if the market demand changes they will then go back into production of LTDs and open up the casting plant in Windsor again.

You know as well as I do, Mr. Speaker, that with the crisis we have in energy and with prices going the way they are, the LTD with a V-8 engine and the castings that were being made in Windsor for the V-8 engine are never going to be in demand again. In fact, what the corporation is saying is that that plant is closed, and this provincial government, which actually has a minister who represents Oakville, is willing to sit back and watch that happen and watch thousands of auto workers lose their job totally.

The Ford Motor Company can say they are mothballing some of those plants for further production in the future when the market changes, but unless they retool, those plants are not mothballed; they are closed. We have to make sure that out of that \$60 billion to \$80 billion we get our fair share of investment so that those plants are retooled to make cars, engines and trucks that will meet the needs of the marketplace over the next number of years and provide us with long-term jobs.

I do not think the way to get a fair share of investment is by bribing corporations like the Ford Motor Company. We criticized that grant to Ford. Contrary to what the Premier (Mr. Davis) and the Minister of Industry and Tourism have said, my colleague from

Windsor-Sandwich (Mr. Bounsall) and myself have been very consistent. We have said here in the Legislature and back in Windsor that we oppose that grant; we oppose the giveaway. We did not believe there were adequate conditions and, even if there were adequate conditions, we did not feel that a \$68-million grant should be provided to a profitable multinational corporation like the Ford Motor Company. We felt, and I still do, that under the terms and the spirit of the auto pact that engine plant should have come to Windsor with no strings attached.

I want to read to the Legislature tonight a statement that Mr. Iacocca made in an interview on The Fifth Estate program on CBC when they were talking about the Chrysler corporation. He was talking about when he was president of the Ford Motor Company in the United States. This is from the transcript, word for word:

"Well, I—but I've had great experience with this. I've played Spain versus France and England so long as I'm tired of it. Ford, when I was there, and General Motors, Chrysler—all over the world—we pit Ohio versus Michigan. We pit Canada versus the United States. We get outright grants and subsidies in Spain and Mexico and Brazil—all kinds of grants." And this is the most important statement: "With my former employer"—referring to the Ford Motor Company—"I, one of the last things I did, on the threat of losing 2,000 jobs in Windsor, got \$73 million outright."

That is the statement Lee Iacocca made on The Fifth Estate. We have a government at the provincial level and a Liberal government at the federal level that to this day still, support and defend that grant.

Mr. Nixon: Dr. Shulman says Ford is going broke.

Mr. Cooke: Dr. Shulman says a lot of things on his program. I am not sure Dr. Shulman knows what he is talking about all the time.

Mr. Nixon: He used to be an NDP member.

Mr. Cooke: In any case, I am coming to an end, if the other party will let me.

8:10 p.m.

Mr. Riddell: Don't forget he was one of you. He used to sit on the front benches here.

Mr. Cooke: Well, he suggested to me when I was on his program that there should be some kind of a plaster bust in our hallways commemorating him. I suggested that I didn't think many of my colleagues would

want to commemorate him in that way or any other way.

Mr. Renwick: You will have our colleague from High Park-Swansea (Mr. Ziembra) on his feet on a matter of privilege.

Mr. Cooke: After being on his program and talking about the auto industry, I have a lot against Morty.

We are facing some very serious problems in the auto industry, not the least of which is the competition from the foreign auto makers. The competition and the market penetration they have achieved in both Canada and the United States spells a great many problems for our auto workers and the number of jobs that we are losing.

The only way around that problem is to sign duty remission agreements with each of the foreign auto makers that want to sell their cars in our country. Those agreements with the corporations would spell out conditions whereby they can sell their cars in Canada and get duty-free access, but at the same time they would have to produce jobs and build plants in Ontario and in Canada.

Mr. Nixon: Dr. Shulman says Toyota cars are better than Camaro cars.

Mr. Cooke: I drive a Camaro, and I am very pleased with it. Now I have lost my train of thought.

What we need to do, Mr. Speaker, is sign these agreements with the foreign auto makers and make sure they produce here in Ontario.

I received information today from one of the United Auto Workers locals in my city that Governor Milliken from Michigan went to Japan very recently. In fact, I think he just returned. Honourable members will remember that our people, including the Minister of Industry and Tourism, also went to Japan. I don't know whether the Premier went with him on that junket or not, but it has been a year and a half, or two years since they returned and we have nothing to show for it, whereas Governor Milliken went over and he has a commitment at this point for a Toyota auto parts plant in Michigan, which will produce thousands of jobs.

We should get on the ball and get some of those plants in Ontario. We should make sure we get our fair share of jobs. We should make sure the value added in this province is not 60 per cent or 50 per cent, but is something in the neighbourhood of 70 or 75 per cent. Then, we can get the jobs, and we will have jobs protected for the long-term future. However, we are not doing the kind of work that is necessary, and by the time our government gets around to it, all the

plants will be located in the United States, and we will continue to have massive unemployment in the auto industry.

One of the amendments that also has to be made with the auto makers, the Big Three or the Big Four, is that we have to look at changing the value added, or the percentage of Canadian value in our cars, from the 70 per cent where we now operate to 75 or 80 per cent to achieve more jobs. The 70 per cent is no longer relevant and is not producing the jobs that are needed in Ontario. If, in fact, we achieve a 75 per cent Canadian content in those cars, or Canadian value added, we would produce 7,000 more auto jobs in this province. If we went up to 80 per cent, we would achieve at least 15,000 new auto jobs in this province. You can see how very important it is.

That is why our federal party has suggested that the time has come for us to talk seriously to the American government about the auto trade agreement. Some changes have to be made to it because of the decisions of the foreign auto makers, because of the problem with the auto parts sector in Ontario and Canada and because of our huge deficit, which is getting to be a chronic deficit. These are chronic problems, and the only way they can be solved is through changes in the auto pact, by bringing in this duty remission program with the foreign auto makers, and by signing letters of commitment with the Big Four so that when they are putting in \$60 billion to \$80 billion of new investment, we are sure to get our fair share.

I want to make one final comment. It is as important as or maybe more important than, all the other comments I have made. We are going through a very dramatic change in the auto industry. While the change and the retooling take place there are, as we all know, thousands of auto workers who are losing their jobs for long periods of time. We cannot provide financial assistance only to corporations; we have to provide financial assistance to the auto workers who are dislocated as well. In the United States they have what is called TRA, the trade readjustment allowances program. In Canada, we used to have TAB, transitional assistance benefits, but that program was eliminated a few years after the auto pact by the federal Liberal government.

In the last federal election campaign, one of the reasons the voters in the Windsor-Essex area returned three Liberals to the federal House was a promise they made that they would support transitional assistance

benefits for auto workers. They now are in power in fact, all three of them are in the cabinet, and they tell us they have a lot of influence—but all we get from the federal Minister of Employment and Immigration is a program that simply extends unemployment insurance benefits and makes it easier to get on unemployment insurance.

It is not the type of program we were talking about. It doesn't meet the need even in Windsor and it certainly doesn't meet the need of the workers in Oakville, Oshawa, the Niagara Peninsula, the workers at Budd Automotive Company of Canada Limited in Cambridge. It doesn't meet the need whatsoever. It is a very short-sighted, very limited program and is another example of a broken promise by the federal Liberal government.

One angle they took was to say that, in order to create work in the Windsor area so that those workers who didn't have their 10 weeks to qualify to get back on unemployment insurance, they would put more money in the Canada Works program.

We got the announcement from the federal government on the Canada Works program and found that for the tri-county area, which comprises Essex, Kent and Lambton counties, they are giving us \$250,000 for Canada Works. That is approximately \$80,000 in the Windsor-Essex area. According to the local people from Manpower, it will meet the need for maybe 300 workers—but there are literally thousands of workers who need the jobs to requalify for unemployment insurance.

We have three federal cabinet ministers in Windsor; they have broken their promises. We have silence from this provincial government in pushing the federal government to meet the commitment it made in the last federal election campaign.

In the meantime we have a city that has 20 per cent unemployment. I am not going to go into all the problems associated with the unemployment. We did that during the emergency debate, and I have done it two or three other times during appropriate supplementary estimates. But we have a very serious problem.

Oakville is going to have very serious problems when its people start running out of unemployment insurance when more layoffs take place and when the supplementary unemployment benefits run out at Ford, which is projected to be some time in June.

I predict that Oshawa is going to have problems in the future because the types of cars produced there are also larger cars, not the kinds that are going to be in demand over the next number of years. The Niagara

Peninsula already has more than 10 per cent unemployment—I believe it is 13 per cent or 14 per cent in the St. Catharines area—so they are already in serious difficulties.

What we need from this government is serious, strong leadership, negotiating immediately with Chrysler. But on a longer term we need them to look at areas like Windsor and St. Catharines and to go in there with some job-creation programs. We need them to speak out loudly in favour of transitional assistance benefits for the displaced auto workers. Most of all, we need to make sure we get the kinds of jobs on a long-term basis in the retooling of all our auto plants in Ontario so we will have long-term jobs and small-sized cars that will meet the market in Ontario, in the United States and elsewhere in the world, and so we will not have this type of unemployment which seems to be occurring every two or three years with all the human tragedy that accompanies it.

I thank the members of the Legislature who have listened. I am glad our party put a priority on this issue to put me second after our leadoff speaker in the budget debate. Our treasury critic included a large portion of his response on the budget on auto matters because we know it is such a serious problem. I hope soon the government will begin to take the problem as seriously as we do.

8:20 p.m.

Hon. Mr. Timbrell: Mr. Speaker, I rise with pleasure to take part in the 1980 budget debate. I will not dwell at length this evening on the 1980 estimates of the Ministry of Health. There will be ample opportunity to deal with those in detail in about four or five weeks when we get to estimates in the standing committee on social development.

An hon. member: Leadership candidates are expected to show a breadth—

An hon. member: Why is the member for Renfrew North (Mr. Conway) in the place of the member for Niagara Falls (Mr. Kerrio)?

Hon. Mr. Timbrell: The member for Niagara Falls has changed. I am not sure whether it is for the better. Is the member sure he didn't go to the chiropractic dinner? He has lost his way; he is in the wrong seat.

What I would like to do this evening is to put on the record of the assembly the points of view which I expressed in my statement to the Health Services Review 1979 under Mr. Justice Emmett Hall.

Mr. Nixon: Are you going to talk about health services? Don't you have any other strings on your bow? This is supposed to be a general debate.

Hon. Mr. Timbrell: I could dig out some of my old speeches on energy, if the honourable member would like. Maybe we could rehash the 1976 debate and talk about the member's positions on energy prices. I would be glad to do that.

Mr. Nixon: Sure, let's do that.

Hon. Mr. Timbrell: If there's time. I may get to that at the end. I will try to fit it in somehow.

Mr. Riddell: Please elaborate on ambulance services.

Hon. Mr. Timbrell: Mr. Speaker, now I can tell who has been to the chiropractic dinner.

Interjections.

Mr. Acting Speaker: I think we had better have a little order and let the minister carry on.

Hon. Mr. Timbrell: Suffice it to say, I hope that all members of the House have taken the time and the trouble to read carefully, word by word, the detailed brief we submitted to Mr. Hall.

I enjoyed having the opportunity to read the brief from the New Democratic Party. I don't agree, of course, with all of the points of view expressed in it, but it was none the less an interesting brief. I will be even more interested when I see the follow-up material they are going to send to Mr. Justice Hall in answer to his question of how they would do some of the things they said they would do.

It is unfortunate I didn't receive the brief from the Liberal Party. It must have gone astray in Her Majesty's post.

Mr. Nixon: This is where our views on health services are expressed; this is where we vote against you, and the NDP votes for you.

Mr. Speaker: Only when you are recognized by the Speaker.

Hon. Mr. Timbrell: I am sure at some point in the not too distant future, at least in this decade, we will find out the point of view on this subject of the Ontario Liberal Party, or the Liberal Party in Ontario, or the Liberal Party of Ontario, whatever their name is now—the interim Liberal Party?

I doubt that there is another person anywhere in Canada, or at any time, who could bring to this assignment of reviewing health care in Canada the kind of experience and

commitment that the Honourable Mr. Justice Emmett Hall has.

Mr. Nixon: You fought against his original recommendations tooth and nail. If it hadn't been for the Liberals, we would never have had medicare.

Hon. Mr. Timbrell: Or Bill 100 perhaps, and a few other things those members now have changed their minds on. I told the member my view of traditional liberalism. They say "Here are my principles. If you don't like them, I have others."

Mr. Speaker, as the national hospital insurance plan enters its third decade of service to the Canadian people and as our medical insurance plan begins its second decade, we feel that it is entirely appropriate that Mr. Justice Hall has been asked to review the operation of these programs and to make suggestions for the future.

Ontario is proud of its health insurance program and its health-care system. Ontario residents place a very high value on their health-care system and are very satisfied with it. As a government, we have put that evaluation into action by making health a high priority in our planning and in our funding decisions. One need only look at the 1980 estimates of the Ministry of Health tabled last week, and in the portion of the remarks of my colleague the Treasurer (Mr. F. S. Miller) a week ago tonight, to see the evidence of that.

Further, our health system in this province has received a great deal of attention from analysts and advocates of health insurance in other countries, like the United States, as they move, however haltingly, towards the introduction of national health insurance plans. In fact, a study prepared in the last year or so for the then Department of Health, Education, and Welfare of the United States suggesting that many features of our plan and its management deserved emulation there. Considering the great number of publicly funded health schemes around the world, this attention is gratifying.

While these official endorsements are quite flattering, there have been far more eloquent testimonials to Ontario's health-care system from other parts of the world.

An hon. member: The member is not reading a speech, is he?

Mr. Speaker: The member for Renfrew North has a fixation about members referring to their own notes. I want to remind him that the standing orders say that you will not read at length from other documents.

An hon. member: He seems to be reading at length from a prepared text.

Mr. Speaker: As long as he prepared it himself.

Hon. Mr. Timbrell: What a great range my friend from Pembroke has. Tonight, Mr. Speaker, you have quite rightly pointed out one of his fixations. Friday morning he was talking about his fantasies. I wonder what is next.

An hon. member: The minister was talking about fantasies last night.

Hon. Mr. Timbrell: The member alluded to them. I only expanded on the situation and suggested he consult his leader professionally. He is opted-in, to boot.

Mr. Speaker, we all felt a great sense of pleasure and pride when little Herbie Quinone returned to his Brooklyn home after his widely publicized treatment here a year ago in our Hospital for Sick Children in Toronto. The choice of London as a treatment centre for the American singer Della Reese and the decision to bring the ailing infant Princess Hurmah of Brunei half way around the world to the Hospital for Sick Children were both widely publicized. Such decisions were taken after every other possibility in the world had been explored. Physicians and units in these hospitals were found to be the last hope of saving these individuals. I know of countless less dramatic examples of patients who have sought the professional skills and technical resources of our health-care system from among literally a world of choices.

The interesting thing to remember in these cases is that this world-class service is available to every resident of this province on a regular basis. I think Mr. Hall should feel a personal sense of pride in this, because the health-care system which we enjoy in this province in this country owes part of its genesis to the work which he and his colleagues did more than 15 years ago.

The health charter for Canadians expressed by the Hall commission in 1964 gave all levels of government, health-care providers and the general public, a clearly stated goal, a compelling sense of what was wanted and how to provide it. The charter was implemented implicitly by the Medical Care Act (Canada) back in 1967, which not only enabled provinces to finance medical care insurance plans, but also provided a context within which all of the program details of the plans were to be developed.

The principles that guide us in developing our health-care system today are based on

the Hall commission report and the Medical Care Act. The Health Services Review 1979 has been asked to examine the charter of health for Canadians as expressed by the Royal Commission on Health Services in 1964 and the 1967 medicare principles, and to advise whether they are still relevant or in need of modification.

Ontario sees great value in maintaining a set of general principles agreed to by all governments that attempt to define the national interest in health insurance. Canadians expect the provincial health insurance plans will have sufficient common features so that Canadians can move from province to province with uninterrupted coverage and similar basic health-care services.

At the same time, the principles must be general and flexible enough to permit provinces to implement them in ways consistent with their own local conditions. The existing principles, I submit, have served us well over the years. Canadians have a national health insurance plan established in accordance with varying provincial traditions and yet providing the same basic services.

8:30 p.m.

Ontario has always believed that public services are best provided by individuals or agencies located as close as possible to the recipients of the service. We recognize that governments are relative newcomers to the health-care field and that local communities established and supported hospitals and other health-care facilities without significant government assistance for several decades.

Government involvement has strengthened hospital resources and removed the threat of individual financial hardship. At the same time, it has been careful to preserve a significant role for representatives of the local community in determining the detailed manner in which health-care services are provided.

For example, the Ministry of Health does not direct hospitals in detail on how to spend the dollars allocated to fund their hospitals. The ministry develops broad guidelines regarding the services required across the province and leaves the local hospital boards to apply the guidelines to their own situations.

The same reasoning applies to the advisory role of district health councils. We have found the effective use of the wide range of health services and facilities available in Ontario is best achieved with the guidance of broadly representative local bodies that fully understand local conditions, traditions and values and can plan for the delivery, co-ordination and rationalization of these services in a way consistent with these factors.

An hon. member: In Brant County particularly.

Hon. Mr. Timbrell: Yes, in Brant County. It has worked well. Ontario is also convinced that because our society is so diverse it is highly unlikely the same solution can be applied to every problem. Ontario respects the plurality of interest held by its citizens. The arrangements for local involvement in planning and management of health services have facilitated the expression of these various points of view.

We bring the same perspectives to bear on federal-provincial interaction in the field of health care. Matters relating to health care and health services long have been understood to be under provincial jurisdiction. In concert with the evolution of Canada's constitutional arrangements, the role of the federal government has become less direct and the provinces have assumed full responsibility for the planning and the operation of their health-care plans.

Most proposals in the current constitutional discussions also suggest limits on the exercise of the federal government's spending powers. The April 1, 1977 change in the financial arrangements which implemented a block-funding mechanism was, in our view, an important step in the direction of disentanglement, one that gave due recognition to the primacy of the provincial role in dealing with matters of a social, cultural and local nature.

We value nationally expressed broad principles regarding the general features of the health insurance program for Canadians. At present, these principles provide room for provinces to design health-care systems that best meet the needs of their residents, while at the same time ensuring common features that facilitate movements within the country. They establish goals without specifying the means to obtain those goals.

The constitutional question is but one of the matters which I understand Mr. Hall is addressing in his review, a report we expect within the next two to three months. Issues related to our national medicare principles, such as the range of services, the adequacy of health funding and access to services are, in our view, of equal importance. On the range of services, our tabled brief provided a detailed review of the development and the scope of coverage in Ontario. In my remarks, I would like therefore to focus briefly on new services.

It is sometimes argued that Ontario should extend health insurance benefits to

cover programs like prescription drugs, dental treatment and alternative lower-cost forms of care. In Ontario, prescription drugs are already available without charge to those with the greatest need, such as the elderly and those who are in receipt of social assistance. This benefit was made available six years ago without benefit of any cost-sharing at all.

Life-saving drugs are also available from hospitals on an outpatient basis. Private insurance plans cover six million people outside of these categories. Further, the Parcost program, which now dates back more than a decade and which provides for price comparisons, generic dispensing and quality assurance, has been of assistance to consumers in all parts of the province.

Similarly, dental treatment without charge is also available to recipients of social assistance. Some public health units, reflecting local priorities, also provide dental preventive and educational programs. Fluoridated water is provided to 72 per cent of the population served by communal water systems. We can discuss that later.

An hon. member: You have some obligations. What do you do with your kids' teeth?

Hon. Mr. Timbrell: What is my friend going to do with his?

An hon. member: They are covered under my plan. What about yours?

Hon. Mr. Timbrell: Good. I am glad they are covered by something.

Mr. Speaker, more than 40 per cent of employees included in collective agreements are covered by dental plans, and this is the fastest-growing fringe benefit. Altogether, some three million Ontario residents now are covered by private dental insurance plans.

To provide services in the most effective manner, the government of Ontario remains convinced that this blend of private and public programs best meets the needs of Ontario at this time.

Since millions of our citizens are already covered privately for such services, we feel our attention should be directed towards programs designed to address unmet needs.

Home care services are fulfilling just such a need. Our first home care program began in 1961, again without any cost-sharing, only two years after the start of hospital insurance. In 1964, acute home care was an approved program, and it expanded across the province as it gained professional and public acceptance.

A whole range of ambulatory forms of care has developed in hospitals as they

sought better ways to meet their patients' needs. The members will recall I am sure, that in the recent speech from the throne the government announced that chronic home care services will be available in every part of the province by 1982.

The need to change the health insurance benefit structure is always under review. However, at this time, Ontario is confident that it is meeting real needs in the most appropriate manner.

If I may, I would now like to turn briefly to the question of funding of the health-care system.

In 1978-79, the last fiscal year for which we have complete statistics, every 1,000 Ontario residents received, on average, 1,300 days of active-treatment hospital care, 430 days of chronic or rehabilitation hospital care, 1,100 days of care in nursing homes, and made more than 1,000 visits to outpatient departments—60 per cent of these were to emergency departments.

In addition to these considerable and impressive statistics, an average of more than seven claims for Ontario Health Insurance Plan medical services were processed that year for every resident of the province. I might add that represents an increase in utilization of about 30 per cent in the previous five years.

More than 28 per cent of total provincial expenditures were devoted to the Ministry of Health in 1978-79. Other ministries also provide health services, of course, most of these services having at one time or another in recent years been in the Ministry of Health: for instance, children's mental health services in the Ministry of Community and Social Services, health education in the Ministry of Colleges and Universities, occupational health in the Ministry of Labour, and environmental health in the Ministry of the Environment.

In fact, when these expenditures are added to those of the Ministry of Health itself, the health share of provincial expenditures rises to 31 per cent or \$4.4 billion in the 1979-80 fiscal year just completed.

This then is the largest single area of provincial expenditure, and clearly it is a massive commitment of resources, especially in a time of generally tight budgets throughout the country.

We have sought to curb the rate of growth in spending on health care over the past years and we have met with some success, in that the rate of spending as a percentage of gross national product has stabilized. However, we find suggestions that our system is underfunded are unacceptable. Our provin-

cial contribution remains greater than 50 per cent of our costs as compared to the federal contribution, and our commitment to provide funding when needed has been amply demonstrated.

Last year about \$58 million was provided to hospitals in addition to the \$2 billion already in place. Over the next three years, \$100 million of lottery proceeds is going to be dedicated to hospital capital programs, in addition to our ongoing construction programs.

Finally, this year, 1980-81, the hospitals have received an increase of \$164 million for their operating budgets, bringing the total to be spent on hospitals in fiscal 1980-81 to more than \$2.25 billion.

This is not to say we are uninterested in cost efficiency. That requirement is, and always will be, with us.

I might add here that in my visits to every part of Ontario, including the week when I visited the hospitals on the west shores of James Bay, I have not yet met a physician or a hospital trustee who could not see the benefit of injecting a good dose of efficiency into our hospital operations. That is exactly what has been done. That difficult task is well on its way to being accomplished.

8:40 p.m.

In the broad context, we are pursuing four courses of action to make our system more effective and more efficient. We are reducing the traditional emphasis on acute hospital care. We are increasing the emphasis on prevention and on community health services. We are encouraging individuals to accept more of the responsibility for the maintenance of their own health, and we are decentralizing the whole process of health-care planning.

With regard to the first element of this equation, our strategy is to relieve the pressure on active-treatment hospitals. Surveys of the medical condition of patients in hospitals showed repeatedly that from 10 to 20 per cent of patients in active-treatment beds could have been cared for in chronic-care facilities. Between 20 per cent and 50 per cent of patients in chronic-care beds could have been in extended-care facilities. They did not require the intensity of care available in the bed they were using.

Active-treatment bed guidelines have been revised on two occasions to achieve a better and more appropriate balance between in-patient and alternative settings. At the same time, more emphasis has been placed on lower cost alternatives to active-treatment

hospital care: for example, chronic-care facilities, nursing homes and home care programs.

We have encouraged other approaches, such as day surgery. In fact, I am told that 15 years ago probably no more than 10 per cent of the surgery in this province was day surgery. Today, it is more than one-third.

An hon. member: I remember it well.

Hon. Mr. Timbrell: Was the member born in a day surgery?

Mr. Nixon: What about vasectomies?

Hon. Mr. Timbrell: I'll ask the member about that after.

Laboratory tests and workups and treatments such as dialysis and psychiatric care are all being done on an outpatient basis. Moreover, within hospitals all avenues for increased efficiency of operation receive our full support.

Some examples are shared services, or collaboration in the provision of medical and support services, and new high-cost technology, a subject which the member from Pembroke and I discussed at length recently.

Despite this process, the need for more long-term care for our ageing population actually has seen a net increase in institutional beds. It is true—and, not unexpectedly, people will zero in on the fact—that we have in the last five years reduced the number of active-treatment beds in the province by 3,500, but in the same period of time we have increased the number of chronic, rehabilitation and nursing home beds by 6,700. In fact, in the last five years, rather than there having been a reduction in the number of institutional beds available for the people of Ontario, there has been a net increase of at least 3,200, and the numbers continue to grow.

In addition, where local conditions and local planning authorities recommend, additional beds are being provided to meet needs resulting from population changes. For instance, despite the reduction to the bed planning standards, the next five years will see the construction of two completely new hospitals on the outskirts of Toronto and major expansions to three more.

Further, the ministry is continually monitoring changes in population patterns. We will continue to approve plans for new beds or hospitals, where required. Mr. Speaker, as you will know, perhaps more than most members, we are replacing outdated facilities, such as the beautiful new McCausland Hospital in Terrace Bay, which the Speaker and I had the great pleasure of officially opening on March 7 or 8 of this year.

An hon. member: Don't feel compromised, Mr. Speaker. It's the price of saving the political face of the Minister of Industry and Tourism.

Hon. Mr. Drea: Let me congratulate and thank the minister for what he did in Scarborough.

Hon. Mr. Timbrell: Let Hansard note the laudatory remarks.

An hon. member: One ministerial lackey apologizing for the other.

Hon. Mr. Timbrell: The second major direction for reform in our health-care system is an emphasis on community health programs. This reflects our recognition that the most significant opportunities for future improvements in the overall level of health lie in the prevention of disease. I say, and I would hope that my colleagues opposite, the two health critics, would agree with me, that far too little credit has been given to the public health sector, in all the consideration of and debate about health care in the last decade, to the contribution it has made in the improvement of the quality of life in this country and on this continent, and in the status of health of the population. Simple little things that are now taken for granted, things like the pasteurization of milk, for goodness' sake—

An hon. member: Let's hear it for Mitchell Hepburn.

Hon. Mr. Timbrell: I suppose there had to be something that Mitchell Hepburn did that would be of note—aside from the events of 1942-43, that is. But, certainly, that is one example of the tremendous contribution of the public health sector to the status of health in this province which is given far too little credit.

I am afraid we have, for a variety of reasons over the last 25 or 30 years, instilled in the minds of the population that quality health equates to bricks and mortar and that is the only way you can judge quality health. Of course, we know that to be untrue and we have to commit ourselves to further improving the public health sector.

The third direction is towards increased personal responsibility for health which we are promoting through public education programs. Through such programs we hope to sell people on the benefits of healthier lifestyles.

The fourth direction is the decentralization of planning. As I have indicated, it is our belief and our experience that no one is better able to assess and co-ordinate the

health-care resources of a community than the people who live and work there. Thus, we have developed a system of district health councils to examine available resources and needs and to make recommendations on the health priorities for their communities.

Briefly, that is our strategy for ensuring our resources are used most effectively. But again we reject any notion that our system is underfunded, just as we reject the notion that all publicly funded health systems are somehow predestined to fall victim to such an occurrence.

On that note, I will turn to the question of access to services.

Under Ontario's plan, all medically necessary services provided by a physician, or rendered by an employee of a hospital, are covered. In addition, services provided by other practitioners are covered as well as ambulances and other forms of care. The list of benefits is, in fact, quite comprehensive. There are no distinctions based on age, sex, financial or health status in the terms and conditions for receiving health services. There are exemption provisions where an individual cannot afford the premiums.

In January 1980, more than two million people received premium assistance either in full or in part. This represents 23 per cent of the population of Ontario. Approximately half of these people are over 65 years of age or their dependants. Welfare recipients account for another 25 per cent.

Impressive as those figures are, there is another aspect to the question of access that bears scrutiny; that is, the matter of physical access for those living in remote communities. I won't dwell on the subject but I would like to point out that October 1, 1979, was the 10th anniversary of the underserved area program. The objective of that program is to attract physicians and dentists to establish practices in areas designated as underserved.

The financial incentives are in the form of grants or income guarantees. The total grant for doctors was increased to \$40,000, tax-free, over four years as of last October 1. As an alternative, physicians are guaranteed minimum net incomes after expenses before taxes of \$38,000. Grants and minimum guaranteed incomes are also available to dentists under this program. In addition, we have established a bursary program to attract medical and dental students to the north on graduation. Bursaries are offered in each of the last two years of medical or dental school. In return, after completion of training, the recipient agrees to set up practice in an area designated as underserved in northern On-

tario. The funds are provided by my colleague the Minister of Northern Affairs (Mr. Bernier), through his estimates, and the annual awards have just been increased from \$3,000 to \$5,000.

8:50 p.m.

As a result of the underserved area program we currently have 275 doctors practising in 161 designated areas, and we have 75 dentists working under the same program.

In communities requiring more than one doctor, we encourage the clinic approach with, say, two doctors and a dentist sharing facilities. In smaller communities, where even one full-time doctor may not be required, we have set up nursing stations, staffed by nurse practitioners. Another key part of special services to northern Ontario is our dental coach program. My ministry maintains mobile dental clinics assigned to specific areas to serve the more remote areas of the north. They are moved from place to place by highway or by rail.

Members may be aware that in the speech from the throne the government announced a major improvement to the air ambulance service will begin this year. Two jet air ambulances will be obtained to service northern Ontario and two helicopters will be acquired to feed into this service. As well, the province will expand the use of televised medical consultation to provide specialized support to health-care workers in remote areas. I am not suggesting these initiatives will address all potential problems, but I think they are indicative of the progress we are making on this important aspect of the access question.

The issue of physician participation in OHIP has been of concern to many observers of the health-care system. Since the inception of medicare, physicians have had the right not to participate directly in the health insurance plan. I think it is important not to lose sight of some basic facts. First, 86.5 per cent of doctors were opted-in when the OHIP records began in 1972, and 83 per cent of doctors are opted-in at the present time. The highest level of opting-in ever reached was 89 per cent, which occurred during the Anti-Inflation Board period.

Since the presentation of the original Hall report, the number of doctors has risen quite remarkably and proportionally much more rapidly than the population. At present, Ontario has one physician for every 565 people, which is significantly better than the national level at the time of the report 16 years ago, when it was one for every 857. That is a most remarkable improvement in physician availability.

The total number of physicians billing OHIP has increased by 1,000 since 1975. Despite recent trends, the number of opted-in physicians has also grown modestly over the same period. Approximately 1,550 or 75 per cent of the opted-out physicians in the province are located in the six major urban areas in Ontario. Because of the generous supply of practising physicians in these areas, patients have access to services at the opted-in rate.

It is also important to realize that the number of doctors who have opted out does not give an accurate picture of access to insured services. This is because the ministry does permit opted-out doctors to establish billing groups so that they can provide services in hospitals at opted-in rates, although they have opted out for their office practices.

In addition, many opted-out doctors accept the OHIP rate as payment in full. When we compare the number of opted-out doctors with the number of OHIP claims, at the end of March we see that 17 per cent of the doctors had opted out, which is a drop from its peak last year of 18 per cent, but only slightly more than eight per cent of all the claims were paid on that basis.

The desire that Ontario residents should have free access to physicians' services is well understood by the ministry. Since many opted-out doctors do accept OHIP rates as full payment, the number of doctors who have opted out does not accurately reflect the volume of services being rendered at opted-out rates.

There are also many doctors working in salaried positions, and that must be kept in mind. They are never included in any of the statistics that are published on the opted-in, opted-out question. There is a formal negotiation mechanism that arrives at economic revisions to the OHIP schedule of benefits; it is called the joint committee on physicians' compensation. It is composed of three representatives of the OMA and of the government, with a neutral chairman—at present Mr. Thomas Bell—selected by the two parties.

Coming out of the AIB period, physicians in Ontario and across Canada expressed a growing concern about the rate of growth of their incomes in the context of the total economy. Because of this concern, Ontario worked with the Ontario Medical Association to restructure and improve the negotiation arrangements, starting with the round for 1980. The chairman now has the power, upon the request of either of the parties, to adopt the role of the fact-finder if an agreement cannot be negotiated. His

findings are then presented to both sides, and negotiations may resume on the basis of his report until a settlement is reached. That report can be released if either of the parties wants to make it public.

This process produced agreement on an overall increase of 11.5 per cent for the 15 months ending March 31, 1981. An important feature of this agreement is that it provided much higher increases for some lower-paid specialties to reduce the difference between their incomes and the average. General practitioners received 14.5 per cent; psychiatrists, 19.3 per cent; paediatricians and neurosurgeons, 11.6 per cent. We expect, as those income changes become better understood, that more doctors will decide the OHIP schedule benefits offer reasonable compensation for their professional services. In fact, there has been a slight decline in the number of opted-out doctors since the peak of 1979 which I alluded to earlier.

Mr. Breaugh: How much?

Hon. Mr. Timbrell: From 18 per cent down to 17 per cent. I thank the member for asking.

Mr. Breaugh: Seventeen point what?

Hon. Mr. Timbrell: Zero. As of the end of March it had dropped a further three tenths of a point to 17.0 even.

Mr. Breaugh: A magnificent achievement.

Hon. Mr. Timbrell: Let the record show the member for Oshawa says, "Magnificent."

As a consequence of these negotiations, Mr. Speaker, it is estimated that the average incomes after expenses from OHIP and the Workmen's Compensation Board will be \$56,000 for general practitioners and \$68,000 for specialists, ranging between \$61,000 and \$80,000, depending upon the specialty.

Over the years, physicians have maintained their position as the highest-paid profession across Canada. The majority of physicians are among the top one per cent of society in earnings. The issue of the proper level of remuneration for physicians in today's society in relation to other professionals and to senior positions in the private and public sectors is a matter that has already been presented to the Hall commission in its hearings across Canada. It has been debated at length for at least the better part of a decade.

The ministry is concerned about the current level of nonparticipation in this province. It feels, however, that through continuing discussions and working with the medical profession, solutions can be found to address these current concerns.

As part of an agreement worked out with the government last March, the Ontario Medical Association has undertaken to help residents find a doctor willing to treat them at OHIP rates. Under the same agreement the OMA and the Ontario Hospital Association have undertaken to ensure that services at OHIP rates are available in all our hospitals. The province has moved to introduce twice-monthly payment systems to improve the OHIP reimbursement procedure for participating physicians. The OMA introduced a toll-free telephone system to provide information to members of the public seeking the services of participating physicians. The government has also published a list of participating physicians to complement this service and has distributed that list widely. We will update it and distribute it again in the next month or two.

Billing arrangements other than fee-for-service are available for doctors who wish to practise with a different basis for remuneration. A recent project relating to the provision of the services by an anaesthetist in Toronto has been quite successful, and we fully expect that similar arrangements will be extended to other hospitals in the near future. In fact, negotiations are under way now with anaesthetists in several hospitals.

This agreement has resulted in the development of a relatively simple approach which allows physicians to be reimbursed through a block-funding approach with payments on a monthly basis in advance. It is designed to recognize the increases resulting from OMA negotiations and changes in work-load activity. The arrangement has given this group of anaesthetists the opportunity to make significant reductions in their overhead costs, increasing the net incomes of their group correspondingly. It has also freed them from any other problems of record-keeping and administration.

We are confident that through continuing dialogue further changes can be brought about to improve current participation rates. However, I have to emphasize that there is no simple or quick answer. Our medicare program is based on mutual trust and co-operation. Any precipitate or unilateral action could undermine this basis and, I submit, could lead to a serious deterioration in the quality of health care available to the people of the province.

The evidence we have to date indicates the opting-out phenomenon has levelled off and indeed it is declining. Nevertheless, this is something we have to watch closely. In fact, the few problems that have arisen with pa-

tients and opted-out doctors have been resolved to the best of my knowledge. I think this is to be expected. Ontario's doctors, after all, have consistently demonstrated a high degree of responsibility and sensitivity to their patients and to their communities. As a group, they have few competitors in our society in terms of the high regard in which the public holds them.

9 p.m.

It is not surprising to me that the agreement reached between the OMA and the government last March is working. It has provided the public with assurance that health services are available at OHIP rates and has given physicians an opportunity to demonstrate their professionalism through self-regulation. Another obvious benefit is that the government has not been required to act unilaterally in this matter. That is a point worth emphasizing. I believe much more can be accomplished in the public forum through discussion and co-operation than through confrontation.

I don't want to minimize the importance of the opted-out question to our health-care system, but I think we must keep this issue in perspective. I have tried to portray our health-care system as it really is. In conclusion, I would like to emphasize one final point which should give all of us in the health-care field cause for optimism, namely, the public of Ontario is pleased with its health services. The most recent survey of attitudes conducted for the Ministry of Health was taken in January.

An hon. member: Government by Goldfarb.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: Order. The member for Renfrew North (Mr. Conway) is not in his seat.

Hon. Mr. Timbrell: I believe this will be released in the not-too-distant future. In fact, it was given to the Hall commission a number of months ago.

An hon. member: Leslie Frost would be disgusted.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: Order.

Hon. Mr. Timbrell: The Gallup organization personally interviewed 3,144 randomly selected people across Canada, of whom 1,128 were Ontario residents, 18 years of age and older. In addition, Gallup undertook 600 interviews in three selected Ontario communities, Peterborough, Guelph and Sarnia, specifically to explore the impact of the opted-out situation.

The results confirmed a September 1979 study which showed that Ontarians have a satisfaction with the health-care system

which is extremely high. From a national perspective, Ontarians generally rate their provincial system higher than do residents of other provincial jurisdictions. In fact, since September—and I think this is interesting—Ontarians have seen an improvement in the quality of hospital services available to them. They rate doctors' services high. Fewer than 10 per cent report difficulty in getting treatment or care.

I know that the interpretation of polls is often open to debate.

An hon. member: You should resign.

Hon. Mr. Timbrell: Not tonight. We have got other things to do.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: Order.

Mr. Hennessy: Send that young fellow home.

Hon. Mr. Timbrell: Which one?

There have been other quite dramatic demonstrations that I think point to the state of our health-care system. All of us will recall that much of the city of Mississauga had to be evacuated in mid-November as a result of the railway accident. Over a 1-hour period, this involved the evacuation of patients from three large active-treatment hospitals and six nursing homes, a total of almost 2,000 institutionalized persons. It was the most massive peacetime evacuation ever undertaken here and, from a health-care perspective, involved not one single untoward event.

To me, it says a great deal about the built-in resilience and the capacity of the system and the ability of its administrators and staff to react and to adjust. While examples are illuminating and gratifying, they are not seen by us as ground for complacency. This is why we have welcomed the review by Mr. Justice Hall. By reminding us of how far we Canadians have come, we will develop a new appreciation of what we have and a renewed determination to support its continuance. Undoubtedly, he will be able to suggest some useful changes to our program. We will welcome his thoughts and the thoughts of his commission on these issues.

Mr. McGuigan: Mr. Speaker, I am very pleased to join tonight in the budget debate. While the members are still in a jovial mood, I would like to share with them a thought that was kindled by the Minister of Health in speaking about the late Mitch Hepburn, a leader of this party. I will be eternally grateful to that gentleman for a reason I wish to relate.

When I was 10, 11 or 12 years old or something of that order, it was my duty each night to go with the milk pail and walk

through the fields about half or three quarters of a mile to a neighbouring farmer to pick up the daily supply of unpasteurized milk. It was a rather unpleasant journey, because it took me through an old gravel pit and across the fields, since the highway was not a safe way to travel. Lo and behold, Mitch Hepburn came along and outlawed the sale of that unpasteurized milk.

My neighbour didn't like it, and a great many farmers didn't like it. But I remind members that in that day I suppose the farm population of Ontario would be 35 per cent. Because of his courage in going against those farmers, he brought in that pasteurization law and there are I suppose hundreds of thousands of people in Ontario today who owe their lives to that single act. That is my personal reason for wanting to mention that. On one or two occasions I did have the privilege to hear Mitch Hepburn speak.

Mr. Martel: Was that a privilege?

Mr. McGuigan: It was. He was one of the great orators. The member for Sudbury East is great, but he was better. He was a great orator.

Mr. Martel: He knew how to keep the unions out of Ontario.

Mr. McGuigan: I'm not talking about the content. I'm just talking about the oratory of the man. He was outstanding.

Mr. Nixon: This man is being too honest.

Mr. McGuigan: They call me Honest Jim.

Mr. Speaker, Kent-Elgin riding, which I represent, consists of eight townships in the county of Kent and two townships in the county of Elgin. There are five towns in the eight townships of Kent and five villages, and there are three villages in Elgin township. The villages tend to be residential, and they are centres for the provision of supplies to farmers and for receiving farm products. But these small towns, the ones of 4,000 or 4,500, also have a great many parts plants in them. They are quite a centre of manufacturing.

It is quite surprising. I just discovered that during my bid for this office. I did not realize until then how much manufacturing there was in counties like Kent. Standing out in front of those plants at 6 a.m. and touring them was a great education.

At present these plants are working fairly well, but there is a great fear and apprehension hanging over them because of what is happening in the auto industry. We are thankful for the belated recognition of alternative fuels that is included in the budget. Unfortunately, it is about five years too late.

According to the articles I read about the auto industry, it will be three to five years before front-wheel-drive, lightweight, fuel-efficient cars can be turned out in quantity. During that period we face unemployment.

We welcome the money devoted to more research into methane and into the production of fuel alcohol and the sales tax exemption on cars that do not use liquid petroleum products for fuel. I am sure the producers of electric golf carts will be very enthusiastic about the fact that such vehicles now are free of sales tax. That is about the only good that is going to come out of it at present, and there are no vehicles available in Ontario to date that do not run on liquid fuel. I wonder what the Minister of Transportation and Communications (Mr. Snow) would have to say about people driving their golf carts on the highways.

9:10 p.m.

There has been technology for powering gas engines with natural gas, and it has been available since the turn of the century. If members look back into the history of the drilling of the gas fields in southwestern Ontario, they would find those gas fields were drilled with internal combustion engines powered by the same natural gas they were discovering.

There is a modern technology to compress or liquefy natural gas so it can be carried by moving vehicles. Union Gas at Chatham—I am sure members opposite would be very familiar with that gas—have had powered demonstration vehicles for several years. These vehicles have a dual fuel system—gasoline and natural gas—and the gasoline option is kept simply because once the vehicle has left home base, it does not have a refuelling station and so it may have to use gasoline on the return trip.

I wonder whether the Treasurer is considering these vehicles for his exemption, because they could be quite easily brought into production, especially in the commercial fleets, which would not have the problem of carrying the extra tanks. Our manufacturers, if this had been envisaged a few years ago, could now be building the kit and the component to go into this type of fuelling.

Mr. Haggerty: Sounds like the Duke of Chatham-Kent had some influence on them.

Mr. McGuigan: I hope he does, because we have a supply of natural gas that they tell us is good for at least 150 years, and it is certainly clearly surplus to our needs because we are selling large quantities to the United States.

Some of the billions of dollars that were put into the extra hydro plants which we cannot use could have been more wisely spent in such endeavours as alternative fuels. Today we find our batteries are overcharged with electricity but we have no vehicle on which to use it. The genie that may be in the bottleneck of the electric generating station cannot get out to work its magic. It seems to me that this government might have foreseen some of those eventualities, because clearly in the scientific journals it has been recognized for many years that we were going to run into a liquid petroleum shortage.

Most observers fail to appreciate another historical and sociological fact, and that history is not isolated to Ontario; that is, that every city in the world owes its beginning and its growth to the excesses of the agricultural population. Large families have always been welcome in rural communities because of the relative ease of raising a family in the spaciousness of the country environment and for the economic necessity of having a dependable labour supply. It is an industry that even today depends a great deal upon the family labour. The fact that the agricultural population today represents about five per cent of the total population means this base has been eroded and the farms are no longer supplying this excess population, so we find ourselves at a zero population growth rate.

Following the Second World War and after the Korean war, the government clearly had economic problems. There was a problem of too much production and a disproportionately low share of the national income for the agricultural population; so university professors, politicians and task force people decided the answer to that was to get rid of that extra population. Those economic objectives have been achieved because the government encouraged the enlargement and capitalization of farms.

One must now ask if the social benefits are worth the cost. Will the ageing population put such a tax burden on the few young people we have that they will refuse to bear the cost? Will we be able to attract people from other countries? I am sure we will be able to attract them from the Third World, but they will not have the skills and the education necessary to operate our industrial society.

In the face of this, one would think the government would, even at this late date, try to correct past errors by indicating in its budget its support of the industry that is the very base of our social system and the base industry of our province.

I would like to mention a segment—admittedly a small segment—of our agricultural industry, that is, the area of specialized crops, sometimes designated as the horticultural industry. But it is really broader than that. It includes the fresh fruit and vegetable industry, the flower industry, the honey industry, the processed fruit and vegetable industry, the nursery and plant-growing industry, and all these industries that support and depend upon this group of producers. It amounts to about 20 per cent of Ontario agriculture.

I believe this industry offers the greatest potential for expansion we have in Ontario, except for the two grain crops of corn and soybeans that are constantly moving eastward and northward as we improve the varieties and get shorter-season varieties.

Let us step back a bit and look at agriculture in Ontario from the pioneer days. The settler's first needs were to build a home and clear a small patch to grow food for his family. Grazing livestock to utilize the grass was his first priority. Gradually, as the pioneer cleared the land and planted grain, the family had a surplus to sell. This amounted to grain and cheese because those were the only two products that could be transported safely without spoiling.

Gradually, as grain production increased and prices fell, the farm family resorted more and more to selling family labour in the form of labour-intensive crops. The opportunities in special crops are there today because of the increasingly high cost of transportation these crops encounter when they are imported into the country. The cost of trucking from Mexico, California and Florida is becoming a very large part of the cost.

If we even think of production within Canada, the cost of bringing British Columbia apples to the market here in Ontario amounts to \$3 and \$4 for a 40-pound case. So there are great opportunities in this regard, but we do not see support in the budget to do the necessary research and development to encourage these industries.

There are opportunities because of the new tariff rates adopted by the last two governments. These tariff rates are now coming into effect, so they are offering some protection to Ontario producers for fresh and processed fruits and vegetables.

There is an opportunity too in the realization that people today are far more conscious about their diet. The Minister of Health (Mr. Timbrell), the previous speaker, talked about prevention and health awareness. People are aware of this and they are using more and

more of these items in their diet. It has had an impact on the market.

9:20 p.m.

One occurrence in the United States has been the banning of so-called junk foods in their schools. This has had a great effect upon the sale of apple juice, a product in which I happen to have a personal interest. That effect has spilled over to the families because the children have brought home the nutritional message and increased the sale of that product. A product which a few years ago was selling at \$10 to \$20 a ton delivered at the juice plants—a price hardly worth the cost of transportation—is now selling for prices from \$80 to \$135 a ton.

I believe some of the price pressure on apple juice is coming from the loss of citrus-growing land in Florida, Arizona and California. Apple juice is a direct competitor of orange juice.

Mr. Nixon: There is just one measly Tory over there.

Interjection.

Mr. Ashe: One can offset a few over there.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: Order. The member for Renfrew North (Mr. Conway) is not in his seat.

Mr. McGuigan: I appreciate the two loyal members who have stuck it out. I can't see the people in this gallery, but the hordes of people in the far gallery are certainly being treated tonight to a very informative and inspiring speech. I thank them for attending.

Mr. Nixon: There is a big crowd of Socialists there.

Mr. McGuigan: I even appreciate the Socialists for staying.

In the United States, the supply of orange juice has been affected by the loss of those citrus-growing lands. The United States starts from a much higher base of agricultural lands and has not been so concerned about the loss of them as we should be here in Canada. We have a much smaller base. I'm speaking of the triangle of southwestern Ontario. I'm not going to speak at length on that subject. My esteemed colleague from Huron-Middlesex (Mr. Riddell) has introduced a bill that calls for the registration of sales of agricultural land to foreign buyers.

We in this party are committed to the preservation of that land. When I talk to the people in my riding in the counties of Kent and Elgin, they uphold the very rigid system we have in those two counties in allowing severances of land. It is very difficult in Kent or Elgin to get a severance of land. The only

occasional complaint I hear is perhaps from a retiring farm couple who wish to split off a piece of land for themselves and are often denied this privilege. They find when they would like to go to the nearest village that there is no provision in that village for sewage and they are denied septic tank permits in many cases. That is the only complaint I get from farmers about the preservation of farm land.

I would like to turn now to another subject. As co-critic for agriculture and food—my particular side of it is food, although we often cross lines because the demarcation is not that easily drawn—I have followed the chicken marketing dilemma for the past year. The dilemma stems from the United States. If one takes a look at a map of that great agricultural country, one will see that the middle corn belt, where so much corn and soybeans are grown, is very close to the Mississippi River. It is very cheap and easy to barge feed down the Mississippi River to states such as Georgia in particular where this is used as livestock feed, especially for chickens. They have the natural advantages of that cheap transportation. They have lower labour costs, they have better feeding efficiency because the birds don't require so much energy to keep their own bodies active. They require a lot cheaper housing. So we face those natural advantages of the United States.

Also, in the United States, the broiler industry, I am told, has been almost totally removed from the farm family situation. It is now a captive of the integrated system largely owned by the brewing industry because, as you will appreciate, the brewing industry is probably one of the largest buyers of grains in the United States. Of course, they have the byproduct of either wet or dried brewers' grains which are high in protein and make an excellent feed, especially for growing chickens.

In order to try to save some of the industry for Canadian producers, the federal government enacted the provisions of the Farm Products Marketing Agencies Act. This is an act that was brought in four or five years ago and requires the agreement of the eight producing provinces that have marketing boards. This agreement took full effect on October 22, 1979.

Just to step back a bit, the agencies act is one that allocates a percentage of the Canadian market to each participating province. This allotment, or quota, is then parceled out to individual producers based on their historical production.

The act is recognized by the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, which is

an international agreement of which Canada, the United States and most of the western nations are signatories. The GATT agreement recognizes the right of a producing country, one that has a supply management system in effect, to impose quotas against the importation of a like product from another country. Without this provision, if we arbitrarily applied a quota, we could expect, under the same tariff agreement, that the exporting country would apply a tariff against one of our products. So if we moved against chickens, they would probably move against cattle or hogs. So the gains of one producer would be the loss of another.

On October 22, the United States import quota for the balance of 1979 was set at 8.75 million pounds, or 3,970 metric tonnes, which is the proportional share of the 1979 quota of 45 million pounds. This was set by the Honourable Robert de Cotret, then Minister of Industry, Trade and Commerce, and the then Minister of Agriculture, the Honourable John Wise. During 1980, imports will be limited to 48.5 million pounds, or 21,999 metric tonnes, eviscerated weight.

An hon. member: That wasn't so "Wise" was it?

Mr. McGuigan: There are certainly differences of opinion on that.

Fifty-two million pounds or 23,587 metric tonnes has been established as the 1981 quota level. In subsequent years, the annual import quota will be set at a level equal to 6.3 per cent of the previous year's production, as reported by Statistics Canada.

9:30 p.m.

Up to now, it sounds fairly simple. Canada gets 93.7 per cent of the market and the United States gets 6.3 per cent. Most farmers would consider that a pretty good deal. The problem comes in the processing industry. Prior to October 22, a processing firm, Maple Lodge Farms Limited, imported large quantities of United States chicken. This company has only one operation which processes and markets chickens; it does not supply birds, feeds or financing to growers, and it is not a subversive agent, as some of its detractors would picture it.

Importing is a legitimate business; certainly this government spends a lot of money promoting exports. Ontario is, I believe, the second largest exporter of fruit products in the world, so we are hardly the ones to rail about the importation of some products into Canada. The problem is that Maple Lodge Farms became the importer of record. They hold these rights and they are not about to give them up.

There are some 17 processors in Ontario, and except for the importation of dressed birds by the Weston chain, most of the import quotas are held by Maple Lodge Farms. It is charged by those companies that do not hold permits as importers of record that Maple Lodge Farms has an advantage in the marketplace that they can never match. They say Maple Lodge Farms can import cheaper United States live birds and use them to undercut the market and also to increase its share of the market.

I should point out that the controlled price in the marketing of chicken is at the farm level, not at the wholesale or retail, so there is the opportunity for anyone with an advantage to make the most of that. One who believes in free enterprise could hardly quarrel with that premise. But Maple Lodge Farms says there is no advantage. It says that for United States birds laid into its plant, when one considers the transportation cost, the cost of brokerage and the difference in United States and Canadian money, the laid-in prices are very much the same as, or at the very best only fractionally less than, Ontario prices.

This company claims it buys most of its birds by contract, and it doesn't buy on the open or spot market, which at times does offer very cheap chicken in the United States. They also charge there is a plot on the part of Ontario-integrated companies to deny them access to Ontario birds. One of the largest integrated firms says that is not so. The integrated company wants to hold on to its growers, supply the inputs, process the birds, and if there is not a ready fresh market, then it prefers to freeze the birds rather than divert them to Maple Lodge.

Mr. McKessock: The Minister of Agriculture and Food (Mr. Henderson) should be here to hear this great speech, and get this straightened out.

Mr. McGuigan: That is right, he is seldom here, even in the daytime.

I should explain that most of the chicken that is sold in Ontario is sold in a fresh form. Ontario consumers prefer fresh chicken to frozen. Another factor enters the market: if Maple Lodge has exhausted its United States quota and no Ontario live birds are available, it can and does apply to the Ministry of Industry, Trade and Commerce for a supplementary quota and it is difficult for the federal minister to turn it down if Ontario birds are not available.

What does all of this have to do with the Ontario Minister of Agriculture and Food? Plenty. He plays the political game;

he says the import quota should be cut to one per cent and he knows this can't happen under the terms of GATT, the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. Even if the federal government abrogated the rules and did take the quota down to one per cent, he knows the federal government will take the blame for whatever other section of the industry is hurt by the retaliatory action. We don't need this political game-playing in this business. The real damage being done is that our marketing board system and especially our supply marketing system are being downgraded in the eyes of the consuming public.

In order to preserve its position, Maple Lodge Farms Limited has put full-page ads in Ontario papers advertising the fact it wants live chickens. They have gone before the city council in Mississauga and presented their case. According to Country Canada, a TV program last Sunday, they convinced the council to pass a resolution supporting their request for more imports. We don't need more imports for the Ontario market; we have the birds here, but we do have a problem of allocation.

I submit it is a sorry day for Ontario agriculture to have a city council passing an anti-marketing-board resolution, and to have our Minister of Agriculture and Food standing by watching this situation and simply making politics out of it. We are not getting the leadership from this minister that the agricultural situation deserves.

I wish somebody over there would inform him that he is the minister for all the farmers in Ontario. He is also the minister to some extent for consumers because his portfolio is Agriculture and Food. He seems to think he is just the member for Lambton. We need a man again of Bill Stewart's qualities. We have a member on this side of the House who sits down in the front row here and will handle the situation. He would not let a situation like this develop.

I really hope my suspicions are wrong. I have to fault myself when I have these suspicions. But I wonder if the last two Ministers of Agriculture and Food in the government over there have not downgraded the role of agriculture in this great province. They are selling it out to industry. We saw the former minister going about the province making speeches that inflamed the milk marketing situation.

Interjections.

Mr. Acting Speaker: Will the front bench of the official opposition allow the member for Kent-Elgin to be heard?

Mr. McGuigan: I appreciate the support, but I also appreciate the Speaker's intentions.

Interjections.

Mr. Acting Speaker: Order.

Mr. McGuigan: Mr. Speaker, if the members want to talk about polls I can divert for just a second, maybe five minutes. Talking about polls, I took the trouble to read a speech made 200 years ago by Edmund Burke, a great Liberal. He made it to the electors of Bristol, I think it was in November 1774. His very eloquent words, which of course I could not emulate, were something like this, "A member owes his energy, he owes his devotion, he owes his total commitment to the electors; but his opinion he does not owe to them. He is not slave to their opinion."

9:40 p.m.

I wish to amplify on that a bit. Of course, we have to listen to the opinion of our electors, but we do it in a deliberative fashion. We bring out the arguments for and against. We deliberate in these chambers; it is an exchange of ideas from one side to the other. Many times we support the government's arguments because we say they make sense—

An hon. member: When was that?

Mr. McGuigan: We have supported them on a number of occasions, but perhaps never in the future. Because of that deliberative process, this is a parliamentary system. But when you go to a poll-taking system, when you stand there with a poll, you are going to an authoritative system. You are going to an authoritative system, because you ignore the debate, which I think is an important part of the life of this parliament. It should be pointed out that we deplore the use of polls as compared to the deliberative process on which this parliamentary system was founded. I suggest my friend opposite read that speech of Burke's. He will find it quite interesting.

Mr. Riddell: He was speaking from a Tory platform—a manure spreader.

Mr. Conway: As John Diefenbaker said, poles are for dogs.

Mr. McGuigan: I was talking about polls that are used as a guide in formulating government policy.

We need a strong minister, one who would knock a few heads together, one like Bill Stewart. He would not hesitate to talk tur-

key, but I guess in this case it would be more appropriate to say "talk chicken."

Mr. Riddell: He referred to me as being a chicken warmonger at one time.

Mr. McGuigan: I was going to mention that to my colleague, but I do not want to take that title away from him. "Chicken warmonger" is a label he earned and wears proudly.

I believe there is an answer to the dilemma, and I offer it as the broad outline for negotiations. The minister should insist that Maple Lodge have access to all the Ontario chickens they need. Maple Lodge should give up their imports of record and distribute them on a pro rata basis to the other 17 processors. If, as they say, US imports are not cheaper, then they are not giving up very much of value. Understandably, they do not wish to give up the permit, because it guarantees the birds they need. But if that guarantee were given by the Ontario Broiler Chicken Producers' Marketing Board and backed up by the Farm Products Marketing Board and by this Minister of Agriculture and Food, then they would not have given up anything at all and all processors would be on an even footing.

Maple Lodge insists that if it gave up the importer of record permit, it should be compensated with growing rights for 10 million birds. They say that otherwise they are being discriminated against. But I ask the question, would they be discriminated against any more than the producers' board discriminates against any other farmer who currently does not hold growing rights?

I believe the federal and provincial ministers of agriculture should call a conference of all the ministers involved, the Ontario Broiler Chicken Producers' Marketing Board and the processors and work out a solution to this vexing problem.

Mr. Speaker, I have a note. I don't know whether it is from my own colleagues or whether it is from you, but it says I have two minutes left. Who is the author of this?

Mr. Acting Speaker: Your note is certainly not from the Speaker.

Mr. McGuigan: I got hooked on that once before. I thank the members for listening to my soliloquy.

Mr. Nixon: Give us your views on human rights.

Mr. McGuigan: I'm giving them on chickens' rights.

Mr. Acting Speaker: I'm sorry the speaker is not effective in regulating the heckling from your own front bench, but in any

event, if you will proceed a little faster it will allow fewer opportunities for interjections.

Mr. McGuigan: Thank you, Mr. Speaker.

There is another side issue. The United States birds sold in Ontario are marked "product of Canada". If they are imported eviscerated, in other words, dressed and packaged as is practised by the Weston group, the film package does say "product of USA," but when the birds are processed in Canada, they are considered under the Canada Agriculture Products Standards Act to be a product of Canada.

Just let me run through the import process for bulk fruits and vegetables. An importer bringing apples or carrots to Canada applies for a permit from the Canada Department of Agriculture. If market conditions warrant, the permit is granted. When the product crosses the border, the Canadian customs people notify the Ontario Ministry of Agriculture and Food. These people then visit the packing house and they make sure that the product is packaged in containers that say "product of USA."

I am asking why the Canada Agricultural Products Standards Act can't be amended to require the same process for live chickens. They really aren't processed in the sense that they are altered, such as would be the case if the product were cooked. Of course they are killed, eviscerated and the feathers taken off, but they are not cooked. We export food products to the United States marked "product of Canada" when the product is clearly not a product of Canada. Marmalade, for example, has been exported when clearly we do not grow oranges in Canada, not even in the riding of Kent-Elgin even though we get the name of the banana belt. The oranges are nowhere close to being in the original fresh form. The CAPS act is a federal law but the minister could at least bring pressure on the federal people to amend the act or the regulation as the case may be.

I want members to make no mistake about this point. I am not anti the broiler producers' marketing board or any other board, but I believe that when the situation reaches a point where city councils are passing resolutions that are anti-marketing board it is time to call a halt to the bickering and resolve the problem.

I can think of only half a dozen people in Ontario who have carried as many petitions as I have in order to have a producer vote. Few have worked harder than I have to see that these votes were favourable. Members

from the third party would be pleased to learn that I even took part in a strike one time when producers took that route to get a decent price.

Mr. McKessock: The NDP pricked up their ears.

Mr. McGuigan: I would do it again.

Mr. Warner: Good for you.

9:50 p.m.

Mr. McGuigan: I don't want to see that hard work of myself and others lost because of a hands-off attitude by the Minister of Agriculture and Food.

We wish to say we welcome the continuance of the farm productivity grants. They are aimed in the right direction, that is towards control of wind and water erosion of the soil, but they barely touch the problem of soil loss which I believe is becoming a disgrace in this province. Like so many environmental problems, it sneaks up like a thief in the dark, but it is coming out into the broad daylight in the last few years. Just ride the train as I do from Toronto to Chatham and observe the deep gulleys and the rilling of those rolling soils from Toronto until the landscape flattens out in Kent county.

The change has come about in the last four or five years with the introduction and the use of multi-row combine harvesters which take the crop off in such record time and get it into the dryer. In many instances, the crop is all off by the end of October. Farmers with time on their hands go out with their large tractors and large ploughs and plough down all that crop refuse. We find that those soils are bare through the winter and subject to runoffs, especially in the spring. These are lands that up until a few years ago were often in hay and pasture crops or strict rotations of hay, pasture and cash crops and were seldom fall-ploughed.

It is not popular to talk about soil erosion but it is a growing problem. At one time we could partly correct the problem by applying large quantities of cheap fertilizer, but fertilizer is no longer cheap and it is not realistic to keep on reclaiming lands to maintain our production. The remaining land is almost certain to be of lower productivity and of a higher cost to clear and drain because, quite naturally, we have left the poorer land as the last to be developed.

I believe we should be looking at a soil conservation service as a separate branch of the Ministry of Agriculture and Food. The present agricultural representative service concentrates on production and marketing and should be kept in its present role.

In passing, I would like to pay tribute to a soil scientist at the Ridgetown College of Agricultural Technology, Mr. Charles Baldwin, who is the only person I know actively speaking out in favour of soil conservation. Also, the crop improvement associations of Ontario have been a voice crying all too often in the wilderness.

Even in the flat lands of Kent county, we have a soil loss problem. Fields with a slope of less than one per cent can lose up to six tons of soil a year in the spring run-offs. Those floods that occur in Dover township in the riding of Chatham-Kent and in Tilbury East in the riding of Kent-Elgin are really caused by the build-up of silt at the mouth of the Thames River more than by any other factor. The build-up of silt really comes from a run-off of agricultural land.

I would like to mention that over the last number of years this government as a matter of policy has tried to reduce the number of farmers, increase the size of the operations and produce a mechanized type of agriculture. The government has been very successful at it. But today we find many of those people who followed that advice and put in big feed lots and bought big equipment now find themselves in a terrible bind trying to pay for the cost of interest. When the member for Grey (Mr. McKessock) presented his resolution a couple of weeks ago we all know the reaction from the number of farmers who were down here complaining about the terrible bind they are in on interest rates.

The government must assume some of the burden because it was its policies that encouraged that type of agriculture. I want to point out that throughout the last number of years there has been no group in society that has increased its productivity at such a rate as the agricultural sector. There have been individual years when productivity gains were as high as seven per cent, at times when industrial productivity was zero or even negative or at a positive growth of only two or three per cent. So these people who are hurting today are not the causes of high interest rates; they are the victims of it.

Mr. Speaker, these are some of the deficiencies I see in the budget and I would like to go on record as saying that I do not support it.

Mr. Ashe: On a point of personal privilege, Mr. Speaker: I was just wondering whether the member for Renfrew North (Mr. Conway) has any expectations sitting in the leader's seat.

Mr. Acting Speaker: This requires no response. I'll call upon the member for

Riverdale, who I think is ready to make a motion to adjourn.

On motion by Mr. Renwick, the debate was adjourned.

Motion agreed to.

THIRD READINGS

The following bills were given third reading on motion:

Bill 31, An Act to amend the Credit Unions and Caisses Populaires Act, 1976.

Bill 38, An Act to repeal the Railway Fire Charge Act.

BUDGET DEBATE

(continued)

Resuming the adjourned debate on the amendment to the motion that this House approves in general the budgetary policy of the government.

Mr. Renwick: Mr. Speaker, last year, in the early evening of October 17, being a Wednesday evening, a constituent of mine aged 14 years of age, Dolly Gallant, died in the Toronto East General Hospital at 8:50 p.m. She had been found on Simpson Avenue in the riding of Riverdale, in the rear lane beside one of the churches in the area, and as a result of her death a coroner's inquest was held.

The cause of death, as determined by a verdict of the coroner's jury, was cardiac arrhythmias. By what means the death came about is stated to be the intentional inhalation of Pam cooking spray. The coroner's jury made the following recommendations in reporting on the death of Dolly Gallant in its report on February 27, 1980:

"1. We recommend that the government force manufacturers to accelerate the research into converting products from aerosol sprays containing volatile constituents to manual-action sprays. Recent trends have shown the benefits of pump action as opposed to sprays. This would indicate that the same direction would be advisable in the product under discussion;

10 p.m.

"2. We recommend that in areas where abuse of glue and Pam are prevalent, shopkeepers be made aware of their potential misuse and discouraged by community service groups from stocking these products.

"3. We recommend that the government commission the National Film Board, or a similar body, to produce a documentary on the hazardous effects of products containing volatile organics, with emphasis on the commonly misused products, glue and Pam.

The film would be made available to community service groups and police authorities, for the purpose of educating parents and selected adolescents in areas where misuse is a problem.

"4. We recommend that the mass media use restraint in reporting methods of misuse of products related to drug abuse."

Those were the recommendations of James J. Ball, Mary J. Cooper, June Cummings, Terrence M. Elwood and Debra Mitchell, who were the jury serving on the inquest into the death of Dolly Gallant.

I was shocked and upset, as I know each member would be, had this particular tragedy occurred in his or her riding. I thought I would spend some time doing what I could in this assembly to raise again—as it has been raised by other members on different occasions—the question of what, if anything, it is possible to do in a difficult situation with respect to the cause of the death of Dolly Gallant. I want to take the opportunity, with the permission of the House, to speak at some length on this particular matter before I move into other areas of concern to me as a result of the budgetary address of the Treasurer (Mr. F. S. Miller).

Although the practice of inhaling intoxicants has a long history—it became somewhat popularized in the early 1960s—the current attention is focused on the inhalation of adhesives, solvents and aerosols. This last category is of particular interest, because Pam cooking spray is an aerosol. The effects obtained from sniffing both glue and aerosols are characterized by a high, which involves relaxation, giddiness, a lessening of inhibitions, and other characteristics with which many of us are familiar. But the aerosols are different from the solvents because they contain fluorocarbons, which can be deadly.

Since 1975, seven children in Ontario have died from sniffing Pam cooking spray. While I do not want in any way to underestimate the danger of sniffing glue by making any unnecessary comparison, nevertheless deaths from glue sniffing are much less common. There have been two, or possibly three, in the same period.

Briefly, the fluorocarbons, gas propellants such as Freon 2, are the gases which occupy the bulk of the volume in an aerosol container. The purpose of the fluorocarbons is to enable the remaining material in the can to leave the can in a spray or highly pressurized manner. The inhaled vapours from the aerosol enter the bloodstream rapidly from the lungs and are then distributed to tissues with a large blood circulation, such as the brain or

the liver. Because the fluorocarbons are fat-soluble, they are quickly absorbed into the central nervous system and produce a depression of many bodily functions, such as respiration and heart beat.

The fluorocarbons are believed to be sometimes fatal because they cause the heart to act abnormally, especially under stress, producing the condition known as cardiac arrhythmias, which was the cause of death of Dolly Gallant. It can result, as in this instance, in sudden death. The post mortem of Dolly Gallant showed marked lung collapse and the presence of Pam cooking spray. The report of the post mortem stated that "although the exact mechanism of death from the sniffing of these propellants is still not agreed upon, the majority of investigations favoured the sudden onset of cardiac arrhythmias."

In addition to the sometimes fatal results of inhaling aerosols, there are also long-term effects which can be very damaging. Unlike the solvents, with the exception of cleaning fluid, liver and kidney damage is irreversible. Alcohol or a liver or kidney disease are factors which can compound the damage. In general, interference with brain function tends to be temporary in nature, but some researchers have reported chromosomal damage and blood abnormalities among sniffers. These effects are still under study and are not proven at this time.

Just who is in danger in these circumstances? The majority of users range in age from eight to 16. A survey conducted by the Addiction Research Foundation in 1979 found the following pattern of usage: 13 years and under, 9.3 per cent of the population sampled; 14 to 15 years, 7.9 per cent; 16 to 17 years, 3.6 per cent; 18 years and over, 2.3 per cent.

Mr. Speaker, with the agreement of the House, there are certain tables with these comments and I would ask that they might be printed with the Hansard report because they are illustrative of the points that are being made and it is, in my view, a matter of significant importance. With your permission, sir, I would ask that the tables, which I will provide to the Hansard officer, be printed in the rear of the particular Hansard report to which I am referring. There are four tables which would be so included.

Mr. Speaker: Does anybody have any disagreement with that, that the tables to which the honourable member is referring be made a part of Hansard? (See appendix, page 1300.)

Mr. Renwick: Thank you, Mr. Speaker, I appreciate that. The pattern found in the

above results is unlike those found for other drug abuses. The age of the sniffers is much lower. It is generally suspected that this is due to the availability of glue and aerosols to the young user as compared to alcohol, marijuana and other street drugs. There are certain subgroups of the population which are particularly prone to indulging in sniffing. In many cases, children who belong to single-parent families, or who have parents who are alcoholics or have other problems, are more likely to resort to sniffing for a variety of reasons. These children might be seeking relief from the social pressures created by the home situation. Some claim to using solvents and aerosols to reduce anxiety or depression, or to compensate for feelings of insecurity or shyness.

What are the alternatives that we can look to for curbing the use of solvents and aerosols? We could consider the elimination of the product or the hazardous substance contained in the product. Because of the particular lifestyle we have chosen to live, there is no possibility that products such as glue and aerosols will be eliminated. Any product that is judged to be safe under normal use will remain on the market. These products are not considered to be hazards, although it is now required that appropriate products be labelled to identify them as dangerous if misused. Pressure to have such warnings on these products resulted from jury recommendations which examined deaths caused on other occasions by these same products.

10:10 p.m.

There has been considerable discussion devoted to the removal of the harmful substances in such products. In the case of solvents this is impossible because it is a dangerous substance which removes the stain or whatever the particular purpose of the product may be.

With the aerosols this is not the case. As explained earlier, the harmful fluorocarbons are included to force the product out of the can. Because of a recent scare concerning the effects of fluorocarbons on the ozone layer increasing the possibility of skin cancer, the federal government in the United States has banned the use of fluorocarbons, and the manufacturers have been forced to find alternatives to fluorocarbons or repackage their products into nonaerosol form. This has had a dramatic effect on the incidence of death due to fluorocarbons. The number of deaths decreased in the United States from 104 in 1974 to some 34 in 1978.

Recently there has been considerable pressure on the manufacturers of Pam cooking

spray to remove the fluorocarbons from the product. The first recommendation emanating from the inquest into the death of Dolly Gallant reflected this same direction, when the jury recommended "that the government force manufacturers to accelerate the research into converting products from aerosol sprays containing volatile constituents to manual-action sprays.

Recent trends have shown the benefits of pump action as opposed to sprays. This would indicate that the same direction would be advisable in the product under consideration." To force the manufacturer in this direction would appear to be the most viable alternative to the prevention of death due to the inhalation of aerosols.

A further possibility is to make it illegal to inhale solvents or aerosols. This approach is of very questionable value because it is very difficult, obviously, to enforce. It is generally agreed that determined sniffers will continue to indulge, despite the law, and others will consider it a challenge to be defied. One province in Canada, Alberta, possesses such a law. The Alberta Public Health Act makes it an offence to use an intoxicating vapour to induce intoxication, euphoria or hallucinations and to assist or cause another person to inhale or otherwise induce into his system such a vapour. Moreover, it is an offence under the act to manufacture or sell a product for this purpose.

Another alternative would be to try to control the sale of the product. Previously it was stated that a reason for the popularity of solvents and aerosols among the younger teens was the inability of this group to obtain alcohol and marijuana. From this observation it would appear that restrictions on the sale of solvents and aerosols to those under the age of 18 might curb use. As one youth worker observed, while a child who is determined to indulge in sniffing may not be deterred by restrictive legislation, it is reasonable to conclude that limiting the ease of obtaining the product in question would discourage those who are less determined. Legislation of this type exists in the city of Winnipeg in the form of a bylaw which came into effect through the urging of a parental coalition.

The recommendations arising from the recent inquest into Dolly Gallant's death recognized the role of the retailer in attempting to control abuse. The jury recommended that in areas where abuse of glue and Pam are prevalent, shopkeepers be made aware of their potential misuse and discour-

aged by community service groups from stocking these products. Although this recommendation is not as stringent as the law introduced in Winnipeg, both approaches appear to hold some merit and deserve attention and action.

Mr. Speaker: I want to remind the honourable member that standing order 19(d) (4) says: "A member shall be called to order if, in the opinion of the Speaker, he refers at length to debates of the current session or reads unnecessarily from verbatim reports of the legislative debates or any other document." I take that to mean it is not permitted unless the document is of your own authorship. I hope that is, in fact, the case.

Mr. Renwick: That is so, Mr. Speaker. Another way of looking at this problem is to deal with a community preventive approach. There is ample evidence which indicates that certain subgroups in the teen-age population can be considered as high risk. It was previously mentioned that these groups comprise children from broken and troubled homes. Efforts to curb the use of glue and aerosol should be directed to these particular groups.

One approach is through the community and its many different elements. It is possible by way of diagram to illustrate the way in which the various community elements can, in a free-flowing and communicative society, make certain that community pressure is brought to bear upon the availability of these particular problems. This proposal, which was put forward by the Addiction Research Foundation, suggests that a low-key, local strategy be employed. In addition, a program should undergo some evaluative research to determine if this approach could be effective in the area with which I am concerned in Riverdale, or if it could be effective in other areas.

Another approach, which we all talk about when we are dealing with such a topic as this, is through education. I would like to speak a little bit about the present levels of drug education in Ontario. The Addiction Research Foundation possesses a continuing interest in drug education. In order to assess the level of drug education in Ontario, the foundation conducted an extensive province-wide study of school children in 1977. This study was repeated in 1979, and the results have not changed significantly. In fact, some of the percentages were identical.

Both studies demonstrate that the level of drug education in Ontario schools is far from adequate. Briefly, it was found that a large

proportion of students reported receiving no drug education either in their recent past or throughout their entire school year. Some 31 per cent of those forming the study group came within this category. This proportion decreases as the child progresses through the grades, ranging from 45 per cent of grade seven students who reported receiving no drug education to 17 per cent of grade 13 students who reported receiving no drug education.

The majority of those who receive any drug education report having only one or two classes a year on average. There are numerous variables associated with the reported levels of drug education, but these particular factors are, in my opinion, significant. These include age, higher grade point average, reported use and region, while many schools do not even teach any form of drug education.

The results of the surveys overwhelmingly demonstrate that the more dangerous drugs, such as glue and aerosols, which are of particular interest in this connection, are the least likely to receive attention. Alcohol was always the subject most commonly dealt with in drug education classes. Tobacco and marijuana also receive high priority. An examination of the actual process of drug education in Ontario schools today reveals why the level of education is so low and why the emphasis is on certain topics.

10:20 p.m.

It would seem that typical questions within education today are: Where does the responsibility lie for drug education? Who should be held accountable? Is it the Ministry of Education, the boards of education, the principals or the teachers? The obvious answer is that all of these institutions and individuals have a responsibility to educate, and drug education should be an important aspect of the educational process in the schools today. Each of the above institutions and individuals can be assessed for its present performance in the area of drug education.

The Ministry of Education offers very little guidance relating to drug education. This situation is often explained by claiming that the needs of drug education vary considerably among the various boards and, therefore, the ministry should leave such matters to the discretion of the individual boards. This argument stands on shaky ground, because the figures on drug abuse in the schools across the province do not vary to any great degree. The problem of drug

abuse is very evenly spread throughout all of the regions. In addition, the characteristics of abuse, such as age, background and other factors, are similar. These facts would seem to indicate that the degree and type of drug education should be very similar and uniform throughout the province.

The ministry offers broad guidelines which state that alcohol, tobacco and other drugs should be discussed in the subject area of health. The guidelines also suggest which grades should receive the basic introduction or heaviest concentration. The guidelines do not break down, nor do they even suggest the characteristics other than age or grade that would identify which groups should receive drug education, let alone what sort of drug education they should receive. It is immediately obvious that the ministry guidelines are entirely inadequate in establishing the extent of drug education that should take place—that is, who should receive it, how much should be taught and what should be taught.

Another example of the low priority afforded by the Ministry of Education to the area of drug education is the fact that the ministry does not have a permanent staff person directly responsible for this area. At the present time the various boards take turns sending an individual to the ministry on loan for one year. This creates a situation which prevents the ministry from providing a consistent source of guidance to the boards.

There is a great deal of variation among the 200 boards of education in Ontario. Consequently, it is difficult to generalize about what is actually being taught in terms of content. We know from the Addiction Research Foundation survey how much is being taught. Nevertheless, an examination of the Toronto Board of Education's section on drugs is revealing because the Toronto board is generally considered to be one of the more progressive boards in the province. The Toronto Board of Education curriculum guidelines do offer some detailed information on the type of drugs that are often abused and the consequence of such abuse, but offer no guidance in terms of how to teach the material. Not only are the curriculum guidelines scanty, there is little time allotted to drug education.

At present, the Toronto board prescribes that 25 per cent of physical education be devoted to the subject of health. This amounts to 30 periods which are 40 minutes in length. Drug education is only a small part of health, which also includes such topics as individuality, anatomy, physiology, human growth and development, dental

health, nutrition, sexually transmitted disease, emotions and feelings. These subjects are to receive the heaviest concentration in grades seven and eight. Subjects which are to receive basic development in grades seven and eight include human families, sexuality, first aid, values and valuing, community health, consumer health, physical fitness, communications. Consequently, drug education might receive three to five hours of attention over an entire year. This is viewed to be a very generous estimate.

In so far as the role of teachers is concerned, the quantity and quality of drug education in Ontario schools is dependent, at this time, upon the individual teacher. Because of the failure of the ministry and the various boards, the teachers are responsible for creating their own lesson plans based on information that, for the most part, they have to acquire on their own. For these and other reasons, drug education is obviously inadequate. There is little accountability in the teaching of health.

Unlike other subjects, the level of health knowledge is not scrutinized by a teacher each year. In math, for example, it soon becomes obvious if a teacher failed to adequately prepare the class in the previous year. At present there are no standards for the appropriate amount of knowledge on the subject of health. Consequently, unlike other subjects, there are often no examinations or tests of any kind. The standard of health and drug education is left entirely to the teacher because no one else has control beyond the classroom door. It is obvious the teachers need to be given more support in the form of lesson plans, content on drug use and incentives to teach this area.

The particular subject of aerosol abuse adequately demonstrates the problem. There is every reason to believe that little or no information relating to aerosols is presently taught in the schools. The Ministry of Education does not progress beyond drugs that are used to alter mood and behaviour in indicating the topics that should be covered in drug education. The list of drugs contained in the Toronto Board of Education guidelines does not include aerosols. The teacher is provided with no information from either the ministry or the board. Furthermore, the teacher is not required to cover the topic of aerosol abuse.

It is left totally to the teacher to take the initiative to obtain the information from sources such as the Addiction Research Foundation and to create lesson plans from such materials.

On motion by Mr. Renwick, the debate was adjourned.

Mr. Speaker: Under standing order 28, a motion to adjourn has been deemed to have been made. The member for Carleton East (Ms. Gigantes) has expressed her dissatisfaction with the answer to a question asked of the Minister of Energy (Mr. Welch). I will listen to her reasons for up to five minutes.

SPECIAL TAX ON CRUDE OIL

Ms. Gigantes: Mr. Speaker, I doubt if I will take five minutes of your time. The reason for my dissatisfaction is quite simple.

I asked the minister during the course of question period this afternoon about a report printed in this morning's *Globe and Mail*. It is a fairly extensive analysis of a proposal which apparently has been made, although it has not been confirmed, by the federal Liberals for pricing of Canadian-produced oil in the next while. I thought it important to ask the minister about his knowledge of and reaction to this proposal, because it indicates an interesting twist in the possibilities that we face in Ontario in terms of the cost of energy.

10:30 p.m.

As you will recollect, Mr. Speaker, during the last election one of the critical concerns expressed by the minister's government was the proposal by the federal Conservative Party that there should be an 18-cent-per-gallon excise tax placed on gasoline. The objection to that proposal by this government was strong and clear and we heard a great deal of shouting and screaming from Ontario about the concern for industrial consumers, the concern for the economic development of Ontario, concern related to unemployment that would flow from new pricing policies proposed by the Conservatives, and a concern for Ontario consumers, particularly consumers of low income.

This morning, when we looked at the *Globe and Mail*, we saw a new form of proposal which is not an excise tax proposal but rather a wholesale tax proposal related to the Canadian-produced barrel of oil. All I could get from the minister in terms of a comment on this was that he had not discussed this with the federal Minister of Energy in his recent meetings, during which, he has assured us many times, he had discussed a long list of items. Secondly, he commented he was not going to take this proposal seriously at all because, as we all knew, it was speculative.

Speculative though it may be, I nevertheless consider it terribly important that the

minister assess such speculations. It seems to me highly likely that an article written by such an informed reporter as James Rusk, whose speculation often proves to be well grounded, bears serious consideration by this government. Had I been the Minister of Energy this morning, I would have called Ottawa immediately to find out just how speculative this proposal was, because it relates quite directly to all those concerns which this government has voiced on behalf of the Ontario economy and Ontario producers and Ontario consumers over the last few months.

It seems to me it is quite reasonable that we should ask not only that the Minister of Energy be prepared and should have got information from the federal government concerning the basis for this article, but also that he should be prepared to share with us whatever other kinds of proposals he feels would represent a reasonable oil pricing policy in conjunction with other elements of energy policy which Ontario is presenting in positive terms to the federal government. Are we about to land up in the same idiotic situation we were caught in before, in which we simply say "No, no," to federal proposals on oil pricing.

It seems to me the time has come when Ontario has to cease being seen as the oinker of Confederation and be ready to put forward positive proposals. The minister this afternoon was willing neither to discuss what I consider is probably a soundly based speculative article, nor to suggest to us how the concerns that his government has so often expressed in the past are to be met by positive suggestions from this government.

Hon. Mr. Welch: Mr. Speaker, may I comment briefly on the suggestions made by my friend? I should point out that the Ontario position in so far as oil pricing is concerned is quite clearly enunciated. I don't think there would be anyone in Ontario, indeed anyone in Canada, who would not understand the position taken very consistently by the government of Ontario. To suggest that it was about time we had a policy with respect to oil pricing, I think really is some indication of misinformation with respect to what we, as a government, have in fact been articulating very consistently for a number of years on this particular issue.

I would remind the honourable member that I was asked a question and a supplementary question today, the answers to which I would repeat if I were asked them now. The first was; did I have any idea as to what these proposals were and were they discussed

at my first meeting with Mr. Lalonde? The simple answer is no, they were not. The second was; would I be prepared to discuss them now on the basis of a speculative newspaper story? I thought it would be improper and premature to be commenting on a speculative piece until such time as I had some concrete proposals one way or the other from the federal minister.

Certainly, following some official presentation, I would be very happy to discuss the position based on some actual proposals submitted by the federal minister. We have no details of any new tax proposal from the federal government such as that speculated on in the morning paper, which would provide compensation for the difference between the costs of domestic and imported oil. Obviously, as the member has suggested, some averaging mechanism to produce a single domestic price in the market will be required. Whether that is done by a tax or a levy, such as in the arrangements for tar sands oil, or by what has been referred to in the United States as an entitlements system, is a detail

of any federal proposal on which we lack any information at this time. There will be ample time, following some suggestions and some proposals from the government of Canada, to comment on them.

I would remind the member that there is every indication that the new federal government has adopted a lot of what has already been part of the energy pricing policy of this government. We lack some of these details. No doubt, before too long we will be having them.

I think it is an unjustifiable criticism to suggest that we have not been quite complete in our answers earlier today, when the very direct answer was, "No, we did not discuss these." I would find it difficult to believe that an honourable member with the very competent journalistic background of my friend would be surprised that a minister of the crown might want to refrain from commenting on a speculative news item until such time as he had a concrete proposal before him.

The House adjourned at 10:36 p.m.

APPENDIX (See page 1295)

ALCOHOL AND DRUG USE IN TOTAL SAMPLE OF STUDENTS GRADES 7 TO 13

Drug	Per cent using drug at least once in past 12 months		Drug	Per cent using drug at least once in past 12 months	
	1977	1979		1977	1979
*Tobacco	30.4 ³	34.7	Speed	2.7	3.6
Alcohol	76.3 ³	76.9	Stimulants ¹	6.6	5.9
*Cannabis	25.1	31.7	*Stimulants ²	7.2	10.6
Glue	3.9	4.3	Tranquillizers ¹	8.6	6.9
Other solvents	6.6	6.2	Tranquillizers ²	4.9	5.9
Barbiturates ¹	14.3	12.8	*LSD	6.2	8.6
Barbiturates ²	6.0	6.8	Other hallucinogens	4.4	5.3
Heroin	1.9	2.3	Cocaine	3.8	5.1

* significant difference ($p < .001$) between years

¹ prescription

² nonprescription

³ per cent of users differs from that reported in the 1977 report of alcohol and drug use among Ontario students (Smart and Goodstadt, 1977) due to a redefinition of "user"

DRUG USE BY GRADE

(Per cent using drugs at least once in past 12 months)

Type of drug	Year	7	9	Grade 11	13	Total (N)
Tobacco	a1977	b14.1	33.3	b41.1	36.7	(4650)
	a1979	b20.3	36.4	b49.1	33.7	(4735)
Alcohol	a1977	57.4	75.5	87.4	94.8	(4656)
	a1979	57.0	75.4	89.9	92.1	(4734)
Cannabis	a1977	b 5.6	b23.2	b39.4	42.4	(4656)
	a1979	b10.4	b29.2	b50.2	43.6	(4754)
Clue	a1977	6.5	4.0	2.1	1.8	(4650)
	a1979	7.4	5.0	2.1	1.5	(4737)
Other solvents	a1977	12.8	6.1	2.9	2.3	(4646)
	a1979	10.1	7.6	3.6	1.7	(4734)
Barbiturates ¹	a1977	6.9	14.9	20.3	16.5	(4641)
	a1979	8.6	13.7	16.3	12.8	(4746)
Barbiturates ²	a1977	2.6	7.0	9.2	5.2	(4658)
	a1979	3.0	7.2	12.4	4.1	(4757)
Heroin	1977	1.7	2.7	1.4	1.8	(4641)
	1979	1.9	3.2	2.0	1.1	(4728)
Speed	1977	2.7	2.8	2.6	2.9	(4652)
	1979	2.5	4.1	4.5	3.1	(4762)
Stimulants ¹	1977	5.6	6.0	9.0	5.7	(4640)
	a1979	4.0	6.2	8.8	4.2	(4735)
Stimulants ²	a1977	3.2	9.0	b 9.8	6.4	(4648)
	a1979	4.2	10.5	b19.1	8.9	(4754)
Tranquillizers ¹	1977	6.3	8.9	10.5	9.3	(4649)
	1979	5.4	6.1	9.2	7.2	(4748)
Tranquillizers ²	a1977	2.1	5.5	7.0	5.6	(4648)
	a1979	2.6	6.3	8.8	5.8	(4756)
LSD	a1977	2.5	5.8	10.7	6.5	(4654)
	a1979	4.3	8.7	14.8	6.7	(4756)
Other hallucinogens	a1977	1.1	3.4	8.0	6.9	(4663)
	a1979	2.0	4.0	10.7	5.5	(4771)
Cocaine	1977	2.7	4.0	3.9	4.2	(4652)
	1979	4.2	5.7	6.1	4.0	(4767)

a significant difference ($p < .001$) between grade levelsb significant difference ($p < .001$) between years¹ prescription² nonprescription

DRUG USE BY GRADE AVERAGE

(Per cent using drugs at least once in past 12 months)

Type of drug	Grade average (in per cent)				Total (N)
	80-100	67-79	60-66	Below 60	
*Tobacco	20.6	32.1	44.2	52.6	(4733)
*Alcohol	71.5	76.9	79.6	81.6	(4732)
*Cannabis	17.9	28.6	41.1	53.2	(4747)
Glue	3.3	4.0	4.6	7.4	(4734)
Other solvents	4.5	6.4	6.6	8.2	(4728)
*Barbiturates ¹	8.8	13.2	14.8	13.5	(4741)
*Barbiturates ²	2.8	5.6	8.6	17.7	(4754)
*Heroin	1.9	1.9	2.1	6.2	(4726)
*Speed	2.5	2.9	4.0	9.6	(4758)
*Stimulants ¹	4.2	5.5	6.4	10.6	(4733)
*Stimulants ²	4.8	9.6	13.1	23.3	(4750)
Tranquillizers ¹	6.7	6.1	7.7	9.0	(4744)
*Tranquillizers ²	3.7	5.3	6.1	14.8	(4752)
*LSD	3.5	6.6	11.9	22.9	(4752)
*Other hallucinogens	2.3	4.0	7.4	13.7	(4768)
*Cocaine	3.1	4.7	5.8	11.0	(4764)

* significant difference ($p < .001$) between grade averages¹ prescription² nonprescription

DRUG USE BY REGION

(Per cent using drugs at least once in past 12 months)

Type of drug	Region						Total (N)
	Northern	Western	Mid- Western	Niagara	Central	Eastern	
*Tobacco	38.1	33.8	29.6	36.2	31.6	42.0	43.5 (4745)
Alcohol	74.9	79.2	73.8	78.1	76.1	78.0	83.5 (4744)
*Cannabis	35.7	30.4	22.1	36.9	27.6	45.5	40.1 (4763)
Glue	4.2	6.3	4.8	3.3	3.8	5.2	4.0 (4749)
Other solvents	6.9	5.6	5.9	5.8	6.8	4.9	5.6 (4743)
Barbiturates ¹	12.2	12.9	12.8	15.3	10.9	17.5	15.1 (4757)
*Barbiturates ²	7.6	6.6	3.0	7.4	6.3	11.8	8.0 (4769)
Heroin	2.4	3.5	1.5	1.9	1.9	3.9	1.5 (4740)
Speed	4.0	4.6	3.2	2.3	3.2	5.2	4.3 (4774)
Stimulants ¹	5.3	5.8	5.7	6.9	5.0	8.9	7.1 (4747)
*Stimulants ²	8.4	6.7	8.6	16.6	8.9	16.2	18.8 (4766)
Tranquillizers ¹	7.2	7.6	8.4	7.2	6.2	7.8	4.3 (4759)
Tranquillizers ²	7.6	5.6	3.6	6.1	5.4	9.1	5.2 (4768)
*LSD	10.4	9.0	4.9	10.0	8.1	12.7	6.5 (4768)
*Other hallucinogens	5.7	8.2	2.3	4.5	4.5	6.8	8.3 (4784)
Cocaine	6.2	3.9	3.2	4.4	5.8	6.1	4.9 (4780)

* significant difference ($p < .001$) between regions¹ prescription² nonprescription

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Legislature of Ontario Debates

Official Report (Hansard)

Fourth Session, 31st Parliament

Thursday, May 1, 1980

Afternoon Sitting

Speaker: Honourable John E. Stokes

Clerk: Roderick Lewis, QC

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Hansard subscription price is \$15.00 per session, from: Sessional Subscription Service, Printing Services Branch, Ministry of Government Services, 9th Floor, Ferguson Block, Parliament Buildings, Toronto M7A 1N3. Phone (416) 965-2238.

Published by the Legislature of the Province of Ontario.
Editor of Debates: Peter Brannan.

LEGISLATURE OF ONTARIO

THURSDAY, MAY 1, 1980

The House met 2:02 p.m.

Prayers.

ESTIMATES

Hon. Mr. McCague: Mr. Speaker, I have a message from the Honourable the Lieutenant Governor signed by her own hand.

Mr. Speaker: Pauline M. McGibbon, the Lieutenant Governor, transmits estimates of certain sums required for the services of the province for the year ending March 31, 1981, and recommends them to the Legislative Assembly, Toronto, May 1, 1980.

STATEMENTS BY THE MINISTRY

NEW AGENCY POLICIES

Hon. Mr. McCague: Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to table today for the information of members two policies which will shortly be published in the government's Manual of Administration. These policies formalize the various measures outlined in the second report of the agencies review committee, which was tabled in the Legislature on March 25, 1980, by my colleague, the chairman of the committee, the Minister without Portfolio (Mr. Pope).

The first of the policies sets out a process to be followed by ministries when establishing new agencies. It provides for Management Board of Cabinet and cabinet review and approval of such matters as the need for a new agency, or the possibility of modifying an existing agency, and the terms of reference.

Guidelines are also included that will assist in the development of necessary legislation and in the determination of the number of members to be appointed to the agency. Other measures incorporated into the policy include conflict of interest guidelines for government appointees. The second policy reiterates the government's intention to develop a framework and process to assist ministers to undertake the required sunset reviews of advisory agencies.

The first round of reviews is to be completed by March 1982, in accordance with the order in council tabled with the second

report. The policy provides that an appropriate review process be developed by March 1981, to enable ministers to complete their first round of reviews within the time limit that has been established.

HOSPITAL FIRE

Hon. Mrs. Birch: Mr. Speaker, I have been asked by the Minister of Health (Mr. Timbrell) to inform the House that there was a major fire at St. Joseph's Hospital in Hamilton this morning. There was considerable smoke damage and it became necessary to evacuate the hospital. All patients and staff have now been safely moved and I understand the fire has been brought under control.

The Hamilton area hospital emergency plan was activated immediately and patients have been transferred to neighbouring hospitals. The Minister of Health is on the scene in Hamilton at the moment and will have a further report for the House when he returns.

INCO EMISSIONS

Hon. Mr. Parrott: Mr. Speaker, I believe the people of Ontario and the honourable members are well aware of my commitment to the battle against acid rain, in which Ontario has consistently led this continent. Reduction of the emissions that contribute to acid rain is one of my major objectives, and my ministry has been preparing necessary measures for some time.

Today I wish to advise the members of the first of several planned steps aimed at reducing acid rain. My ministry is introducing new control measures that will substantially reduce the volume of SO₂ emissions from the smelting operations of Inco Limited at Sudbury.

The proposed control order limits total emissions from the Inco smelter complex to an average of 2,500 short tons per working day. This will consist of a combination of stack and ground-level emissions. Ground-level emissions can vary from 50 to 200 tons on a given day. The company will also be required to have in place the facilities neces-

sary to reduce total emissions, both stack and ground-level, to 1,950 short tons per working day, effective on or before December 31, 1982.

In addition, and of great importance, the order further requires Inco to provide my ministry, by the end of 1981, with an assessment of the technical options necessary to reduce emissions of SO₂ to the lowest possible level. Inco officials have told me their concerns that any reduction in the emissions limit below the daily average of 3,000 tons will have serious effects on the company's operations and drastically curtail its ability to increase production. The second stage, which will limit total emissions to an average of 1,950 tons per day, is considered to be a lid on Inco's production capacity and I recognize this as a serious factor.

I am well aware that the impact of these restrictions does place a significant burden on Inco Limited and potentially upon the economy of this province. The proposed new levels would not permit the company to expand its operations beyond the existing moderate level of world demand. These negative economic effects could be offset by technological improvements.

While I understand the severe restraints that are being placed on Inco, I fully believe the environmental considerations are paramount and do constitute the clearly overriding factor. The combined orders will provide a strong incentive to Inco to apply its considerable resources to develop the necessary technology to reduce emissions. I believe the company can, should and will meet this challenge.

I must emphasize that this proposed control program has been under consideration and in preparation by my ministry for some time as a part of Ontario's comprehensive acid-rain program. On January 18, I discussed our action plan to reduce emissions throughout Ontario with the Honourable John Fraser, the previous federal Minister of the Environment, and with the Honourable Douglas Costle, the administrator of the United States Environmental Protection Agency. Our discussions centred on Inco Limited. As part of our ongoing co-operative efforts on acid rain, we have kept officials of Environment Canada advised of our intentions concerning Inco and other emitters for some months now.

2:10 p.m.

On April 21 I resumed discussions with the new federal minister. At our meeting I outlined our proposed control program to Mr. Roberts. At the same time I stressed to

him it was vital that the federal government tackle head on the American inaction against acid rain. With his hand now strengthened by Ontario's lead, I look to my federal colleague to make effective use of these new controls on Inco in his efforts to obtain an international agreement.

We have re-evaluated the 1978 control program based on the proven need to provide greater controls on SO₂ emissions. Therefore, we are proceeding with measures to establish a drastically lower ceiling on Inco emissions. As soon as the control order takes effect, it will provide for further substantial reductions by the end of 1982.

I have notified Inco Limited of our intention to issue a new control order under the Environmental Protection Act. Consistent with my policy, the draft control order will be submitted to public scrutiny and comment by the public. Following the public meeting we will prepare a notice of intent of a new control order and serve this on Inco. The act then provides a 15-day period during which the company may appeal. If there is no appeal, I would anticipate the order to take effect by July 1 of this year.

Here are the other major thrusts of the new control order: emissions from the iron-ore recovery plant shall not exceed an average of 250 short tons per working day. This average will be computed quarterly over a 12-month production period.

By December 31, 1980, the company shall submit a report detailing the facilities and the implementation schedule necessary to limit SO₂ emissions from the Copper Cliff smelter to 1,950 short tons per working day averaged over a calendar year. These facilities are to be in place by December 31, 1982. The report must include information on all factors involved, including capital investment, operating costs, a feasibility assessment of the technical options, and an analysis of the environmental and socio-economic implications.

The control order continues the existing program designed to bring all low-level emissions from the company's nickel refinery into compliance with provincial standards as set out in the Environmental Protection Act. The company must complete installation of the necessary facilities and have these in operation by December 31, 1982.

In addition to these major requirements in the control order, we are also issuing a provincial officer's requirement under the Environmental Protection Act. This directs the company to conduct studies and to report its findings by December 1981 on methods necessary to further reduce SO₂ emissions from the

Copper Cliff complex to the lowest levels possible. This report is to include analysis of the economic and feasibility factors outlined previously. I am also ordering the company to report on the various processes and testing programs that it has undertaken to date in its efforts to reduce emission levels.

Another major part of our program is the establishment of an Ontario-Canada task force to investigate all air-pollution-abatement technical options for both Inco Limited and Falconbridge Nickel Mines Limited in Sudbury. The working committee of this joint task force will include senior representatives of my ministry, the Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources and the federal departments of the Environment and of Energy, Mines and Resources. In addition, nongovernmental representatives will be on the committee. I believe this to be a new departure, one that is a continuation of my program to include the public at large as part of our team approach. Quebec, which chairs the federal-provincial control strategies group on acid rain, may also nominate a member.

This task force will examine all technical alternatives for further abatement, including the financial impacts of abatement on the Sudbury smelting companies, the cost-efficient mixes of abatement technologies to achieve specific emission reductions, and comparison of the environmental and other benefits of abatement and control measures.

I wish to emphasize that we are taking a major step in reducing Inco's emissions, which have already decreased under government programs by more than 40 per cent since 1969. The proposed program will result in a further reduction of 46 per cent.

I deeply regret, however, that there has not been a comparable decrease in emissions from the nonferrous smelting industry in the United States, which accounts for 2.8 million tons per year. This reflects the lack of action in the US smelting industry. I am similarly concerned by the lack of progress in establishing control standards on US power generating plants, which account for 18.6 million tons per year compared with one half million tons per year generated by Ontario coal-fired plants. I find this record unacceptable.

I have said before in this assembly, and I believe it should be repeated at this time, that the long-range transport of pollutants is an international problem for which all jurisdictions share some responsibility. Both Canadian and US sources must be controlled if Ontario's threatened areas are to be protected. Ontario is prepared to enforce necessary controls in concert with control measures

in other jurisdictions. As I have said, we are prepared to act singly and in advance of other jurisdictions, but Ontario cannot act alone and solve Ontario's acid-rain problems.

Ontario will continue to set an example and to lead in responding to the threat of acid rain, but we now expect a positive response from our US neighbours; in fact, we must have this response. Without it, we are going to lose the fight against acid rain. The onus for stimulating US response clearly rests with my colleague, the federal Minister of the Environment, and I look forward to his progress in his negotiations with Washington.

Ontario's action program is well under way and our fight against acid rain goes on each day. Given support and action from those who also have a great deal at stake, I know that we in Ontario will save our lands, our rivers and our lakes for the future.

Mr. T. P. Reid: Mr. Speaker, on a point of order: In regard to governing by headline such as we have just heard, section 26(c) of the standing orders says, "After any policy statement the minister shall table a compendium of background information." I wonder if there is such a background of information available in regard to this statement, including the poll taken by Decima Research Limited last year, to the tune of \$56,000, entitled *Attitudes Towards Environmental Matters*. Is there a compendium of information? Will that and the poll be tabled?

Hon. Mr. Parrott: Yes, Mr. Speaker.

AID TO CHRYSLER

Mr. Cooke: Mr. Speaker, on a point of privilege: I was going to wait until the Minister of Industry and Tourism (Mr. Grossman) was here, hoping that he would be here, but since he is not, I want to raise it before question period starts.

Over the last couple of months, our party has been asking a series of questions on aid to Chrysler Corporation, and we have received vague answers, to say the least, from the government. Yet yesterday and the day before there were all sorts of statements that were made by the Minister of Industry and Tourism to the press, giving specific answers to specific questions.

I would just like to ask the Speaker if, when the Legislature is in session, it would not make more sense for the government to answer questions in the House and report to members of the Legislature rather than giving statements through the press? There are five members here from Essex county. There are 125 members who are concerned

about what's going on in the automobile industry and those questions should be answered in the House, not by statements outside the House just to the press.

Mr. Speaker: I am not aware of the statements to which the honourable member refers and I would like to hear what the Minister of Industry and Tourism has to say in response to your alleged point of privilege.

2:20 p.m.

USE OF FIREARMS BY POLICE

Mrs. Campbell: I regret the absence of the Solicitor General (Mr. McMurtry), Mr. Speaker, but feel my point of personal privilege must be raised as early as possible in these proceedings.

On April 29 of this year the leader of the New Democratic Party addressed a question to the Solicitor General in which he said: "Mr. Speaker, in view of the fact that the suspect in the case last fall was involved in a case concerning property damage and the suspect in this particular case, Luc Savard, was involved in a domestic dispute, would the Solicitor General make it very clear to the authorities in Quebec that we in this province do not think that suspects in such cases should be shot at with firearms . . ." I will leave the rest out.

The response of the Solicitor General was: "Mr. Speaker, when it comes to the involvement of the police in domestic disputes, I think the member for St. George might have a different view as to the extent to which police should get involved."

Mr. Speaker, I have deplored violence wherever I have seen it, whether in the hockey arena, on the highway or in the home. I have never, in any of those cases, advocated the use of firearms and if the Solicitor General was speaking lightly on this occasion, I deplore his levity.

ORAL QUESTIONS

INCO EMISSIONS

Mr. S. Smith: I would like to question the Minister of the Environment with regard to the statement he has made on Inco.

Would the minister not agree that his statement, in fact, has declared that Inco can continue at the level of emission that is at present going on there—not the present allowable limit of 3,600 but the present level that is going on day to day? Basically, the minister is saying there need be no change in that for the next couple of years and that

by 1982 it should be reduced to 1,950 tons as the allowable limit.

How does he reconcile that with the fact that five years ago Inco offered his ministry a plan to reduce emissions to 1,500 tons per day at a proposed cost then of \$300 million? How does he reconcile the alleged strength of today's statement with the fact that five years ago his ministry was offered a plan by Inco to reduce much lower than the level the minister himself is now asking for by the end of 1982?

Hon. Mr. Parrott: Mr. Speaker, I think several things should be made known on this. First of all, that offer was never made to the ministry. It was alleged to have been made but wasn't. More particularly, if we are going to reach the 1,950-ton level by 1982, it will require very positive action, starting right now.

The technology to reach that level has not been proved commercially. Therefore, the study that will be required for this year will outline all of those complications, those implications of applying new technology, but whether that technology exists or not, they must come to those levels in 1982. I am sure the company can meet that challenge one way or the other. To reach that level requires action this month by that company to reach the level we are proposing. No inaction is possible for the company in that regard.

Mr. S. Smith: By way of supplementary, Mr. Speaker: Since the present levels of emission are no greater for the next two years than the limit proposed by the minister, there is obviously going to be no change. Since the minister says there was no such plan in 1975, with your indulgence I will read just three lines from the select committee report on this matter:

"In 1975 Inco developed and discussed with ministry officials a plan to reduce sulphur dioxide emissions to 1,500 tons per day by December 1979 at a cost of about \$300 million. Ministry officials decided at that time to leave Inco with a 750-ton-a-day target and not accept that particular offer of the company." That is from the report of the committee.

I simply ask the minister again if what the minister has now done is bring in a level somewhat higher than that which Inco itself offered five years ago. Furthermore, may I ask whether, if Inco appeals this order, the appeal will be heard in public and not just in a cozy meeting with ministry officials?

Hon. Mr. Parrott: Mr. Speaker, I guess the Leader of the Opposition just plain

doesn't understand what an appeal process is. There is never an in-closet, if you will, appeal process. It is before the Environmental Appeal Board with their recommendations made public. Nothing could be more formal or more open than that.

Mr. S. Smith: I'm talking about the hearing, not the recommendation. I'm talking about the hearing.

Hon. Mr. Parrott: I am talking about the hearing. It will be public.

Mr. S. Smith: It won't be.

Hon. Mr. Parrott: I said it would be public. That is exactly what I said and if the honourable member would just stop talking long enough to listen he would have heard that point. Every appeal to the Environmental Appeal Board is in public and their recommendations are made public. Nothing could be clearer than that.

The honourable member says there will be no reductions. Let me read the levels for him. The levels in January were 2,584 tons per day; in February, 2,623, and in March, 2,523. If one superimposes those levels on a company that was hoping to increase its production significantly in these coming months, something which is also very important to this province, then I tell the honourable member that is a real restriction. If there is any doubt about that part, it is absolutely incorrect. That is a very stringent requirement of that company and it has a rather long-term effect. We should not underestimate the importance of these controls today.

The last point I would make is that the offer talked about in 1975 was firmly rejected by the company. It was never accepted as part of their program because it was based on a technology which had not been proved.

Mr. Martel: Mr. Speaker, a supplementary question: Today we checked with Environment Canada and by use of a pyrrhotite rejection, flash smelting and byproduct sulphuric acid plant, Inco could reduce its emissions to 1,000 tons a day by the end of 1985.

Is the minister prepared to contact Environment Canada, obtain those documents, present them to the House and give an analysis from his staff as to whether or not the Environment Canada studies are factual? Would that then necessitate the type of study he is indicating in the rest of his document?

Hon. Mr. Parrott: Exactly, Mr. Speaker. I would like to reread very briefly: "The working committee of this joint task force will include senior representatives from my min-

istry, the Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources and the federal departments of Environment and of Energy, Mines and Resources." That is a public task force which will hold hearings to understand once and for all—and I think this is very important, Mr. Speaker—understand and put to the world at large all the various studies, all of these various facts so that we will then not engage in competing, one study versus another, one proposal versus another.

2:30 p.m.

We will have a very independent board including federal government representatives from a jurisdiction outside Ontario, with public people on that board, to come to a final conclusion of what is possible. I welcome the member's participation in that process.

Mr. Germa: Mr. Speaker, how can the minister say this is going to strengthen Mr. Robert's hands with Washington? Does he suppose that Washington is not aware of the Environment Canada study that shows off-the-shelf technology is now available to reduce the tonnage to 1,000 tons per day?

Hon. Mr. Parrott: Mr. Speaker, there is no proved commercial system yet in operation—that's point one. Second, while Ontario is reducing its emissions, one after another in the United States they are increasing their emissions. They are going up while we are coming down. They must follow our lead.

SEATON DEVELOPMENT

Mr. S. Smith: Mr. Speaker, in the absence of the Minister of Housing the other day I directed a question, I guess to the Minister of Energy (Mr. Welch), on the matter of Seaton. Since the Minister of Housing is here, perhaps he might care to answer the question today.

Basically, the question concerned the minister's statement on March 24 that he was delaying the construction of Seaton because of prevailing economic conditions, describing his decision as "knowing when to cut your losses and not being foolish enough to extend them." Could the minister explain why the Assistant Deputy Minister of Housing has told Durham regional council that housing construction was merely delayed by two years and will start in 1984?

Hon. Mr. Bennett: Mr. Speaker, I think if one reads the article in the Toronto Star of Saturday, it clearly indicated that the assistant deputy minister, who is also the chief executive officer for the Ontario Land Corporation, answered clearly that we were looking at a five-year cycle to put it back on stream. The

five-year cycle they were working on would bring it into about 1984. There was no indication by the assistant deputy minister that we would commence construction in 1984.

Mr. S. Smith: Perhaps the minister would care to write to the *Toronto Star* and complain about the article. The article itself says, "Target date for start of its construction is now 1984, Robert McDonald, Assistant Deputy Minister of Housing, told Durham planning committee this week." Unless he wishes to correct the record, I have to assume that's what the assistant deputy minister said. Therefore, what I would like to know is how much money is the government or any agency of the government spending on the North Pickering/Seaton project this year in addition to the money it has already spent, and what is that money being spent for?

Hon. Mr. Bennett: Mr. Speaker, first of all, I don't take the *Toronto Star* as being the record of this House nor of statements by the government. They can quote as they wish; I am not going to find fault with them. That is the reporter's responsibility, to print whatever he or she believes he or she has been told.

The fact is we are very clear that 1984 was a possibility date. When the assistant deputy minister was asked if it could come on stream in an earlier period, he said it would be a five-year cycle, which brings it to about 1984. It is not the intention of this government or this ministry to commence the project in 1984. I think I made that very clear in this House back on March 24 when I made the statement to this House. We indicated too at that time that our costs over the next short period, in continuing to process the amendments to the official plan to accommodate the Seaton community sometimes in the future, will likely run us in the current year about \$400,000.

Mr. Breagh: Mr. Speaker, I seem to be having some difficulty with the English language today. First the minister says he will and then he won't. What is that start date, if there is a start date, for the Seaton project? Does he have one? Will he continue with that project, and if he is going to continue, when?

Hon. Mr. Bennett: Mr. Speaker, I thought I made it very clear on March 24 that we did not have a commencement date. We indicated very clearly it was being put on the back burner; we were not commencing it because of economic conditions and market conditions.

I am certainly not going to stand here in the year 1980 and try to predict what the

market conditions will be in 1983, 1984, 1985 or 1986. When conditions turn around—and I said that very clearly in the statement of March 24—when economic conditions change and the market warrants the type of construction, we will then try to commence it.

In the meantime, we will be working with the region and the local government in trying to put the official plan in place to accommodate a Seaton if and when it is built.

Mr. S. Smith: By way of supplementary, Mr. Speaker: Might I ask the minister to respond to my other question about how much money is being spent on Seaton this year and what it is being spent for? Might I also ask him whether he is not somewhat alarmed, after he tells this House that we're not going ahead with Seaton, and in view of a consultant's report indicating that the region of Durham has enough serviced residential land apart from Seaton for the next 14 years and serviced industrial land for the next 50 years, that his bureaucrats seem determined to push this thing forward and to proceed, mentioning target dates to the region and to the press? Is he going to do something about that to make it perfectly clear that we're not going to waste any more money than has already been lost there?

Hon. Mr. Bennett: Mr. Speaker, I'll make it very clear: My statement of March 24 was that of this ministry and the government, and clearly indicated the position. I do not take, as I said earlier today, the *Star* report as being the position of the government. Mr. McDonald reports through this ministry to this House, that's correct. Mr. McDonald had discussions with them and very clearly indicated in a positive way. To the question, "What is the earliest date that Seaton could possibly come on stream?" he said, "The earliest date is 1984."

That is not to indicate that was the government's intention. I think the question asked and the answer given are very explicit. Frankly, I have said that the project will come on stream when the economic conditions in this area justify that kind of advancement in the Pickering project.

I indicated earlier in my answer that our expenditures this year will be in the range of about \$400,000 on legal fees and other things required in bringing forward the official planned amendments to accommodate Seaton's development.

AID TO CHRYSLER

Mr. Cassidy: Mr. Speaker, I have a question to the Minister of Industry and Tourism relating to the future of the automobile industry and the negotiations with Chrysler Canada Limited. Will the minister say, now that Chrysler Canada has announced it will have no V-6 engine production in Windsor, what steps the government is taking to ensure that Chrysler's new operations in Canada will give us a fair share of manufacturing jobs in the parts sector as well as assembly?

Hon. Mr. Grossman: Mr. Speaker, I can only say at this time that we're doing a great deal, as is evidenced by the fact that we haven't been able to strike a deal at the present time.

Mr. Cassidy: Supplementary: In view of the fact that, with the pulling-out of the engine plant in Windsor, not only are 4,000 or 5,000 potential jobs threatened but Chrysler is only going to have a small trim operation and a spring plant in Canada and no other production of parts at all, can the minister say whether Ontario has been trying to get some other engine plant such as a four-cylinder engine plant from Chrysler here in Canada, or is the minister simply going to allow the production of parts by Chrysler Canada to come to a virtual end in this country, leaving only an assembly-line operation?

Hon. Mr. Grossman: I want to assure the leader of the third party that these negotiations have been carrying on well into the night and early morning, as late as 2.30 a.m. today. Those negotiations include all the items we've discussed in this House for very many months.

With regard to the engine plant, may I say with respect that any understanding, here or elsewhere, that effectively the closure of that engine plant was related directly to the negotiations that are going on, is not accurate. The decision to close that engine plant was not a decision made as a function of the negotiations that are carrying on now. It wasn't on the table in a serious way at the serious stages of this negotiation.

Chrysler, in closing that engine plant, is trying to address its short-term cash problems. In order to keep that plant, which is currently employing 350 people, as part of their system, would mean they would be retooling it for the next two years, laying out several hundreds of millions of dollars to retool it for production in 1983.

Chrysler Corporation, as a result of the conditions laid down by the Chrysler Loan Guarantee Board, has a problem with cash flow over the next couple of years. Therefore, they took the decision that they could not afford to spend \$200 million, \$300 million or \$400 million to retool that plant over the next few years because they didn't have the cash available. They took the decision not to worry about the engines now, but to worry about engines if they were in business in 1983, and buy them. The decision they made was essentially related to their current cash position.

2:40 p.m.

The only extent to which that can be tied to our current negotiations is if someone were to suggest seriously that the governments of Canada should pay hundreds and hundreds of millions of dollars in upfront grants to alter that decision. Quite frankly, that is not something I think this assembly would suggest this government should do.

Mr. Ruston: Mr. Speaker, in the minister's negotiations, is he asking for a guarantee of so many employees, or is he asking for a guarantee of a percentage of the total employee hours in both the United States and Canada? Would it not be better to ask for the second type of guarantee since no one knows how many cars they are going to sell? If there were so many cars sold, at least we would have the percentage we should have under the auto pact.

Hon. Mr. Grossman: Mr. Speaker, as far as I am concerned, the interest of this government is in making available a certain amount of money in exchange for a certain number of jobs. As I stated in this House before, and I think the member's party and the New Democratic Party has it stated in this House too, it has to be a certain number of jobs.

When we get into a situation in which we are supporting a company in the large way we are considering supporting it, and the company has the still uncertain future we are talking about, we do not have the sort of guarantees to fall back on that we have when we are dealing with other automobile manufacturers. Therefore, it is our position that everything that is done must relate to cold, hard job figures. That's where we are right now.

Mr. Cooke: Mr. Speaker, I would like to ask the minister whether he realizes that by retooling the van plant and closing down the engine plant, if the parent corporation does go bankrupt in the next few years, we will be left with assembly operations in Ontario that

will mean nothing. Whereas if the engine plant is retooled and the parent corporation goes bankrupt, we will be left with an engine plant that is viable, one that will produce engines and continue to provide jobs?

Hon. Mr. Grossman: Mr. Speaker, of course, we are aware of that. The question becomes one of what this government ought to do to ensure that engine plant stays open.

I have indicated the sole thing we can do with a company whose urgent problem is a current cash flow is to give them millions and millions of dollars of upfront grants to make the decision to leave that engine plant open a viable one. I do not think we should neglect the fact that the Chrysler corporation is deciding that it need not worry about having engines in 1983 if it does not get through the next short period of time. Therefore, its major concern is its cash-flow position over the next period of time.

I say to the member I am distressed at the loss of that engine plant. It will have the consequences the member refers to. All that reinforces the fact that we must get the kind of job guarantees I am insisting upon before we consider participation in this operation.

Mr. Mancini: Mr. Speaker, I would like to ask the minister whether officials of his ministry have checked out the situation to see if this decision not to retool the engine plant, made in the United States by the parent company of Chrysler Canada, is in any way a contravention of the auto pact. If it is, what action does the minister plan to take on this matter?

Hon. Mr. Grossman: Two things, Mr. Speaker: First, the member raises a point that has been forgotten in some of these discussions. That is, presuming that Chrysler Corporation, the parent company, does survive by virtue of its arrangements with the loan board, and presuming it would still want to serve the Canadian market—which is a very important and strong market for the company—it would have to continue to provide employment here pursuant to the auto pact requirements.

I have had no indication from Ottawa that there is any intention to relieve Chrysler of its auto pact requirements. So when we talk about the net new jobs to be gained by the participation of this government and the federal government, we must look at the numbers of jobs that are in excess of the number of jobs that the auto pact would require be in there if Chrysler is to continue in any form whatsoever.

Second, the company could not close that operation unless it was in compliance with the

auto pact. Having raised that question with Ottawa, I am informed by Ottawa that the company still is complying with the pact.

I should also indicate to the honourable member that I have just returned from giving a speech to the Automotive Parts Manufacturers Association, where I indicated quite firmly and publicly that this government insists the figures that traditionally have been held confidential between the car companies and the federal government regarding compliance with the auto pact should now be made public so that this government, this assembly and the people of Ontario can assess for themselves the terms of compliance of the Big Three with the auto pact.

ASBESTOS HAZARDS

Mr. Cassidy: Mr. Speaker, I have a new question, of the Minister of Labour, arising out of the list of companies that was tabled in the Legislature last week, companies where workers have suffered occupational disease because of exposure to asbestos. Can the minister tell me why, when workers in more than 80 companies across the province have suffered from asbestos exposure and have had Workmen's Compensation Board claims arising therefrom, his ministry is still establishing a registry for workers at only one company, namely Johns-Manville Canada Incorporated?

Hon. Mr. Elgie: Mr. Speaker, I am sure the member recalls that I asked my staff to look into the possibility and value of a nominal roll in any other industry. I might tell him, and I am sure he knows very well, that all workers who are exposed to asbestos regularly attend the chest survey and pulmonary function testing routine either on a biannual or annual basis. So workers who are exposed to asbestos do attend an X-ray checkup unit, and that involves an X-ray and pulmonary function testing on an annual or bi-annual basis. They are being followed now.

[What the member is talking about in a nominal roll is going back to some date in the past and gathering a list from the past. I am telling him that I have asked the staff to look into that to see if it is feasible and if it would accomplish anything that we all want to accomplish. It is being looked into.]

Mr. Cassidy: Can the minister explain why he says his ministry now is looking into the possibility of establishing a registry and tracing workers who have been exposed to asbestos when almost three years ago his predecessor stated in a letter to somebody

in the Canadian Chemical Workers Union at Johns-Manville that the occupational health branch of the ministry "will develop an asbestos register on current and former workers," clearly indicating that the registry would cover workers who have been exposed across the province and not just at one company?

Will the minister undertake now to implement the promise that was made by his predecessor almost three years ago and have a registry for tracing workers who have been exposed to asbestos from any company, rather than just the one?

Hon. Mr. Elgie: I do not want to commit myself to something I have not reviewed yet. It may be that someone else has said something, but what I am saying to the member is that I have asked staff to look into it and give me some advice on it. I think that is the only rational way I can approach it. I am not trying to be obstructionist. I am simply trying to be logical.

Mr. Ziemba: Mr. Speaker, since there is a great concern about the exposure limits of asbestos, and since there is now no legal limit to asbestos, when can we have that list of hazardous substances which was supposed to accompany Bill 70 last fall?

Hon. Mr. Elgie: Mr. Speaker, as the member knows, at the estimates last year we tabled our targets in terms of substances on an annual basis for the next two or three years. As I am sure he also knows, we have already gazetted certain substances, one of which is asbestos, and we now are in the process of considering a change in the occupational standard for asbestos.

I might tell the member it is clear that it is not an easy problem. As he knows, the National Institute for Occupational Safety and Health made recommendations in 1975 and 1976 that still have not resulted in change. So it is not an easy problem, and we are not a province that is behind anybody else in North America in this matter. We are reviewing it now with a view to a change.

2:50 p.m.

Mr. Cassidy: It seems the minister is telling the House that a promise made by a former minister is no longer a promise when that minister is moved to another ministry. Under the Conservatives of this province, a promise is not a promise if there is a change of ministry. It is a way of evading promises made in the past.

Is that what the minister is saying, or will he now undertake to implement the promise

made by his predecessor and start an effective program of tracing workers who have been exposed to asbestos in every work place in Ontario, rather than doing it in just one or two companies?

Hon. Mr. Elgie: I have already indicated many of the measures that are already under way. I might also indicate that there already is a roll for some 1,000 insulation workers. As the honourable member knows, we also have a roll for some miners up north. I have asked the staff to look into whether it is feasible to do anything else in any other area.

SALE OF MACMILLAN COMPANY

Hon. Mr. Baetz: Mr. Speaker, I have an interim response to the question of the leader of the New Democratic Party (Mr. Cassidy) on April 25 regarding the merger of Gage Publishing Limited and Macmillan Company of Canada Limited, an operating division of Maclean-Hunter Limited.

I share the member's view that the publishing program of Macmillan of Canada has been important to Canadians and that the effects of the announced merger on that publishing activity need to be clearly understood.

Earlier this week I met with representatives of the Writers Union of Canada and the Association of Canadian Publishers to discuss the questions they have raised concerning the merger. This morning I met with the chairman of the Maclean-Hunter board of directors and the president of Macmillan. I have also contacted both the federal Minister of Industry, Trade and Commerce, Mr. Herb Gray, and the Minister of Communications, Mr. Francis Fox, concerning this transaction. I have arranged to meet with the president of Gage next week.

I have been told that Ron Besse of Gage has called a press conference for tomorrow, and it is to be hoped he will shed new and additional light on Gage's plan for Macmillan. Once these meetings are completed, and after the Foreign Investment Review Agency has indicated whether there is any reason for it to be involved in reviewing this transaction, I will provide a full and further response to the member's question.

Mr. Cassidy: Mr. Speaker, can the minister assure the House that, should the government not be satisfied that Macmillan's distinguished trade publishing activities will be maintained under the proposed new owners, the government will be prepared to participate if there is another bidder who is

prepared to maintain Macmillan's trade publishing activities?

Specifically, will the minister assure the House that, if the offer by Fitzhenry and Whiteside Limited is renewed and it is prepared, as it indicated earlier, to carry on Macmillan's distinguished activities, Ontario will be prepared to share in the financing if that participation is necessary?

Hon. Mr. Baetz: I can only answer that in a general way. We are as concerned as anyone that there be a strong publishing industry in Canada. However, I would not like to respond more specifically to any questions at this moment, because there are a whole range of possibilities under consideration. I wish to hold that reply until perhaps next week or the week after to look at more facts.

LICENSING OF PRIVATE CAMPGROUNDS

Mr. Eakins: Mr. Speaker, a question for the Minister of Industry and Tourism: Is the minister aware of the confusion that now exists for both municipalities and camp grounds as a result of his announcement one year ago regarding the withdrawal of his ministry from the licensing of private campgrounds in southern Ontario? Is he aware that, because all municipalities have different bylaws or no bylaws at all for licensing campgrounds, there are currently no guidelines available that would provide uniformity in licensing throughout the province?

Hon. Mr. Grossman: Mr. Speaker, I am aware of the misunderstanding of the honourable member. I think what the people out there have failed to grasp is that our licence added nothing to either standardization or supervision of the campgrounds in this province. It was merely an indication from this ministry that the campground owner had complied with the requirements of a whole host of other ministries and local authorities. It added nothing, except one more layer of red tape and another fee for the campground owner to pay.

It was our hope that we had reduced the regulatory process and reduced the cost to campground owners of having to go to one more level after they got all the necessary approvals. In other words, we could not turn down an applicant for a campground licence if he or she had received all the other approvals. It was our desire to remove that red tape that caused us to do this.

I am aware there is a lot of misunderstanding out there. I am also aware that many municipalities now have moved into a

field which they were always free to move into, and many had moved into, in terms of laying down licensing fees and new rules and regulations. That is causing some concern.

I seek the honourable member's advice on this. If our returning to the field would moderate that situation, I would be happy to consider it. But I see no instance in which municipalities, having become aware of the power they have always had, would withdraw if we re-entered the field.

Mr. Eakins: I am not suggesting the ministry return to the field. But the confusion on this issue is the result of two factors. First, the Municipal Act currently is being studied to clarify the sections dealing with campgrounds. Second, guidelines currently are being drafted by the Ministry of Housing to assist municipalities in the evaluation of campgrounds. Why would the minister not have waited until these two considerations had been established before getting out of the licensing? Then his ministry might at least have remained as a guiding force for both the municipalities and the campgrounds, rather than creating this period of uncertainty. I would ask the minister, what liaison will his ministry be playing in this period of transition?

Hon. Mr. Grossman: Our field staff are dealing directly with that problem to try to provide advice and assistance, as they always had done, to the campground owners throughout the province to help them through this period. We are also working with the other ministries to ensure that the rules and regulations brought along through standardization are realistic for the sake of the campground owners.

Mr. Mancini: Mr. Speaker, since many small municipalities in Ontario do not have the resources which are necessary to prepare themselves to issue these licences or to prepare bylaws, would his ministry be willing to prepare a draft bylaw that could be sent to all the municipalities which might request such a bylaw?

Hon. Mr. Grossman: Mr. Speaker, the Ministry of Intergovernmental Affairs is working on that specific project right now with our guidance and assistance.

GENERAL MOTORS LAYOFF

Mr. Swart: Mr. Speaker, my question is for the Minister of Industry and Tourism. It concerns the announcement by General Motors that 750 employees in its St. Catharines plant will be laid off indefinitely.

I would ask the minister whether he is aware that this layoff, following one of 300 or so last fall, is a result of even lower than anticipated sales of V-8 engines? Does he know that GM has left St. Catharines as the only GM plant in North America producing this dying breed of engines? In its projection for employment it anticipated that half the engine employees would continue to be producing these V-8s. In the light of this dying position of that sector of the engine plant in St. Catharines, would the minister meet immediately with GM to insist that some of the future North American production of small engines, in addition to the V-6, be switched to the St. Catharines engine plant?

Hon. Mr. Grossman: Mr. Speaker, may I say that the member's information is not quite accurate. First, this is not the only GM plant in North America making V-8 engines. There are two other plants in North America making V-8 engines. Second, there is obviously some sort of market left for V-8 engines; I don't know quite where it is, or who is buying them, but GM—

Mr. Swart: But it is much lower than for the smaller engines.

Hon. Mr. Grossman: There is no question about it. But in terms of what we have seen other companies do in other situations, it is in a relatively better position. GM had, as an alternative, consolidating all V-8 production into one plant in the United States or in Canada. They have chosen instead to keep all of their V-8 plants operating, admittedly at reduced capacity.

3:00 p.m.

Lost among my Chrysler material is a copy of the news release GM issued this morning confirming that St. Catharines was the subject of a \$250-million new investment program to shift the construction of some of its works there that now are becoming outdated, into front-end transmission and other works. That is \$250 million worth of new light vehicles going into the St. Catharines operation, which I think is a sign of GM's continued commitment to St. Catharines and that this province is still getting some good share of the new investment for the lighter vehicles. So it is not all bad for St. Catharines.

Mr. Swart: May I inform the minister that we know of this \$250-million expenditure, but it still will not make up anything like our fair share here in Canada, in Ontario and St. Catharines.

Does the minister not realize it is becoming more and more obvious that the four-

cylinder engine is going to be the engine of the future? Therefore, does he not realize that by letting the new small-engine production slip away to the United States—and it is all slipping away to the United States—he is dooming our auto industry to an even more inferior position and is selling out the auto workers?

Can we expect a comprehensive statement from the minister in the very near future with major proposals to ensure there will be a healthy auto industry in this province in the future?

Hon. Mr. Grossman: That was a terrific speech.

Interjections.

Hon. Mr. Grossman: It could be as successful as putting toilet paper on his desk. I am not sure.

I am afraid I am not going to take responsibility for letting the four-cylinder engine production slip away to the United States. I admit to having a very modest degree of power over here but I suspect that, even if the member saw the day when he was over here, it would be beyond even his capacity to make the decisions for GM with regard to letting the four-cylinder engine plant slip away to the United States.

Mr. Peterson: That is the first humble remark you have ever made.

Hon. Mr. Grossman: I am trying it on. It is like contact lenses.

May I say that the member's seatmate immediately in front of him has just received a copy of the speech I referred to earlier where I did address some of the major problems that our auto parts and auto industries are facing. Chief amongst those remarks was the announcement that we are creating an auto parts technical centre at the Ontario Research Foundation to provide the sort of research and development assistance that the Canadian-owned auto parts industry needs to keep up with the changes in the industry. It will amount to quite a substantial financial commitment by this government to the Ontario Research Foundation and will directly assist the auto parts industry in this province to keep abreast of new technology, research and development and innovation.

Mr. Bradley: Mr. Speaker, could the minister inform the House whether the officials of the Economic Development Fund have had discussions with General Motors within the last year and a half regarding the provision of funds for an expansion of the plant in St. Catharines? If they have had these discussions,

could the minister reveal what the job guarantees would be in regard to those discussions?

Hon. Mr. Grossman: No, we have not, Mr. Speaker.

RELEASE ON LOOSENED WARRANT

Mr. Van Horne: Mr. Speaker, a question to the Attorney General: Given the growing concern in many Ontario communities that murderers and rapists who are classified as criminally insane and who have been committed to indefinite detention in a mental hospital under a Lieutenant Governor's warrant can be treated and released under a loosened warrant and then can proceed to terrorize more innocent victims, can the minister assure this House and the people of Ontario that such patients judged to be fit for release will be kept under some kind of surveillance by police and medical authorities?

Hon. Mr. McMurtry: Mr. Speaker, it would be helpful if the honourable member could be specific. For example, I was in London last week, and I know there is a considerable amount of concern about the release from one of the federal penitentiaries of an individual. I believe he was convicted of murder prior to a period of incarceration and there was another similar offence within the prison. I gather this is not the situation the honourable member is talking about: where an individual has been found not guilty by reason of insanity, is confined to the hospital at Penetanguishene and at some point is released.

I want to make sure, having heard so much about the situation in London last week, that I understand the question. Are we talking about a release from a penitentiary? That, of course, is a matter within the jurisdiction of the federal government. Or are we talking about, as I think the member said, a loosened warrant for someone who has been found not guilty by reason of insanity? I can tell the honourable member a great deal of care goes into the decision-making process with respect to the board. The board comes under the Ministry of Health, because we are talking about people who have been confined to mental institutions.

I would be happy to describe what I know about the process in order to assure the honourable member that a great deal of care is taken before the release of anyone from a mental hospital pursuant to what the member quite properly describes as a loosened warrant. There is a board made up of psychiatrists who have no association with the particular inmates. It is chaired by a former judge or a judge of the Supreme Court of Ontario.

Mr. Van Horne: This is a serious matter, and I would like to go back to the minister's assumption that I am concerned about the care given to the process of release. That was not the question. The question is about the surveillance of these people, after they are released, for the good of those citizens who are possibly innocent victims.

Let me further point out to the minister that there was a study of 206 male patients discharged from Ontario's maximum-security mental health centres which showed a 46 per cent failure rate. If that group is so concerned about the process through which they are released, that had better be reviewed. But, beyond that, what is the minister doing with the failure rate?

Hon. Mr. McMurtry: I would be interested in knowing more about that study, because that figure of 46 per cent is much much higher than any figures I have heard. The figures I have heard in the past have been closer to 10 per cent. Police forces are obviously interested in matters such as this, but there are certain practical limitations with respect to the type of surveillance that I think is being suggested by the member. For example, is the member talking about somebody who has been released from a mental institution having a police officer following him around 24 hours a day?

3:10 p.m.

WESTINGHOUSE CANADA

Mr. Mackenzie: Mr. Speaker, a question of the Minister of Labour: Given the clear evidence, as outlined in the Ontario Labour Relations Board decision, that Westinghouse Canada, with deliberate and premeditated planning from head office USA, connived to move its Hamilton operations to escape the union, will the minister now order the company to retain the Hamilton operation? In the event of a plant move, will the minister now recognize the need for tough legislation which would require the extension of bargaining rights in any existing collective agreements, as these were the obvious major shortcomings in the labour board decision?

Hon. Mr. Elgie: Mr. Speaker, if I may answer one part first, no, I do not have the power or the authority to order Westinghouse to do anything of the nature the member has suggested.

Second, I have some reservations about commenting on the judgement when we still do not know whether there is going to be an appeal. But assuming the judgement is upheld, I recall a discussion we had in

estimates last year when the member was very pessimistic about the possibility of any resolution which would be appropriate to problems such as this. I indicated to the member that I believed we had set up a democratic process in our Labour Relations Act to allow resolution of problems.

If the judgement we have seen in the past two days is upheld, I think it is good proof of what I said to the member in December, and I say it again: It is apparent now that we have the means to resolve problems in a democratic process. I do not know why the member is suggesting something else needs to be done when it should be apparent to him the process is there, it is one that works and it has been demonstrated to work.

The other matter the member raised had to do with the rights of the union in the dislocated plants. I am sure the member knows it has been the view of this government that workers in new plants should make whatever decision they feel is appropriate.

Mr. Mackenzie: That leaves a lot open, but let me ask, is the minister aware of the reported intent of the company to go to court? Is the minister prepared to fight any company appeal of this decision in the court so that the workers do not have to go through the same thing that Radio Shack workers had to go through, and to ensure compliance with the board order?

Hon. Mr. Elgie: No, I am not aware of any appeal having been filed. If it is filed, then the board is represented by counsel, as are the parties to the action, and that is the way in a democracy.

Ms. Gigantes: Mr. Speaker, I would like to ask the minister, since in this case the judgement was based on the fact that the board had available to it a written document from the executive of the company which indicated guilt clear and simple, in black and white, does he expect in every case of this kind the board will be able to make a judgement without such a memo?

If the minister considers this precedent so important, how is the precedent going to be helpful unless we have a memo in each and every such case? We need legislation.

Hon. Mr. Elgie: Mr. Speaker, in answer to the suggestion of the member for Carleton East, I would hope that every time a decision is made by anyone, whether it is a minister, a judge or a jury, he bases it upon facts. That is the essence of our system of justice in this country. All of the facts may vary and the evidence available

may vary. I think we have shown we have a good system of labour relations in this province.

LEGAL AID FOR OMB HEARING

Mr. Bradley: A question for the Attorney General, Mr. Speaker: In view of the fact that the Preservation of Agricultural Land Society has received from the Ontario Legal Aid Plan a legal aid certificate for up to \$40,000 to assist in fighting its case involved in the Ontario Municipal Board hearings over the urban boundaries in Niagara north, and in view of the fact the city of St. Catharines has expended some \$109,000 and the city solicitor has asked for another \$100,000 to fight these hearings, will the minister inform the House whether the legal aid plan or the provincial government would be prepared to reimburse the municipalities to the same tune as they have the Preservation of Agricultural Land Society for fighting the case before the OMB?

Hon. Mr. McMurtry: Mr. Speaker, I think the honourable member fully appreciates that the Ontario Legal Aid Plan is administered pursuant to legislation passed by this assembly. It is given the responsibility of administering the Ontario Legal Aid Act. So I cannot assist the member either in relation to what decision was made by the clinical funding committee in relation to this particular certificate, and given the independence of the administration of the plan, obviously I cannot speak on behalf of the Law Society of Upper Canada in this respect.

Mr. Bradley: If this aid cannot be forthcoming from the Ontario Legal Aid Plan, will the minister consult with one of his cabinet colleagues, either the Treasurer (Mr. F. S. Miller) or perhaps the Minister of the Intergovernmental Affairs (Mr. Wells), to determine whether the funds can be provided to these municipalities, which are expending taxpayers' dollars to defend a position in which they believe?

Hon. Mr. McMurtry: There is nothing to prevent the member from asking the question of the Treasurer. I must admit I have other concerns that I am more likely to be troubling the Treasurer about.

Mr. Swart: Mr. Speaker, given that the amount being provided by legal aid is only a small fraction, perhaps one tenth of the money that the taxpayers in the region are having to provide for the other side, and in view of the fact that legal aid generally is considered to give somewhat of an even contest—some balance—and some legal rights to those who do

not have the power to raise money willy-nilly, will he not agree this would be the kind of a circumstance where this aid is appropriate and has rightly been given through legal aid? Will he not agree that the municipalities, which already get assistance from the provincial government in a variety of ways, should have some provincial funding to help them out now?

Hon. Mr. McMurtry: Mr. Speaker, I am not sure I understand the question other than I assume there has been the suggestion from the Liberal Party that the Ontario Legal Aid Plan has been overgenerous in relation to this certificate. That is what I infer from the question. I assume the New Democratic Party feels that the legal aid plan has not been generous enough. I invite both the members who have asked questions to communicate their concerns to those who are responsible for the administration of the Ontario Legal Aid Plan, and who are the individuals who have been given the mandate of this Legislature to administer the plan.

Mr. Hall: Mr. Speaker, on the same matter, bearing in mind that these hearings have to do with the appeal against a cabinet decision, and inasmuch as there are many individual property owners, either inside or outside the urban area boundaries, who are going to be affected by this and do not have the opportunity to raise money willy-nilly as the member for Welland-Thorold suggests, I ask the minister if, in his opinion, it would not be fair to provide equity by also seeing to it, if the funds are given to the one group, that the individual should also be recognized, if indeed that is the policy as he sees it?

Hon. Mr. McMurtry: Again, Mr. Speaker, these are questions that might properly be directed towards the legal aid funding committee so far as their policy is concerned. I do not think there is anything further I can add to the questions I have already answered, other than to say that I do know the funding committee views these applications on the merits of each particular case. If the honourable member wants more information about the decision that was made by the legal aid plan in this particular case, I will be happy to obtain it for him.

Mr. Swart: On a point of order, Mr. Speaker—

Mr. Speaker: There is nothing out of order.

Mr. Swart: There is something out of order. May I point out that this is not an appeal to a cabinet decision whatsoever that is taking place down there.

Mr. Speaker: That's not a point of order. With all respect, it's not a point of order.
3:20 p.m.

INQUEST ON FIREFIGHTERS' DEATHS

Mr. Philip: Mr. Speaker, has the Solicitor General had an opportunity to examine the recommendations of the coroner's jury on the tragic death of three firefighters at the Kimberly-Clark plant? In particular, can the minister tell the House what his ministry will be doing to implement the specific recommendation that there be a more effective training program that would instruct firefighters in fighting industrial fires?

Hon. Mr. McMurtry: Mr. Speaker, I have not yet seen those recommendations. I will be reviewing the recommendations of the coroner's jury. I will be discussing them with the fire marshal, and I will report back to the honourable member.

Mr. Philip: Is the minister prepared at this point to reconsider the position he took in a letter to me on February 21? In it he refused to adopt the system of sending coroner's recommendations to MPPs on those inquests affecting their constituents, on the grounds that he has only one staff member handling the follow-ups and does not have adequate financing to hire an additional staff person. If he is not prepared to reconsider, what assurance do we have that this one lonely staff person in his ministry will do the appropriate follow-up and put the appropriate pressure on his own ministry so that the kinds of recommendations that have been adopted in the Kimberly-Clark instance will be implemented by the Solicitor General?

Hon. Mr. McMurtry: To repeat what I said when this was discussed in the Solicitor General's estimates at the end of last year, we will continue to assure the honourable member, and the Legislature generally, that these recommendations will be followed up, as they are at present.

BOARD OF OPHTHALMIC DISPENSERS

Mr. Conway: Mr. Speaker, my question is to the Minister of Health, if I might have his attention.

His response to my colleague the member for Ottawa East (Mr. Roy) concerning the Board of Ophthalmic Dispensers, on March 25, 1980, was, "I can assure the member that the present makeup of the [Board of Ophthalmic Dispensers], which is larger than

the board was when I found it three years ago, is less connected in any way to the particular firm [Imperial Optical] to which he makes reference . . . " Is the minister aware that the just-retired chairman of the board says this statement is "the most ridiculous statement I have ever heard"?

Is the minister aware, and can he confirm or deny, that five of the 10 members of the Board of Ophthalmic Dispensers are at present working with, or in one case just retired from, Imperial Optical? Is he aware this is quite unlike how he found the board three years ago when he became minister, when not five but only one of eight members were connected with Imperial Optical?

Hon. Mr. Timbrell: Mr. Speaker, I do not have the complete list with me, but my recollection is that it is something in the order of two or three people who at one time or another have had some connection, some business dealings, with the firm in question.

I guess I would have to say at the outset that the honourable member, in framing his question the way he has, seems to have decided that any association with that firm is tantamount to some form of criminal activity.

The fact remains that the firm in question is a very large one, one that has had a very large role for a great period of time in that industry. We have recently enlarged the board to add a number of independents to try to ensure it has as diverse a membership as possible.

I asked the current chairman of the Board of Ophthalmic Dispensers why the former chairman would say that. I am not sure, but that is his business. He hasn't said that to me. I am intrigued that the honourable member would make the kinds of assumptions he seems to have made. If he has any specific allegations to make, I would be glad to look into them. But I believe—

Interjections.

Mr. Speaker: The time for oral questions expired one and a half minutes ago.

Hon. Mr. Timbrell: On a point of privilege, Mr. Speaker: Could I complete my answer?

Mr. Speaker: If you want to complete it, instead of listening to interjections.

Hon. Mr. Timbrell: I have no choice but to listen to them, Mr. Speaker. They are supposedly honourable members; that is, the members making the interjections. Those members who were not making them should not get upset.

Mr. Speaker: The time for oral questions has expired.

Mr. Conway: On a point of privilege, Mr. Speaker.

Mr. Speaker: I doubt that you have one, but I'll let you place it.

Mr. Conway: I do believe I have a point of privilege, Mr. Speaker. I think the Minister of Health would wish to withdraw the imputation that in my question there was any suggestion of criminality in the association of Imperial Optical with the Board of Ophthalmic Dispensers. I think the honourable minister would wish to withdraw that imputation.

Mr. Speaker: The member for Scarborough-Ellesmere (Mr. Warner).

Mr. Nixon: On a point of privilege, Mr. Speaker: Surely it is your responsibility to respond to that. It was clearly indicated that the member felt the reference was tantamount to criminal activity.

Mr. Speaker: I did not get that. I will have to look at the record.

YOUTH ASSISTING YOUTH

Mr. Warner: Mr. Speaker, I believe my privileges as a member have run afoul because of the Minister of Community and Social Services (Mr. Norton). He may have not only misled me—and I leave it to your discretion—but also the agency of an important social program in the province.

On April 21, in this House I asked him a question with respect to a program called Youth Assisting Youth. I asked him, "Will you give us an answer before April 30? Yes or no?" The minister responded: "Of course I will, if that's the deadline. I will give the agency an answer."

I am informed by his staff that, as of today, which is beyond April 30, there is no decision and that it will come later. I submit that the minister has caused a serious problem for that program and that agency, as well as misleading me and the House.

Hon. Mr. Norton: Mr. Speaker, I will immediately check into that. The decision has been made. The answer is no, and I understood my staff had communicated that to that agency. We already fund that agency in the amount of approximately \$31,000.

It is my understanding that Metropolitan Toronto has agreed to contribute to the funding of it. There is a shortfall of something like \$7,000 in community support. As I suggested to the honourable member at the time when

he raised the question, I think someone with his influence in the community could head up a fund-raising campaign and raise \$7,000.

Mr. Warner: The minister said he would give me an answer, and he did not.

Hon. Mr. Norton: I will check to see whether the decision was communicated. The decision was made, and I asked my staff to communicate it to the agency.

VACANT LAND CONDOMINIUMS

Mr. Wildman: Mr. Speaker, I have a point of privilege, which I hope you will rule on. There appear to be contradictions in the written answer tabled in this House by the Minister of Consumer and Commercial Relations (Mr. Drea). There are statements which contradict previous statements by his predecessor and which leave me and other members of this House in a very difficult position in determining the ministry's position.

I am referring specifically to the answer to question 111, tabled in this House on April 24, in which the minister stated that he was unable to provide, as was requested in the question, working papers that his ministry had produced in developing the concept of vacant land condominiums for an amendment to the Condominium Act.

Mr. Speaker: Is the honourable member objecting to the fact that the policy has changed?

Mr. Wildman: No, Mr. Speaker.

Mr. Speaker: Would the honourable member please get to his point of privilege?

3:30 p.m.

Mr. Wildman: Mr. Speaker, the point is that his predecessor stated in October 1978, in testimony before the standing committee on the administration of justice, that his ministry had been working on that concept for 60 days and that he was quite prepared to table to the committee, and provide to me personally, those working papers. When I did not receive them I subsequently wrote to the present minister who said he would live up to the commitments of his predecessor.

I wrote and asked for them and I still have not received them. I put a question on the Order Paper asking for them and he stated in his answer that there were no working papers. How can his predecessor say there are working papers and this minister say there are none?

Hon. Mr. Drea: Mr. Speaker, if the honourable member wants to know what the

policy is, may I humbly suggest that he stand up and ask the question. In a written question he asked me to produce all the working documents that I had. I do not have any working documents. I do not operate with working papers. I make decisions in other ways.

Mr. Van Horne: Mr. Speaker, in the same vein as the point of privilege raised by the member for Scarborough-Ellesmere, when a member asks a question of a minister and the minister responds that he will look into it or check into it and respond, and two or three weeks go by, is it proper for us to redirect the question or should we wait? In other words, is there anything in the standing orders that would give direction to a time limit on this?

On April 10 I asked a question of the Minister of Industry and Tourism (Mr. Crossman) and on April 18 I asked one of the Minister of Health (Mr. Timbrell). Both indicated they would respond and they have not done so.

Mr. Speaker: There is a time restriction with regard to written questions that are placed to a minister. There is none that I am aware of with regard to an oral question, but if a minister makes a commitment and has forgotten, perhaps it would be useful if the member reminded him that he did make that commitment.

Mr. Van Horne: Would this then serve as notice, Mr. Speaker?

Mr. Speaker: I would certainly hope so.

Mr. Van Horne: Thank you.

CONFEDERATION DEBATE

Mr. Speaker: Honourable members will note that they have received a copy of a background paper on the future of Confederation. This paper was prepared for the use of members by the research service of the library in anticipation of next week's debate on the constitution.

I can also report to the House that the legislative library research service will be preparing and distributing a summary report of highlights of the Confederation debate after each sitting. The purpose of this summary report will be to keep members informed of the major points raised during the course of the debate in order to promote better continuity. It is not, of course, intended as a verbatim report of speeches but simply to help the members.

PETITION

MANITOBA LEGISLATURE PROCEEDINGS

Ms. Bryden: I have a petition to the Legislative Assembly signed by Mr. Guy Babineau, who lives in my riding, requesting that the Ontario Legislature ask the federal government to submit the following question to the Supreme Court of Canada:

"Does the fact that the acts of the Legislative Assembly of Manitoba are assented, printed and published in the English language only render those acts void and in-operative?"

Mr. Babineau submits this petition as part of his continuing effort to obtain full equality for both the French and English languages in the legislatures and courts of all provinces in Canada.

REPORTS

STANDING COMMITTEE ON RESOURCES DEVELOPMENT

Mr. Villeneuve from the standing committee on resources development presented the following resolution:

That supply in the following amounts and to defray the expenses of the Ministry of Energy be granted to Her Majesty for the fiscal year ending March 31, 1981:

Ministry administration program, \$1,934,000; conventional energy program, \$2,786,000; renewable energy program, \$6,971,000; energy conservation program, \$17,552,000; regulatory affairs program, \$1,465,000.

STANDING COMMITTEE ON GENERAL GOVERNMENT

Mr. Cureatz from the standing committee on general government presented the following report and moved its adoption:

Your committee begs to report the following bills without amendment:

Bill Pr11, An Act respecting the City of Brantford;

Bill Pr22, An Act respecting Crossroads Christian Communications Incorporated;

Bill Pr24, An Act respecting the Borough of Scarborough.

Your committee would recommend that the fees plus the actual cost of printing be re-mitted on Bill Pr22, An Act respecting Crossroads Christian Communications Incorporated.

Report adopted.

INTRODUCTION OF BILLS

HIGHWAY TRAFFIC AMENDMENT ACT

Hon. Mr. Snow moved first reading of Bill 65, An Act to amend the Highway Traffic Act.

Motion agreed to.

MONTREAL TRUST COMPANY OF CANADA ACT

Mr. McCaffrey moved first reading of Bill Pr7, An Act respecting Montreal Trust Company and Montreal Trust Company of Canada.

Motion agreed to.

EMPLOYMENT STANDARDS AMENDMENT ACT

Mr. Mackenzie moved first reading of Bill 66, An Act to amend the Employment Standards Act, 1974.

Motion agreed to.

Mr. Mackenzie: Mr. Speaker, the purpose of this bill is to require that no employer shall require that any portion of the tips or other gratuities paid to waiters or waitresses will be other than their own property, unless they make the decision themselves.

CITY OF HAMILTON ACT

Mr. Mackenzie moved first reading of Bill Pr27, An Act respecting the City of Hamilton.

Motion agreed to.

ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS ON NOTICE PAPER

Hon. Mr. Wells: Mr. Speaker, before the orders of the day I would like to table the answers to questions 64, 73, 74, 75, 90, 121, 127 and 129, and the interim answers to questions 122, 126 and 128 standing on the Notice Paper. (See Appendix A, page 1347.)

CONFEDERATION DEBATE

Hon. Mr. Wells moved resolution 10:

That this House approves the radio and television broadcasting of proceedings on orders of the day in both languages of the House from May 5 to May 9, on the basis of principles similar to those that govern the publication of the printed official reports of debates; and that Mr. Speaker make the necessary arrangements for such coverage in both languages of the House with simultaneous translation; and that, notwithstanding the standing orders and practices of the House, leave be given to Mr. Davis, jointly seconded by Mr. Smith (Hamilton West) and Mr. Cassidy, to have a resolution respecting

the constitution, to be tabled today, stand on the Notice Paper in both languages of the House in the name of all three leaders; and that the House be authorized to sit, in addition to its usual sittings, next Monday night from 8 p.m. to 10:30 p.m., next Wednesday from 2 p.m. to 6 p.m. without routine proceedings and, on motion, next Thursday from 10 a.m. to 1 p.m.; and that private members' business next Thursday be deferred one week; and that next Monday night, Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday any speaker on the resolution with respect to the constitution be limited to 20 minutes in length for purposes of accommodating wide participation in the debate.

Resolution concurred in.

3:40 p.m.

Hon. Mr. Wells: Mr. Speaker, that motion having been passed, I will now table with the Clerk in English and en français the motion for the Confederation debate.

ORDERS OF THE DAY

PRIVATE MEMBERS' PUBLIC BUSINESS

DISASTER RELIEF FUND

Mr. G. I. Miller moved resolution 13:

That in the opinion of this House the government of Ontario should set up a permanent relief program to provide grants and low-interest loans to individuals and communities for severe damage and loss due to natural disasters, and that this assistance be handled by municipalities in organized areas and by a ministry in areas not organized.

Mr. G. I. Miller: Mr. Speaker, it certainly is a pleasure to speak in support of the resolution. I would like to give members a little background on the reason behind it. In 1974, a member of the council of the city of Nanticoke was trying to sell the possibility of setting up a lottery fund in Ontario. He finally sold the council of the city of Nanticoke on supporting this resolution to the province of Ontario. Since that time the lottery fund has come into existence, but it wasn't utilized in the manner suggested by the original designer of the lottery.

Mr. Wildman: Mr. Speaker, a point of order.

Mr. Speaker: What could possibly be the member's point of order?

Mr. Wildman: Mr. Speaker, there is nothing in the resolution that mentions lotteries. Are we discussing lotteries or the resolution?

Mr. Speaker: It is the honourable member's resolution. Surely he should be given sufficient freedom to discuss why he saw fit to bring in the resolution.

Mr. G. I. Miller: Back in October 1977 my colleague the member for Brant-Oxford-Norfolk (Mr. Nixon) introduced a similar resolution. At that time he also suggested that an emergency relief and disaster fund should be established, financed by portions of the lottery revenues.

Since that time there have been numerous floods and a tornado, not to mention the disastrous blue mould on tobacco plants which occurred in our district of southwestern Ontario. Yet the government has persisted in taking an ad hoc approach to the assistance of individuals in communities where natural disasters, such as wind storms, floods, fire and hail, have caused damage that could not adequately be met by regular insurance procedures.

Only last Monday night the Minister of Agriculture and Food (Mr. Henderson) was down to Tillsonburg. Through the Ontario insurance program I think 1,200 farmers received something like \$38 million from the public treasury. While there were 2,600 producers in the area, 1,400 of those producers were not able to receive any assistance except by way of a loan at one per cent over the prime rate. We all know what that would do to them at the high interest rates of today.

Frequently, there is particular difficulty in obtaining government and even community assistance when these disasters affect only a few families. What we need is a widely recognized and well coordinated approach to these matters, whether they involve many hundreds of people or just a few.

I would like to point out as an example in our area that Port Maitland, a small community on the mouth of the Grand River on Lake Erie, has been flooded out four times since I have been a member of this Legislature. We have discussed this with the Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs, through the local council, and there has been no assistance made available up to this time.

Surely it is time that Ontario had a clear financial program for the designation of disaster situations, a program whereby citizens directly affected could have immediate assistance. How can there possibly be any question about the need for a disaster relief fund to help communities devastated by a tornado which has left in its wake destruction and even death? One went through the Woodstock, Scotland and Waterford areas only last summer.

When a tornado strikes, homes are damaged, greenhouses are smashed, trees are toppled and crops are flattened. In rare instances, livestock and human lives are lost. I would like to point out that about 200 head of livestock were lost in that tornado last summer and 20 homes that were used for the workers, who weren't able to qualify for assistance. I brought that to the attention of the Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs because apparently about \$6 million remains in that fund, which has been oversubscribed from that tornado and not all of the money has been used.

Most of us welcome the spring of the year, but to some Ontarians the season means the danger of spring thaws, swollen flood waters, shoreline erosion, incredible loss and damage to property. We have experienced that many times with the Grand River coming through the Brant and Haldimand-Norfolk areas, and it has done considerable damage over the years. Not only that, the Thames River near Dresden flooded only last year. The Ganaraska River at Port Hope, this year was another example of what flooding rivers can do.

For years we have been aware of the possible dangers to farm crops from weather conditions, not to mention disease and pests. What happened with the blue mould comes into this category. Blue mould has been termed the number one enemy of the tobacco producers. This fungus disease caused losses to the North American tobacco crop last year totalling \$242 million, including a 30 per cent crop loss in Canada valued at \$90 million. By late July and early August, it had spread in epidemic proportions throughout the heart of southern Ontario's tobacco growing area.

The United States legislation on disaster relief defines an emergency as any hurricane, tornado, storm, flood, high water, wind-driven water, tidal wave, tsunami, earthquake, volcanic eruption, landslide, mudslide, snowstorm, drought, fire, explosion or other catastrophe. A major disaster means similar occurrences which are considered to have caused damage of sufficient severity and magnitude to warrant major disaster assistance above and beyond emergency services.

The legislation expresses a need to issue timely disaster warnings and, in the area of agriculture in the US legislation, it is intended to assist farmers who are prevented from planting any portion of the farm acreage allotment or who suffer substantial loss on planted acres because of drought, flood or other natural disaster or conditions beyond the control of the producer to protect against economi-

cally injurious plant and animal diseases or pests and to share the cost of approved emergency conservation measures. It is intended to provide assistance to prevent widespread liquidation or undue severe culling of livestock because of natural disaster.

The development and management of certain publicly and privately owned resources are covered, and assistance is provided in the aftermath of a natural disaster for the clean-up operation and the repair of electrification and telephone services. In addition, provision is made for the removal of damaged timber. Only last Monday night, as I drove down to Tillsonburg to a meeting of the chamber of commerce, we went through the tornado area. Those wood lots certainly need a lot of work; they are full of tin, metal, et cetera. It is hard to believe the damage caused by that tornado last summer to the wood lots in that particular area.

3:50 p.m.

Business repair loans, economic injury loans and product loss loans are also covered. The legislation mentions the provision of temporary communication facilities in disaster areas when these have been severely disrupted, the removal of debris and wreckage, the provision of emergency flood-lighting and rescue operations, and the supply of food and water, including mass feeding and shelter services.

Protection of life and property are covered, as are evacuation and search and rescue operations, including temporary public transportation services, victim identification, water supply equipment and fire-suppression assistance.

Provision is made for bank protection of highways, high bridges, essential public works, churches, hospitals, schools and other nonprofit public services endangered by flood-caused erosion, not to mention control of beach and soil erosion to public shores, flood control projects, flood plain management and watershed protection. We have municipalities for which we have tried to get assistance, such as Port Dover, where the foundations of 40 or 50 homes are being eroded because of the high water levels in the lake. There are also municipal roads and the municipal sewage system within a few hundred feet of the lake bank. There do not seem to be any programs available to give assistance to protect homes and protect the assessment that lies within that area.

The legislation covers the establishment of public health controls, the protection of the general public from contamination by unsafe

food and drugs and the establishment of health, medical and sanitary services.

Home repair loans are also covered and financed, and there is financing of mobile home purchases for home disaster victims. Rural housing is specifically mentioned, including assistance to farm owners and other home owners in rural areas for the replacement or repair of dwellings and related facilities damaged or destroyed by natural disaster. Temporary housing facilities are also mentioned.

In addition, the United States legislation covers individual and family grants, legal services, tax information, unemployment insurance, building damage research, emergency medical services, emergency operating standards, school construction, school maintenance and operation assistance, and numerous other subjects.

The House will realize from what I have said that the United States legislation is quite comprehensive. Surely the people of Ontario are entitled to the same kind of assistance as is available to our neighbours to the south. Their needs are no greater than ours on a per capita basis.

The provincial government has dragged its feet far too long on this question. Meanwhile, Ontarians have been forced to struggle against tremendous odds to rebuild their lives, which have been severely affected by natural disasters and circumstances entirely beyond their control. Obviously this is quite a complicated matter, and there will be some reservations about the establishment of a disaster relief fund. I know we have discussed it many times. Perhaps the government will put up some strong opposition.

Its administration needs to be considered very carefully. The cost factor has to be taken into account as well as the question of individual insurance coverage.

I would like to point out that it is not intended to be construed as an alternative to individual insurance coverages. That is not the intent of the resolution at all. I would be foolish to promote that. It would be additional and strictly for disaster cases.

Nevertheless, events in recent years have made it clear that some kind of disaster assistance program is necessary to help communities and individuals caught up in natural disasters. Certainly some kind of disaster warning system is essential; therefore, I would strongly urge the members of this House to give their support to this resolution, which calls for the establishment of a permanent relief program to provide grants and low-interest loans to individuals and communities for severe damage and loss caused by natural disasters.

We have received some resolutions from various municipalities, and I would like to conclude my portion of the debate by reading this resolution into the record. It came in on April 28 from the town of Dunnville, and it reads as follows:

"That whereas disasters, such as hurricanes, tornadoes, fires, floods and other acts of God frequently strike without warning, causing extensive property damage as well as personal injury and occasionally death;

"and whereas in most cases the victims of such disasters, as well as the municipality, are totally unable to provide the necessary financial assistance to rehabilitate the area and help the unfortunate persons who suffer loss and injury;

"and whereas the source of funds available to municipalities is limited almost entirely to municipal taxation, which is now a tremendous burden on the big majority of the citizens;

"be it therefore resolved that the federal and provincial governments be requested to establish a special reserve fund and adopt a uniform policy or criteria to administer and disburse such fund when disaster strikes."

We have received messages from several other municipalities supporting the resolution that was brought forth by the town of Dunnville in the region of Haldimand-Norfolk.

With those comments, Mr. Speaker, I would like to leave the debate to the opposition members.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: The honourable member has five minutes remaining in his allotted time. Does he wish to reserve any of that?

Mr. G. I. Miller: Yes.

Mr. Wildman: Mr. Speaker, I want to congratulate the member for Haldimand-Norfolk for bringing this matter before the House. I also want to explain my previous intervention.

I was quite prepared, and am still prepared, to discuss what he has to say in his resolution. Unfortunately, though, I am unable at this time to speak to his suggestion that this proposal be financed through lotteries. Since that was not in the resolution as is printed on the Order Paper, I was not prepared to discuss that particular aspect. Frankly, I think that suggestion raises some serious questions which could really affect the overall debate and perhaps get the thrust of it away from what the member intended. I will not speak to that. All I will say is that I have some serious questions about those suggestions in his comments.

The reason I want to participate in this debate is that in the last couple of years I have had some extensive experience with having to persuade the provincial government

to provide funding for communities and individuals, home owners, farmers and small businessmen who have sustained severe damage caused by floods, especially last year in northern Ontario when we experienced very serious flooding and we had to apply for assistance.

I want to make clear that although there was no permanent fund in the particular flooding situations last year in northern Ontario, the provincial government, after some serious prodding by local members from a number of the parties, did respond. They did respond, I will admit, in an ad hoc fashion. Normally, the criterion for their program is a one-to-one cost-sharing basis. For every dollar raised locally, the provincial government will provide one dollar to areas that have been declared disaster areas to assist in compensating people who have sustained damage and to help them make repairs.

4 p.m.

I suppose partly because of the ad hoc nature of this program, the government last year, in the response to the Field flood, agreed to provide \$4 of provincial funding for every \$1 provided locally. That was then extended to the other communities in the north that experienced flooding last year, to the extent that three communities in my riding benefited significantly. Iron Bridge, for instance, received approximately \$79,000, White River and Goulais River each received approximately \$55,000 in provincial funds, matching on a four-to-one basis.

If the member is suggesting in his resolution that a permanent relief fund, if it is set up, would not allow for adjustments in relation to the size of the communities and their ability to raise funds locally, I am afraid I am not in favour of that. The reason is that some small communities, especially small rural communities or small isolated communities in northern Ontario, do not have local industries that are able to contribute funds.

If, however, in his permanent fund proposal he is suggesting there would not be any need for local funding in this program—that is, that all of the compensation and funds to assist in repairs would come from provincial coffers—then I suppose that is no longer a problem. I have some difficulty with the resolution in that it does not spell that out, and I do not think the member himself spelled that out in his comments in leading off the debate.

Personally, as I said, after some prodding, I was satisfied with the response of the staff of the subsidies branch of the Ministry of Intergovernmental Affairs, and I want to congratulate them for their concern and

their hard work in trying to assist the communities in my riding.

However, since this is not a permanent program and is dependent upon the declaration of a disaster, either by the municipality or, in unorganized areas, by the Ministry of Natural Resources, we run into problems where small numbers of people have sustained serious damage but it is not considered an overall disaster for a large area and so the funding is not made available.

In my particular riding, the community of Goulais River this year again experienced flooding, although not nearly to the extent of last year. But home owners who were just recovering from the damage done by last year's flood again experienced flooding this year, and we are running into some problems in persuading the provincial government that we have a disaster again and that they should become involved.

They are saying, "There weren't as many people, as many homes, as many properties involved, and we don't believe it to be a disaster." They may be correct in that, but it is a disaster for the individual people and for the home owners and small businesses involved.

From my view, the main purpose of any permanent relief program must be to ensure that people are able to maintain shelter, that they will have a place to live while repairs are made and that repairs will be made in such a way that they will not suffer long-term damage and inconvenience because of a natural disaster.

I believe those funds must be made available by the province. I also believe we should continue the thrust towards assisting farmers and small businessmen who would have a difficult time in raising the capital to stay in business. They are very important to small communities, not only for themselves, but also for their neighbours and the jobs they provide. I would support the suggestion in the resolution that low-interest loans be made available to farmers and small businessmen.

The one question I have in regard to the comments made by the member for Haldimand-Norfolk, however, is related to his discussion of crop damage. We do have a crop insurance program and, if there is damage caused by weather, drought or too much rain, or a fungus, or some predator and its effect on a crop, there is provision for crop insurance to deal with those kinds of problems. I am not sure we need a permanent disaster relief fund to deal with those kinds of problems. I think they can be dealt with in other ways.

Overall, I believe we have to get into the question of how this kind of program could be administered. Although the resolution says the funds will be administered by municipalities in organized areas, the member does not make provision in it for an approval procedure by a ministry. I think it's obvious we have to have some kind of provincial approval process by which an area is determined to be in need and in which the province is involved. We cannot just leave a permanent fund there to be tapped by a municipality, when and if it thought it desirable, without any real provincial input.

I am also concerned about another aspect of the resolution, especially in my area, where the community of Goulais River is located in an unorganized area. Last year was the first time any such community received assistance under the disaster relief program of the government. I am concerned about what the resolution says about a ministry administering this program in an unorganized area.

We should be more specific. I would think it should be dealt with directly by the Ministry of Intergovernmental Affairs. It should not be the Ministry of Northern Affairs, not because I necessarily have anything against the member for Kenora (Mr. Bernier), but because in the past the Ministry of Northern Affairs has been accused—not by me—of being at times involved in what used to be called, in less enlightened days, pork-barrel politics. I would hope this kind of program would never become anything like that.

I would prefer to have a ministry that is not directly involved in the distribution of grants and funds throughout the unorganized areas involved in something as serious as disaster relief. If the Ministry of Northern Affairs wishes to continue handing out cheques the way it has done in the past for nice little recreation programs or even fire protection programs, then that's fine.

Overall, I support the resolution. I am a little concerned that it is not more detailed in expressing exactly what the member is intending.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: The honourable member's time has expired.

Mr. Wildman: I will support the resolution, but I believe it does not speak to the overall problem we have, which is getting into flood prevention, for which there is very little funding from this government.

Mr. Rowe: Mr. Speaker, just to ease your mind about the order of the speakers on the program, I expect the minister will be here shortly. At his request, we have switched places.

Mr. Foulds: It is a more than adequate substitution.

Mr. Rowe: Thank you very much. I am very much interested in this resolution. I am glad to see this resolution rather than some sort of a private member's bill. I am also in receipt of the resolution by the town of Dunnville which purports to do approximately the same thing as the member's resolution. I might say I have also had support from one of the councils in my area for a resolution such as the one proposed by Dunnville.

This is a rather timely resolution for us to consider as we have experienced several major disasters in Ontario in the past few months.

There was the Woodstock flood, which we all remember; the Mississauga trail derailment; and the severe flooding in Port Hope. I will have more to say about that shortly. The Mississauga train derailment was not what one would call a natural disaster, as referred to in the member's resolution.

Mr. Wildman: Marc Lalonde administered disaster on Port Hope too.

Mr. Rowe: He's more natural. I don't suppose the people who had to evacuate their homes and businesses in Mississauga gave much thought at the time to the cause of the problem. In the urgency of the situation, I believe most people are primarily concerned with basic survival. I also agree that in a well-managed jurisdiction, such as Ontario, the public has every right to expect the maximum degree of protection from disasters and of help in the face of unavoidable actions and occurrences which disrupt their lives.

I refer to Port Hope in my riding. It would be impossible to describe in words the feelings that I and many others experienced as we watched the flood waters destroying homes, recreational facilities, offices, stores, roads, parks and manufacturing facilities that night. As I have described oft-times to individuals, while watching the flood that night there were literally three rivers flowing down through the centre of town, with the odd refrigerator, door and stove floating along down into Lake Ontario.

I might also say that as a result of the 1973 flood, last summer they dug an automobile out of the harbour when they were digging the harbour out. Many strange things can happen when nature runs wild. In fact, many tales of weird sights and events could be told, and have been told, about that night in Port Hope.

4:10 p.m.

However, speaking as an interested eyewitness, I can assure every member of this House that at no time did the residents of

Port Hope and area feel a lack of confidence in the support provided by both their local and provincial governments. Indeed, the very next morning, representatives of various ministries from this government were on the scene. In fact, on the Monday morning, two days later, the Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs (Mr. Wells) himself was there, as was the Deputy Minister of Transportation and Communications and officials of the Ministry of Natural Resources, and so on.

Also, lest we think Port Hope was the only place hit by that rain that day, because of severe damage in many pockets around the whole county of Northumberland—perhaps not enough in every case to declare each individual municipality a disaster area but certainly enough in total to perhaps justify the declaration of the whole area as a disaster area—action has been taken to gather together the total picture. This information is being collected and there will be an application through the county, I am almost certain, for further action similar to what was taken in Port Hope where, of course, it was quite obvious it was a disaster situation.

This prompt action was appreciated and recognized by the council and various organizations in the town. They still express their appreciation to the minister, to myself and to other people who contributed.

In the midst of their tribulations I am sure it was comforting to the people in Mississauga when they got the same prompt attention last year to see the way in which their own municipal officials and members of this government did provide leadership.

I recognize that the basic subject of the resolution we are considering today is not moral support; nor is it leadership in crisis situations. However, it seems to assume that this government does not already have disaster relief programs in place. Let me assure every member of the House that Ontario has very adequate disaster relief programs and that, in spite of everyone's best efforts to prevent disasters, they have been thoroughly tested in the past year at Port Hope, Mississauga, Woodstock, et cetera.

I am happy to report that our programs of assistance to victims of disasters in all these cases have withstood these tests and trials. They have, so to speak, passed with flying colours.

The Ministry of Intergovernmental Affairs already has in place three programs which provide grants and loans to individual municipalities. These are for repair, replacement and protection of property damaged in natural calamities.

First, there is the Ontario Disaster Relief Assistance Program. It is administered, and very capably I might add, by the subsidies branch of that ministry. In the ministry's estimates of 1980-81, this program has allocated a contingency amount of \$404,000. Once the Ontario cabinet has declared a disaster area affecting one or more municipalities, this program is then activated. It gives help on a dollar-for-dollar basis by matching contributions made by the general public, businesses and other municipalities to a local disaster relief committee. This may be dollar for dollar, it may be two for one or three for one, as in the case of Port Hope, or even higher depending upon the seriousness of the situation.

This program is not intended, of course, to be a substitute for adequate insurance coverage. In many cases, such as the flood in Port Hope, it is impossible to buy adequate flood insurance. It is different, however, in cases such as hurricanes, heavy winds and so on, where insurance protection is available, and in those cases—and it does happen quite frequently where severe damage does take place—public money should not be expected to come to the rescue there. When insurance is available, people should be carrying insurance.

This is not a government which tries to foster the illusion that government can do everything for the citizens. But it is a compassionate government, and when disasters strike which cause people to suffer losses so widespread and severe that they cannot possibly cope alone, or with the assistance of the insurance, the Ontario disaster relief program is there to help. I emphasize it is administered by a local relief committee with help, where necessary, from the province.

In the past fiscal year, a total of \$3.5 million was paid to nine disaster committees. In the Port Hope case and in the Woodstock case a provincial disaster relief co-ordinator has been appointed from Intergovernmental Affairs, to help co-ordinate provincial ministry's efforts in providing help to those communities. The field services branch of the ministry is there to help such municipalities clean up immediately after a disaster.

We have other programs in place as well. There is, for example, the special emergency assistance program. It too is administered by the same ministry. Under this program help is available to all communities which have suffered flooding or erosion problems as a result of high water levels in the Great Lakes. The program provides for a provincial grant of 80 per cent of the eligible costs incurred by the municipality in repairing and improv-

ing roads and dikes and pumping flood water from lands for which the municipality is responsible and in constituting protective works to prevent erosion of roads. In the fiscal year of 1979-80, a total of \$450,000 was provided to 21 municipalities under that program.

There is also the shoreline property assistance program. It provides help to owners of shoreline properties in the province which have been or may be damaged by high water levels or the action of ice. It provides a low-interest loan of up to 90 per cent of the cost of repairs and protection. These are repayable through the borrower's property taxes in 20 equal annual instalments of principal and interest. In the past year, a total of well over \$500,000 was lent to 82 applicants under that program.

In addition, provincial financial assistance may also be made available by other ministries. For example, low-interest loans are made to business owners under the Ontario Development Corporation. In Port Hope, those storekeepers and so on who suffered losses which were not covered by insurance are able to borrow money at six per cent, with the balance being subsidized through that program.

The Ministry of Transportation and Communications may assist municipalities to repair public roads and bridges and so forth, and that is in addition to what was normally budgeted for that particular community.

There is no question that these programs are functioning and quite adequately. This government is providing the leadership and the material support Ontarians have a right to expect. It is doing so without—

Mr. Acting Speaker: The honourable member's time has expired.

Mr. Rowe: I have the same reservations about the resolution introduced by the honourable member as the member for Algoma (Mr. Wildman) expressed as to how it finally would be administered. But it is worthy of consideration, and I thank the House for the opportunity to express these few thoughts.

Mr. Ruston: Mr. Speaker, I wish to take part in the resolution this afternoon standing in the name of my colleague from Haldimand-Norfolk, with regard to disaster areas.

In speaking on resolution 11, I feel compelled to enlighten the members of the Legislature and the government about a recent disaster in the town of Essex which has caused a great deal of damage.

An impaired driver of an automobile crashed into a natural gas meter and plunged his car through a store wall. About 30 minutes later a great explosion occurred at 2:15

in the morning, and left a town block in ruins.

The resolution we are speaking to today refers to natural disasters. How does one define "natural"? I suppose an impaired driver behind the wheel of a car could be expected to lose control of his car, because the natural thing when impaired is to do that. We have records to prove that, and a report of the Ministry of Transportation and Communications shows the number of accidents that happen from impaired driving.

It is rather an odd way to put it, but I guess if somebody is going to get drunk then the natural thing for him to do if he is driving a car would be that. I may be stretching the point a little bit, but it is an interesting way of looking at it.

The town of Essex sent the mayor and the clerk-treasurer and one councillor to meet with the Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs and his officials. However, the minister did not show up. The delegates were disappointed, but they met with staff of the subsidies branch and the parliamentary assistant. They were given some encouragement as to the possibility of aid through the Ontario Development Corporation for low-interest loans at a possible six per cent. There was some question as to how the matching fund grant might be applied. This was to be decided by the cabinet. In this case there were only three small apartments included in the stores, and all the rest was a commercial area.

4:20 p.m.

To this date there has been no decision as to a designation of the area and, in answer to my questions of April 17 and April 24, the minister passed them on to the Minister of Industry and Tourism (Mr. Grossman) for a review by the Ontario Development Corporation. The problem with the present system as compared to the resolution we are dealing with today is we would at least have a fund set up and a group aware of the serious situations wherever they may be and able to take action immediately.

The recent flood in Port Hope, as was mentioned by the previous speaker, was so designated and six per cent interest loans were made available to businessmen rebuilding and purchasing inventory. We realize, however, that there is some question as to similarity in Essex, as in most cases one cannot obtain insurance for loss from flooding.

The town of Essex has set up a disaster relief committee to raise funds, and up to the present time a little more than \$20,000 has

been received. In this particular case, a cheque from the city of Detroit Rotary Club for \$1,000 and some smaller cheques from individuals in the United States were received, because of the rescue of the six hostages by the Canadian embassy in Iran.

Many are aware of the fire disaster in Cobalt a few years ago when more than 400 people were left homeless. That was a major fire disaster. The provincial government matched four dollars to one dollar on what was raised locally.

Essex has been advised it could be eligible for relief funds from the province, as a result of the loss of assessment which will come through the Ministry of Intergovernmental Affairs, because of the number of buildings destroyed by the fire.

In supporting the resolution today, I want to tell the members of the Legislature about the need for such a fund to protect ourselves from future disasters. We realize that the people involved in the Essex disaster in most cases did have the usual fire and explosion insurance, but it is most difficult to cover for such a major disaster. I can think of some cases where they may have had \$100,000 of insurance on what was considered an older building. Yet, when one rebuilds from the ground up at today's prices, it would probably cost \$250,000 to replace. If one borrows the difference between the \$100,000 insurance and the cost of \$250,000, that is \$150,000; at today's interest rates of 17 per cent or more, it is almost impossible for a businessman to handle such an expense.

By having a fund set up as stated in the resolution, it would take it out of the immediate political situation. A general consensus of many people is that sometimes a decision made under the system may be used for political purposes. Of course, we would hope that would not be the case.

The town of Essex, hard hit by its own disaster, sent an additional \$100 to the ailing Field-Springer relief fund. The two sparsely populated northern Ontario townships were hit hard by flooding last year and have been unable to meet their fund-raising objectives. Essex had already sent \$100 following decisions made on July 3, but decided to send the extra money after receiving a letter from fund organizers. The committee in that town has \$2,444,844 in approved claims to pay out but has only managed to accumulate \$1.8 million. The total includes \$373,544 raised privately and matched four to one by the provincial disaster relief fund. The two townships need an additional \$114,116 plus the provincial money to reach their objective.

In the case of Essex, the Ontario Development Corporation came down and made a survey and interviewed a number of business people. They did offer some money they could make available at 11.5 per cent. The problem is when we build new buildings, at what they cost today and with the insurance people have, it seems we are all the same. We think we have enough insurance on our buildings, and when the crunch comes and we start rebuilding, in many cases it just is not enough.

The other thing is that in some of the disaster areas in the past year, I understand if one person had full insurance and his neighbour had no insurance, the disaster relief fund would give the neighbour who had no insurance the same amount of money as the insured neighbour. He is as well off as the one who had insurance, but he paid no premiums for the previous 25 years, say. That is one of the problems with any disaster fund, and that is why I am not sure.

In the case of Essex, where there was a natural gas explosion, not a flood or tornado, maybe the people there also should be entitled to some assistance. They are not asking for grants or anything; they are just asking that a lower interest rate be supplied through the Ontario Development Corporation. The town has not been designated, and yet it has \$20,000 in its fund to assist those hardest hit. If it were designated, it would be eligible to be matched dollar for dollar. That would be another \$20,000 from the province, which would help those in direct need. But it would not be nearly enough to help somebody rebuild, get the inventory back in and be in business.

I am supporting the resolution. I think we need to have something like this available so that it is ready to go into effect the minute a disaster happens. It may have to cover more than what we classify as natural disasters. What is a disaster and what is natural is a matter of interpretation.

Mr. Makarchuk: Mr. Speaker, I too rise to support the resolution that was introduced in private members' hour. I want to say to the member that perhaps it would be a stronger resolution if he did not mention the matter of lotteries. I can visualize a situation where a certain amount of lottery funds is available for disaster relief, there is a series of disasters and the fund is expended; then if there is another disaster, there is no money. What do you tell the people then? "You are out of luck"? I think the funding should be out of the consolidated revenue fund provided by the provincial government.

The attractive part of this resolution is that it brings down the decision-making process to the municipality. In time of disaster, whether it is a tornado or a flood, a lot of damage is done in terms of roofs being removed, floors being skewed and walls being out. The basement may be flooded with water and mud. Heating systems are knocked out. All sorts of things happen that make it impossible for people to continue their normal habitation or their normal life.

One of the things they have to do is to respond, and they have to respond immediately. In other words, they cannot wait until such time as some government official decides, "We are going to provide you with assistance," and makes a public statement. Then a man has to try to get the money, or perhaps the promise of money, to try to repair his roof. Most people do not operate with thousands of dollars in the bank where they have an emergency fund to draw on to replace a roof that got blown off a day or two before, to clear out their basements, to replace a furnace, or to do all sorts of repairs needed after a disaster.

Therefore, the fact that the municipality would have the responsibility to administer this kind of fund is a very attractive idea, because the people are closer; they also know the situation a lot better. We also have to recognize the fact that the municipality has the resources. Most major municipalities in Ontario, certainly the urban ones and many of the rural municipalities, have the resources to implement some kind of relief program provided they know the funding is available. There is a building department in every municipality. It has its building inspectors. The city engineer is available, and he has a staff. Those people can help provide immediate assistance to people in the community.

4:30 p.m.

There is the city works department, which also has trucks, bulldozers, forklifts, front-end loaders and so on. There is equipment available and skilled staff. There are the public utilities people with their skilled staff and the knowledge to be able to deal with disasters.

There is the fact that the municipality is assured of funding or knows that the funding is there and is not at the whim of some minister or of somebody else. It is not waiting for the royal tour to happen when the Premier or the local cabinet minister makes a tour and says: "Yes, I think we are going to give you money" or something like that. They can go ahead, knowing full well the money is available.

Specifically, as I said earlier, the average individual can then go to the lumber yard or to his supplier and get the lumber, the shingles, the water pump, the furnace or whatever he needs. The supplier knows he will get paid despite the fact that this individual does not have the money at the moment, may have to fight it out with his insurance company and may have to wait for some period of time. The point is, there could be some assurance coming from the municipal officials to the supplier, indicating to him that this man has been in a disaster and he will eventually get paid. I think that would ensure that the supplies were provided.

The other matter of concern to me is that the mayor of a disaster area does not have the opportunity to call out the militia to help in a disaster. We had a flood in Brantford about 1975 when the water system was knocked out in a city of 75,000 people. It is a real disaster in the morning when one is sitting there trying to deal with the situation and has to bring in tank trucks and everything else to provide water for a community of that size. It is a problem, but one has to go to the Attorney General (Mr. McMurtry) and so on. I feel that through legislation those rights should be provided to the local militia and the mayor. If there is some kind of agreement by both parties, they should not have to wait at that time for approval from the Attorney General, wherever he may be, or the Solicitor General.

At this time I want also to give credit to people in the Norfolk-Haldimand disaster. The people who ignited the spark that started the fund that raised more than \$500,000 were my constituency assistant; Alderman Deborah O'Connell—

Hon. Mr. Parrott: It was \$4 million, not \$500,000.

Mr. Makarchuk: Yes, it was \$4 million—but the money that was raised initially was started by my constituency assistant; Alderman Deborah O'Connell; the president of the Brantford and District Labour Council, Dan O'Reagan; and Alderman Dave Neumann of the city of Brantford council. They used the facilities of my office to get the fund started, to set the spark that would eventually raise a lot of money, which I think was necessary and justifiable. It started right there.

I want to say that in all these situations dealing with disasters, one cannot do very much about tornadoes. It is very difficult to prevent a tornado. As soon as that is figured out, mankind will have moved a great distance. However, in regard to floods—and I am

referring again to the 1975 flood of the Grand River—if the government earlier had provided the necessary funding that was requested by the Grand River Conservation Authority, perhaps the flood could have been prevented; but if not totally prevented, it could have been lessened to a much greater degree. This is the kind of a problem we have in dealing with this government. After the horse has been stolen and the barn has been cleaned out, it will close the doors.

This has been raised with the Minister of Natural Resources (Mr. Auld) in the past. The government should be looking at these recurring situations, where there is flooding almost on an annual basis or every second or third year, to try to bring in prevention. It is quite possible, not only through the building of dams, but in terms of reforestation, acquiring more valley lands and reforesting or planting trees and so on. There are various means available to this province and to this government. If the government had the initiative, the energy and the desire, everybody would benefit in the long run, because we would be preventing floods instead of going through a crisis, having the problem, then spending as much money or more to deal with it and having it recur in the future.

I have one more point that I would like to raise. That is, during the efforts of various community clubs to raise money for the Oxford, Norfolk and Brant tornado disaster relief, one of the clubs in Brantford, the Ex-Imperials Club, had a bit of a difference with the Liquor Licence Board of Ontario. There was some difference of opinion as to whether a door was slammed in the face of the liquor inspector or not. Of course, the gentleman who was handling the door didn't know the liquor inspector from anybody else, because he didn't identify himself. The place was getting crowded so he closed the door and, of course, he reported this matter.

The point is, the club wanted to throw a benefit party, a bash, whatever it was, to raise funds, which they do normally. They have done it for all other types of community projects in the past. They have an excellent record of being very successful and the people are involved. Anyway, the club tried to do this, but the liquor licence board would not allow them to go ahead with this project despite the fact that it was explained what it was for and so on.

I hope that somebody on the other side tells it to those officials that somewhere, sometime they should have a little heart. They shouldn't be so bloody sticky about the way they enforce their regulations. They shouldn't get so uptight; they should look at

the people down there. They may have made a mistake in how they run their club, or they may have not, but surely, when it comes to something that is useful to the community, it's useful to the county, it's useful to everybody and they are genuine. They have a record of accomplishing things, and perhaps we should allow them to go ahead and do these kinds of things if they are trying to raise funds for a disaster area.

Mr. Worton: Whisky versus water.

Mr. Makarchuk: That's right. The water was undrinkable in some cases. When you have a flood, the water is not drinkable.

Anyway, I will support this resolution. I think it has merit. I think it is a step in the right direction. It brings it down, as I have said, to the municipal level. It takes it out of political control. It takes it out of the sort of will-he, won't-he type of attitude that appears after a disaster. Everybody sits there waiting, wondering if he is going to provide funds or not. We know that if the money is there the municipality can do the job, and I think the resolution has merit.

Mr. Acting Speaker: Before recognizing the member for Oxford, I have a little problem. The time for debating this item expires at 4:46 p.m., and the member for Haldimand-Norfolk has reserved five minutes. Does the member wish all of the five minutes?

Mr. G. I. Miller: No, Mr. Speaker, I would like to hear the comments of the member for Oxford. I would like to save a couple of minutes.

Hon. Mr. Parrott: It won't be easy to do it in three or four minutes, Mr. Speaker, but I'll try.

Having had perhaps the worst experience of my life on August 7, 1979, I can't rise to talk about this issue without a great deal of feeling, without a great deal of emotion. I will never forget the total desolation that occurred to my county as well as to Brant and Norfolk counties. When I flew over a community and saw the homes of my friends literally wiped out totally, it was bad. But not until the next day, when I had the opportunity to walk the streets, did I fully comprehend what it meant to be totally wiped out.

It meant those precious things that all of us hold dear to us in our lives; those things like a wedding picture, a wedding ring or the remembrances of a child no longer with us, and it would be very easy to become very emotional about the things that were lost forever. Only then did one understand the trauma, not just in a physical way but also

in a psychological way, of what had happened in that disaster and, I am sure, what happens in all other disasters.

Had that been the end of the story, one's heart would have been so saddened that one would perhaps not recover, because that's exactly how I felt the day afterwards. But, the day after that, and I mean, literally the day after that, I saw something develop in my community, and I know it was shared in all the other communities, that made all of us proud to be a member of our society: friends helping friends and, even more important, strangers helping strangers—people working under unbelievably difficult circumstances, all with a cheerful attitude.

4:40 p.m.

Much as I would like to dwell on that, because time does not permit I cannot. But I do want to offer a few thoughts about the role of the municipalities. I think to put it all in the hands of the municipality would be a mistake.

I think it should be known that one of the conditions of the provincial government guidelines is that a local disaster relief committee must be established. In the disaster of which I spoke, that committee worked extremely well. Such committees do the administration of the funds; they do all of those things that I think the members thought were, somehow or other, done by the province. We had a co-ordinator there, and that's all. Sure, there were a few guidelines, but most of the final decisions were made by the local decision-making body, and that's as it should be.

I want to spend a minute or two on the following point: it isn't the declaring of the fund or the funding of the fund that's important, because it literally takes weeks or months for the money to come into that fund. But people have to respond instantly, within hours sometimes, and certainly within a few days of the rebuilding. They could not possibly wait until they know the amount of assistance they were going to receive. They have to react instantly.

Now that I have had a chance to look back at it for some nine months, I realize that the lingering problem is the relationship between the money raised from the private sector and contributed by the insurance companies and the relationship of those two sources.

If it was a clear-cut case of whether or not you have insurance that decided whether you receive benefits it would be very simple. But the problem is there is a great variation in the amount of insurance that one carries—from zero to perhaps full coverage. Where and how do you effect that relationship?

I'm going to put forward one positive suggestion. I wish I had the time to explore it fully. I believe we must not destroy the principle of insurance. The way any fund should be administered in this way is to take the total amount of damage and the total amount of insurance. If I can use figures to illustrate the case, let's assume that the total damage was \$5 million and the amount of insurance was \$3.5 million. You would then deem that everyone carried 70 per cent insurance, and you would distribute your funds to every participant on the basis of the damage they had received. If someone had more than 70 per cent insurance, they would do much better than someone who had zero. But the person who had zero would be treated in exactly the same way as the person who had a great deal.

It is the only way I can see that a fund can be administered where the aftermath does not cause some very serious problems.

Mr. Acting Speaker: I'm afraid I must ask the minister to end his remarks. I do so regretfully, because I think what he is saying is important.

I give the member for Haldimand-Norfolk a minute to reply.

Mr. G. I. Miller: Mr. Speaker, I appreciate the contribution that all members of the Legislature have made towards the resolution, and I will make a couple of points quickly.

While I did mention the lottery fund, I don't think the resolution does mention that; so I think that perhaps clarifies that.

The meaning of natural causes, which is in the resolution, was based in my portion of the debate on the United States legislation. That clearly indicates that it covers drought, fire, explosion and other catastrophes. I think that clarifies that.

The third thing I would like to point out, as members of the government have indicated and particularly the member for Northumberland, is that they do have a fund now and that it is available. I will admit that, but it hasn't worked in some cases in our area. I think it would require an extensive review of legislation and it could be based on the American legislation to simplify it and make it more responsive to emergencies. If it were dealt with by local governments, it could be similar to the way the drainage money is provided, which is handled locally and quite effectively. With major disasters it might have to be broadened.

I think it needs to be reviewed and upgraded. I hope members will support the

resolution so this will come about in the future.

Mr. Acting Speaker: The time for debating this item has more than expired.

DENTAL CARE PROGRAM

Mr. Breaugh moved resolution 11:

That this House urges the government of Ontario to implement a program of dental care modelled on that now operated by the NDP government in the province of Saskatchewan.

Mr. Breaugh: Mr. Speaker, I wanted to introduce this in resolution form today because I sense a growing concern in my own community about the expense of dental care. The provision of those dental services in many parts of the province is now being questioned. Whether or not people can get good dental care at all is questioned, setting aside the problem of expense.

The reason I moved to the Saskatchewan model for discussion purposes this afternoon is that this is a plan which has been in effect now since 1968, and it provides a rather clear model of how the services would be provided.

If I may spend a few moments briefing the members on some background information from the Saskatchewan plan, the project provides dental health education, preventive services and treatment services to children through a dental team consisting of a dentist, two dental nurses, three dental assistants and one receptionist-recorder.

They use mobile clinics. They began with young children in the schools. In 1972, they moved to include children between the ages of three and 12. In May 1978, they announced the extension of the program to include all children between the ages of three and 14.

The heart of the system is its dental nurses, supported by dental assistants, who provide most of the dental services under the supervision of the dentist.

The dental clinics have been located in schools to make access more convenient for children and parents. An important part of the service is referral and emergency services. These are also provided for in the plan.

In the Saskatchewan model, which has been working for better than a decade, we have a plan that is not just theory but is in operation.

There are some comparisons that can be made between Saskatchewan and Ontario.

If anything, one could make the economic argument, as is often done on this question, that Ontario, with its resources and with its industrial wealth, certainly can afford the

kind of program now in operation in Saskatchewan.

I notice the Liberal health critic has endorsed the proposals and the type of plan that has been offered by the government of Saskatchewan at this time. I know that the Minister of Health (Mr. Timbrell) on occasion has spoken to the needs and the desires and the wishes of providing some kind of dental care in this province.

I note too that the number of participants in private dental plans is up by 25 per cent this year. That's a clear indication that, for most of the population, the services of a dentist pose an economic strain.

One way around that is for those people who are lucky enough to have a bargaining unit, or in some other way, to participate in a dental care scheme. It is becoming an economic necessity. Even if it is simply a matter of having regular inspections and some minimal treatments, these days for a family of three or four children that can easily run into \$1,200 or \$1,500 a year. If one runs into the need for specialized kinds of services, the costs associated with those repairs can easily be a rather substantial economic hardship even on a family with a good income.

I note too that in parts of the province—and in particular we're focusing these days on the decisions that have been made in the Kenora-Rainy River area—the district health council has pointed out there is a severe problem in getting dental services period, let alone whether you can afford them. There are several proposals that I am aware of, one by the district health council, although unfortunately I am told that the ministry is saying there is no funding for that particular plan. The ministry has said, as late as April 1, in the London Free Press, that there would be no extension of current services to provide for that.

4:50 p.m.

I note too that there is a new president of the Ontario Dental Association who is proposing a scheme, which I am told has the support of the Minister of Northern Affairs (Mr. Bernier), to provide a kind of flying dental squad which would visit northern communities and use clinics and school facilities as the base of operation, and would move them throughout the north in a regular process.

Whatever variation of the scheme might be used, I think the need has been clearly established. I want to spend some time going at that question of need.

In response to a question which I put on the Order Paper on March 15, 1980, the

minister tabled this report. It is not ministry policy, but I am going to use it, not necessarily as a policy document, but for some of the pertinent information that has been developed in here. It is the report of the committee established to develop preventive dentistry corps programs, the theory being that this might be included in some new health protection act. It is interesting to look at this kind of study. I want to quote quickly some excerpts, because I find them interesting. In the summary it says.

"The standards for the delivery of public health dental services have been developed and promoted in recent years by the Ministry of Health and the Ontario Society of Public Health Dentists. In spite of this thrust, it has become increasingly evident that a consistent and effective level of services has not been provided equitably to the citizens of Ontario."

That goes right to the crux of the problem, that neither in the private sector nor in the public sector do we have proper dental health programs.

I note, though, a recurring phenomenon whenever this government sets about designing any kind of care services. The first order of business in the study that was tabled for the ministry is an estimation of administrative costs. The first thing they have on their minds is 16 public health directors at \$40,000 a year, seven assistant directors at \$37,000 a year, 21 program co-ordinators at \$20,000 a year and 43 secretaries at \$10,000 a year.

One of the flaws in this province may be that each and every time we set about to deliver a service to a group of people, it seems we can clearly identify the need but, when we start about structuring how we will provide that service, we start at the top. I note that the Saskatchewan model does not start there, but with the provider of the service. It clearly defines and somewhat changes the role as to who provides the service. It does so, I think, under proper supervision, and it works reasonably well. But I think it says something about how we do things in this province. This study started at the other end.

One of the interesting sets of statistics gathered during the course of this investigation is this particular one: "Twenty-nine per cent of decayed teeth in five-year-old children are not filled. Twenty-eight per cent of decayed teeth in seven-year-old children are not filled. Thirty-two per cent of decayed teeth in 13-year-old children are not filled. Fourteen per cent of 13-year-old children have lost one or more permanent teeth."

I think that speaks to how well the services are being provided and whether we are clearly meeting a need. It would be my contention that we are not.

This survey also attempted to do something else which is a favourite sport around here these days, and that is to make some estimation of the cost-effectiveness for dental health measures. I find the analysis on this rather alarming. I quote two examples here: "For males at age 15, every dollar in preventive care saves \$16.61 in treatment. For females aged 15, every dollar saves \$15.30 in treatment."

It strikes me that in the long run the government of Ontario would save its citizens a good deal of money by moving to this kind of preventive care program. I note in passing that the Toronto Board of Health in its studies and the city of Toronto social services department are beginning to feel the pinch of trying to provide dental services on a social service basis using dentists. Their estimation of cost savings—one that I saw, at any rate—indicated a saving of nearly \$20 million a year if we moved to a proper preventive dental health program as opposed to the current system.

Here is another interesting number out of this study. The cost of providing preventive dental care for 12 years would be \$8.88 per student. To be cost-effective, this program would only have to prevent 0.5 cavities per child.

It strikes me that there is ample evidence that here is a program that is needed; it is one that has been carefully studied in Ontario. While we might have some difference of opinion as to the precise mechanisms that are going to be used, I think it is undeniable that the case is there.

I want to quote from the conclusions in the recommendations. "Dental disease is a ubiquitous and unique health problem, occurring in much greater proportions among the developed nations and societies of the world. It can be dramatically reduced, however, by adopting simple preventive measures in community-based public health dental programs. The recommended minimum service levels represent organized preventive programs which have been demonstrated to be cost-effective. The local official health agency would be the most appropriate institution through which to implement this program."

The final recommendation was that the government of Ontario "ensure the consistent delivery of the attached recommended mini-

mum services through the enactment of public health legislation."

That of course is not now government policy, but is a matter that has been put before the minister; so it has had some study. Part of the report of the task force on community dental services contains these rather alarming statistics: 75 per cent of decayed teeth in three-year-old children are not filled; 60 per cent of decayed teeth in seven-year-old children are not filled; 44 per cent of decayed teeth in 13-year-old children are not filled; 32 per cent of seven-year-old children have lost one or more primary teeth; 29 per cent of 13-year-old children have lost one or more permanent teeth; 10 per cent of 13-year-old children requiring orthodontic treatment actually have it done—90 per cent don't; 80 per cent of the adult population have some form of periodontal disease; and 67 per cent of persons 75 years of age and over are dentureless—don't have any teeth.

The need for this kind of preventive care program has been clearly established in this province by the ministry's own task force. The model now used in Saskatchewan has been functioning long enough for us to say that way of providing the program is one that would be flexible, is one that is cost-effective and is one that works; perhaps it uses some nontraditional roles, but it does so effectively.

The statistics which have been gathered by the government of Saskatchewan establish and correspond to the statistics presented to the minister here in Ontario, showing that this kind of a program saves one money in the long run. We get down, then, to whether this need can be met in any other way, and I would contend to the House this afternoon that it cannot be.

There are vast parts of this province which are badly underserved by dentists or by dental services of any kind. They are particularly underserved through the northern part of the province, which is obvious when one looks at the geography of the north. Population there is dispersed, travelling times cause some difficulty, and in all kinds of health care there is that common thread of reality running through northern services that there is not the level of service that there is in the southern part of the province.

I want to put to the House another side of the argument. In many of our large urban centres, like Toronto, there are literally thousands of children whose parents are

not covered under private dental plans and who do not receive proper dental care.

I suppose it would be reasonable for some members to assume that one simply escapes the cost, that sooner or later those children will grow up and will get proper dental care on their own. The reality is quite the contrary. There are certain kinds of dental care—most of it, in fact—which, unless you do get the cheaper preventive care in the beginning, you cannot correct subsequently. If you don't find the proper program and put it in place and have it operational for the seven- to 12-year-old bracket, as an example, you will find that you cannot correct that when they are 18 or 19 years of age and employed and perhaps covered by a private plan.

It also speaks to the problem that the vast majority of our citizens are not in a position to bargain for a private carrier. Even though they might cover those costs, these people cannot get themselves in that position. They are unlikely to be able to afford private dental care on their own. The end result, as the statistics show so dramatically, is that they simply do not get dental care at all. It just does not happen.

5 p.m.

There are a number of members who want to speak to the resolution today, and I would like to reserve some time to sum up at the end, but I want to conclude this first part of my remarks on this simple note: I think we have here a problem which has been clearly defined. I think we also have found, in the Saskatchewan model, a solution to the problem, a way of doing it that is cost-effective and provides good preventive dental health care for a reasonable amount of money, so the initial costs are as small as they can be.

Unquestionably, it has been established that the kind of preventive care is the wisest investment that a government could ever make. On humanitarian terms, in terms that provide a good health-care program, and I would even make the argument from the viewpoint of straight economics, it is far better to invest that money now in a good preventive health-care program, particularly in the field of dental work and dental care, than it is to let the unfortunate consequences occur and then attempt to repair them afterwards. The sad fact is that the statistics are already clear on this; after-care simply does not happen for a large number of people.

One other aspect needs to be put in place. Whatever model might be devised, whatever kinds of service might be put in place, the

cumulative effect is important. Even if we used the precise model now used in Saskatchewan, where not all forms of dental care are covered, but most are, for the vast majority of our population we would have relieved an economic strain. If there were some uninsured services, it would be far different from the current situation.

I believe the Saskatchewan plan is a workable one. I believe it would be necessary to tailor parts of that to Ontario, and perhaps the recommendations of the minister's task force to do so through the public health agencies would be a workable suggestion here. I believe the concept they use in Saskatchewan is sound. I believe the need has been clearly established in this province. What is more, I believe the economics dictate that the government move to this type of a program now.

I would like to conclude my initial remarks on that note and save my remaining time for the windup.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: The honourable member has four minutes remaining.

Mr. Ramsay: Mr. Speaker, I have mixed feelings about the resolution that is being debated in the House this afternoon. In many ways I can appreciate the concerns and sentiments of the member opposite as far as dental care is concerned. I think it is very important that adequate and proper dental hygiene should be an important part of the daily personal maintenance for everyone in this province. In fact, my oldest daughter is a graduate dental hygienist.

However, I believe in fairness we must examine the excellence of the present dental care standards in Ontario. I really don't think we can try to relate the conditions and problems faced by the Saskatchewan government to those we have in Ontario. More than 80 per cent of Ontarians live in urban areas, with access to a sophisticated variety of dental practitioners. Nearly one quarter of Saskatchewan's population consists of farm families, and another 25 per cent live in communities with populations of less than 1,000. Ontario has a population of approximately 8.5 million, while Saskatchewan has approximately 960,000 residents. In 1979, incentives began to attract dental students to rural areas in Saskatchewan. Ontario established a bursaries program for dental students in 1969, 10 years earlier.

As one can see even at a quick glance, the circumstances in Saskatchewan and Ontario are quite obviously different. Those circumstances are reflected in the different actions taken by different provincial governments.

As my honourable colleague will mention a little later in this debate, Ontario already has in place a number of dental programs designed to spot and prevent trouble and to encourage people to take more responsibility for their own personal health. Saskatchewan established its dental care program in the mid-1970s because there was quite obviously a need for one. A shortage of dentists and a lack of educational and preventive programs especially for children were contributing to a very general, low-quality level of dental health. Ontario was not then and is not now facing those same sort of problems.

The target group for the other program is school children, which makes sense from a preventive point of view. On a longer-term basis, the Saskatchewan government should be saving money, because these people will likely pass on their good dental habits to their children.

I think the approach we have for dental health care in this province is an excellent one, because it is geared to the needs of our particular regions. This is, of course, done through the public health branch of the Ministry of Health. Reviews are made on a yearly basis to assess dentistry services in the light of community needs and within available funding. This built-in element of responsiveness has contributed to the success of our public health system. One cannot compare a system such as the one in Ontario with that of Saskatchewan and draw the conclusion that Ontario is somehow inferior in its dentistry services.

This does not mean that the procedures and impact of our public health services are not continually reviewed and assessed. They are, and always will be. I would refer to two examples. In 1974, there was a task force on community dental services. Preventive dental guidelines and staffing standards for all health units were outlined in the report. At present, there are 26 dental directors administering dental programs in Ontario.

Members will recall that a little more recently, in February, a dental care task force submitted its report to the Minister of Health. Reports do point out existing problems and make recommendations to the minister. Solutions in the most recent report include a tripling of the \$7 million already spent on preventive care and the fluoridation of water in areas not equipped with those facilities. It stands to reason that if more people get into the habit of preventive care, then it will be more beneficial for Ontario.

In Ontario, dental treatment is available to recipients of social assistance free of

charge. The special dental needs of the emotionally disturbed and mentally retarded members of our society are covered by the Ontario Health Insurance Plan. Another fact I am sure members will appreciate is that more than 40 per cent of employees in collective agreements are covered by dental plans, and the numbers are growing rapidly. At present, some three million Ontario residents are covered by private dental insurance plans. When we add this number to the people who are already being served by the public health system, we get a rather substantial figure.

Living in a northern riding makes me a little more aware of the absence or presence of dental facilities and the impact this has on the local population. The underserviced area program and the northern Ontario public health service are two examples of successful approaches to bring care to people in remote areas.

Saskatchewan had virtually nothing in place before 1974. For one thing, there was a severe shortage of dentists and very little in the way of public health programs; so there was a genuine need to implement a dental program funded by the government.

In summary, I share many of the concerns of the member for Oshawa for adequate dental care in this province; however, I disagree with some of his comparisons between Saskatchewan and Ontario and with his criticism of the efforts of the Ontario Ministry of Health. Ontario has much to be proud of in respect to dental care and is committed to regular reviews and upgrading, as resources permit.

Mr. Conway: Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to rise and to join the debate and to support my good friend from Oshawa's very timely and excellent resolution. I do so feeling that it is a matter of public policy that should be squarely joined by the government in the public interest.

I appreciated the remarks of our distinguished friend from Sault Ste. Marie, and I want to return to one or two of the things he said, because I have had a bit of experience which qualifies at least some of the current government policy in that connection.

I am delighted to agree with my friend from Oshawa that the Saskatchewan example is perhaps the best possible one in place to which we might look for guidance in so far as the Ontario jurisdiction is concerned. Though there are clearly some demographic differences between the two provinces. I feel none the less that the Saskatchewan program is a very good place to start.

The Saskatchewan plan, as I understand it, was as the member for Sault Ste. Marie indicated, and I think the member for Oshawa may be wrong in his remarks, if I heard him correctly. My understanding is that the Saskatchewan plan became effective in 1974, not some time earlier. Although it is not particularly important, I suppose, it certainly was an initiative of, shall I say, the New Democratic government and not the previous Thatcher government.

5:10 p.m.

I want to come to the member's aid, in a partisan way, to set him straight. The plan that was created and established in Saskatchewan in 1974 was initially one to provide for free dental surgery, dental hygiene and preventive services for children between the ages of four and nine. As of September 1978, as I understand it, that program was extended to cover children, for the same benefits up to age 12. As of the recent March 13 budget, there is a commitment from the Saskatchewan government to extend the coverage up to and including those in the 18-year-old bracket.

I remember talking to the former Minister of Health for Quebec, Mr. Castonguay, about his involvement with the Quebec plan and their desire to begin in a similar way with a limited coverage for children and to move that eligibility, as they felt finances would allow them, upward into the adolescent years.

The Saskatchewan budget in March 1980 raised the appropriation for the Saskatchewan dental plan from \$8.2 million to \$9.7 million. I think that figure is a good one in providing some guidance as to what we might expect as a cost to the Treasury of Ontario if we in this province were to implement such a program.

I do not know whether either of the honourable members who spoke before me mentioned the study done for the Ontario Economic Council by Messrs. Evans and Williamson, entitled *Extending Canadian Health Insurance: Options for Pharmacare and Denticare*, published a little over a year ago. As a poor layman, I had some considerable difficulty this week and last year when I reviewed this weighty document. I am sure the minister and his assistants, from Dr. Surplis down, have surveyed it much more carefully and much more intelligently than I have, but I was interested in some of what the study said about denticare.

Quite properly, they argue the case against universal denticare. I have always felt it would not be a proper intervention for government to establish a universal, comprehensive denticare program. I have never felt,

and do not today feel, that would be wise. In fact, on the basis of the evidence presented by these very learned economists—

Mr. Wildman: Why do you say that?

Mr. Conway: I am sure my friend from Algoma will want his question answered as only these economists can answer it.

Mr. Wildman: Economics is a dismal science.

Mr. Conway: A dismal science? I don't know that his leader would necessarily agree, but I felt that their arguments were good ones in terms of many of the questions I have had with respect to universal denticare. They argue, at least on page 221 in their summary and conclusions, that a "partial plan would be superior."

They go on to cite—in a pharmacare example, I might add—the Saskatchewan experience, but they suggest that a partial denticare program for children in Ontario could be expected to cost anywhere between \$50 million and \$100 million, depending on what one wanted to include in the insurability areas.

I recommend this particular study to honourable members because it does deal, in reasonably current terms, with the Ontario jurisdiction.

In my travels around the province, in discussions with various private and public personalities with respect to health care, it has struck me that one of the things I hear, as often as complaints about our medicare system, is a lament about the very significant economic burden of ever-mounting dental bills. The average person that I represent in Renfrew county seems in many ways to be as concerned, if not more so, about the cost of providing good dental care for his children as he is about what is happening in our medicare sector. I think that is important.

I know the member for Oshawa cited a lot of telling arguments that the Minister of Health might consider, but I think he missed the most compelling one of all. That is something I firmly believe this government listens to above and beyond all else, namely, a Weekend magazine poll, done not more than a year ago, which indicated that nine out of 10 Canadians interviewed favoured the introduction of some sort of medicare style of denticare program.

There, for the minister and his cabinet colleagues, is surely the kind of evidence which they have not in the past been able to ignore, a poll done for no less a publication—

Mr. Mackenzie: We don't know that they paid for that one.

Mr. Conway: Presumably they didn't. But it's a telling bit of evidence that surely must guide the minister in supporting some sort of denticare initiative.

It was said by my friend from Sault Ste. Marie that the current situation is, by and large, adequate for the needs of the community. I was interested to see an item in a publication, which I know all members read, the Renfrew Mercury of April 9 and April 16.

The April 9 edition of the Renfrew Mercury pointed out an interesting situation about the small community of Calabogie in the southeastern corner of Renfrew county. I have checked some of these facts, and they are accurate as I know them. The headline reads, "Calabogie Residents Up In Arms About Dental Coach Cancellation". Briefly, for my friend from Sault Ste. Marie, the story about this situation is as follows: This community is 19 miles from the town of Renfrew, in which is located the nearest dentist.

Mr. Wildman: Nineteen?

Mr. Conway: Nineteen miles; not 20. That becomes important, because what happened in this case was that the government and the Ontario Dental Association had agreed to send the dental coach into that community to service the needs of that rural eastern Ontario community where 200 school kids were expecting to be able to participate in the benefits of that dental coach. Because one unnamed dentist in the town of Renfrew raised an objection, and because the present policy is that no community within 20 miles is eligible for the services if one of the dentists in the area objects, those 200 kids in the town or village or hamlet of Calabogie were denied the services of the dental coach program.

I say shame on the program, such as it is, that denies those people who, I can tell members, are as deserving as anybody in this province of services which many of them outside of this kind of public intervention will not ever receive. Surely that is the kind of loophole and that is the kind of inadequacy that only a public denticare program for all school children in this province can effectively deal with.

I have talked in recent months with some dentists and dental care workers who have had an experience with the various programs for the school-age children. They tell me it is there and to some degree it is adequate, but most of these people with whom I have spoken wonder whether there is a better way to spend the resources for the provision of these services.

Clearly, as my friend from Oshawa stated and as we can all agree to, the preventive

health-care ethic must drive us all to an immediate recognition that there is no better place we can move or we can travel than to a dental care program for all school-age children. Or, at least as I have indicated in policy deliberations with my party not too long ago, those in the primary school age categories surely should be covered with a comprehensive program like the one in Saskatchewan, but also others that are available in the Canadian context might be looked at as well.

The preventive, cost-effective, health-care ethic about which we hear so much must lead us all, including my friend the minister, to an immediate recognition that this is a timely intervention for government and a right and proper course for us all to support.

Hon. Mr. Timbrell: Mr. Speaker, on a point of order, while my friend from Pembroke is still in the House: I have had a chance to examine Instant Hansard, and I would like to apologize to him for the construction of my words earlier, to which he took exception. I apologize.

Mr. Speaker: I want to thank the honourable minister for his generosity of spirit.

Mr. Conway: As I will.

Mr. Bounsall: Mr. Speaker, in that generosity of spirit which we have seen displayed in the last moment or two, we would hope to have unanimous support from all members of the House for this very excellent resolution put forward by my colleague.

Certainly in my mind what is needed in Ontario without question is a universal, comprehensive government-operated dental care program heavily geared towards prevention.

One of the concerns that I had brought to my attention when I was first nominated, within a day or two of my nomination and quite some months in advance of the 1971 election, was from a group of people who phoned me about the problems they were having in the Windsor area in getting adequate coverage. Certainly in their minds, way back in the spring of 1971, they were convinced that the only way out would be to have, for themselves and their friends, a program in Ontario such as existed in Saskatchewan.

5:20 p.m.

We need a universal comprehensive plan, and I think Saskatchewan has gone about it the right way. They start with a group which they then expand in coverage year by year. This would be the way which any province like Ontario could use as a model and get into the whole program of comprehensive dental care.

I would like to quote from the report of the committee established to develop a preventive dentistry corps program tabled in December 1979. It was a report that dealt with dental care; they just didn't want to call it that. In that report, it is very clear there are great numbers in Ontario who are without any kind of repair program, let alone a preventive program.

I would like to quote several paragraphs from that report. It says: "Eligible residents in nursing homes and homes for special care receive dental care by private practitioners financed by the province. There is no preventive component in these programs; nor do all the residents receive the dental care needed." This is what the committee found. Not only is there no preventive program whatsoever in these homes, but also not all the residents even get the repair care that is needed.

They go on to talk about the overlapping programs in Ontario that are already financed by the government, the numbers of them, and the fact that one program differs from the other, and in some cases people aren't aware of them.

I quote the next paragraph:

"There is concern about the lack of dental care for geriatric and for physically and mentally handicapped persons in the community. Legislation provides for dental services under various acts, such as the Homes for the Aged Act, the Homes for Special Care Act, the Charitable Institutions Act, the Family Benefits Act and the General Welfare Assistance Act. However, inequalities of care exist due partly to the different interpretations of these acts, lack of local facilities and funds, and the inability of the individual to gain access to the dental care system."

We have six acts, all interpreted slightly differently across Ontario, and therefore people not knowing, as they progress from one program to another, what sort of dental care they can get. They are too often discouraged by the people administering the program whose intent seems to be to save money where possible and not to provide the adequate care at all.

Throughout these programs there is virtually no preventive aspect whatsoever. If someone on family assistance, parents and children, or someone on disability pension applies—and they qualify under the special assistance portion of the General Welfare Assistance Act; that is, the regional government—the municipality is the one that approves the application. There is virtually

no way at all that person can get, through a dentist, the type of modern, preventive dentistry that anyone gets who can afford to pay. They will get their teeth filled, they will get their teeth pulled, but don't talk about a partial plate, about a cap, or about cleaning at the same time, which are standard services now provided by dentists. Dentists claim this is the way, if teeth need repair, that you proceed with the repair of those teeth in such a way that future problems do not result.

There is not a dentist in this province that I know of who will pull a tooth if he can cap it. It isn't just the cost; that's the proper way to do it. All these recipients have virtually no opportunity at all to have that kind of proper dental care under our programs as they exist now in the province.

A program of government insurance and dental care such as they have in Saskatchewan would certainly change that entire situation and would allow dentists to give to their patients the kind of dental care they are giving to all their other patients who are not on some sort of assistance and make them much happier in their minds about the work they are performing.

If I have talked to one dentist in the last couple of years, I have talked to six or eight dentists from my area who are quite frustrated over the level of service they are being allowed to provide to people in receipt of assistance. They know they are not professionally doing the proper job. They are not being allowed to do it because of the payment structure under our system. That has to end as it is affecting not only adults, but also children in the province.

There are also dentists in Ontario who in their own practices would institute a thorough preventive program so that we don't need the repair in the first place. A program of the type in Saskatchewan would ensure that kind of preventive emphasis gets through to all the children in the province on a continuing basis. It would not be just hit and miss, depending on the particular dentist and on one's ability to be able to go to a dentist and pay for it oneself out of his own pocket, rather than receiving it through a program.

A comprehensive program would certainly be cheaper than the private plans in operation in Ontario. There is evidence in this regard. In a thorough government program of this sort we could have the whole area and persons involved—what one might call dental practitioners—thoroughly integrated and working together in harmony. It would be a program which would have the dentists, the dental hygienists and the denturists doing

the jobs they are trained to do best in the most effective way and, therefore, for the coffers of Ontario the cheapest way.

I have talked at some length about the savings that would be involved in this. That is not to underestimate the very great service this would provide to all residents of Ontario from the pure aspect of their health. There is certainly a need for all aspects of our health to be treated and to be taken care of. There is a need for a heavy emphasis to be put on prevention wherever we can. Unless and until we have a dental care plan geared to the preventive aspect in Ontario, we are not adequately looking after the health and welfare of the residents of Ontario in the way in which we should and in the way in which we are capable.

I hope every member of this House supports the resolution of the member for Oshawa. I certainly recommend it to all members and expect and hope there will be unanimous support for it.

Mr. Hennessy: Mr. Speaker, there is no one in this party or in this House who is not aware of the benefits of good brushing every day. Good dental care prevents tooth problems from happening or from becoming too serious. Don't forget that last week was Dental Health Week. Murphy the Molar and the Ontario Dental Association are doing their best to appeal to youngsters of Ontario to brush their teeth every day.

Mr. Conway: Hear, hear for Murphy the Molar.

Mr. Hennessy: You look like him too. During 1979 the Ministry of Health spent almost \$350,000 to get the message of dental care across to Ontario children. The Ministry of Education is putting together guidelines for primary and junior teachers so that they will know the best ways of teaching this to the youngsters. Ninety per cent of our dental problems could be solved by regular check-ups and brushing. Overall in Ontario, we have quite a good level of dental care.

Let me remind members about the program that has been around in northern Ontario for a good 10 years. I refer to the underserved area program operated by the Ministry of Health. Seventy-nine dentists are in the program, the majority of them in the north. The ministry operates 10 dental coaches that provide preventive and basic treatment services to pre-school and elementary children who live in more northern parts of Ontario. There are one dentist and an assistant in each coach.

5:30 p.m.

The first dental coach was started in 1931. The member opposite me can correct me if he feels I am wrong, but the people living in rural areas in Saskatchewan do not have the kind of access to a dentist which northern Ontario residents have had for many years.

The Ministry of Northern Affairs has a bursary program for third- and fourth-year dentistry students to help them locate in parts of northern areas. The northern Ontario public health service helps provide dental services to residents. If this government was not concerned about promoting dental care, then Ontario might have been in the same position as Saskatchewan in the early 1970s.

I don't think there is any doubt that proper dental habits now prevent a lot of pain and dental bills later on in life. More than 30 per cent of the people of Ontario are covered by a dental insurance plan. There are ways of dealing with the situation of filling in a cavity, so to speak. Various things contribute to good dental health, such as proper eating habits and the fluoridation of water.

The Ministry of Health is encouraging high school students to find ways to get junk food out of their schools. I think there is some junk across the road too. Today more people are aware of at least looking at what kind of food they eat and going towards more natural and less processed goods.

Hon. Mr. Gregory: There is decay in that party.

Mr. Eakins: There's no decay over here.

Mr. Hennessy: Mr. Speaker, will you stop the audience?

Almost two thirds of the people of Ontario have access to fluoridated water. That helps to prevent cavities. It does not mean we are not open to good ideas. Adjustments can be and have been made to meet the needs of certain areas in the province. I feel this government will continue to respond to the needs of the people.

As a resident of northwestern Ontario, I welcome any suggestion to improve the lot of the general public. There are many people who cannot afford the high cost of dental care. There are those of moderate means, or those who do not have insurance or the necessary qualifications to get the funding in order to meet the bills as they mount. They are very expensive. My daughter has had occasion to go to the dentist, and when I get the bill I have to make sure my glasses are operating right when I read what it costs.

I think this matter deserves very careful consideration. I would say that northwestern Ontario could well afford to have better den-

tal care. I think the Speaker and other members in this House who represent northwestern Ontario would agree with me.

Mr. Eakins: You should have got that Minaki budget.

Mr. Hennessy: I wouldn't be surprised. In all fairness, I have to support this resolution, and I will vote for it.

Mr. Bradley: Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of the general thrust of this particular motion. I notice that it is worded carefully to give full credit to the NDP government in Saskatchewan. If the member for Niagara Falls (Mr. Kerrio) didn't see those letters "NDP," he probably would be inclined to support a resolution that is obviously one designed to move the province in the right direction.

The right of the people of this province and this country to medicare is a right that was established some years ago. Saskatchewan pioneered medicare at the provincial level. The former federal government of Lester Pearson moved a long way in providing the kind of financing for a national medicare program, I believe under the Honourable Judy LaMarsh and, later, under the Honourable John Munro, both of whom were Ministers of Health and Welfare. I think most Canadians, even those who dragged their feet initially in terms of the provision of medicare services by the public purse, now concede this was a movement in the right direction and are prepared to support it. I suggest the same would be true with denticare in this particular province. I think we recognize in terms of dental care that people tend to neglect the care of their teeth because of the substantial cost for the services that are provided by dentists in this province on a private basis. Even those who participate in private plans, we find through certain studies, do not participate as adults as much as possible, so the private plans continue to function and make some money, but they ensure that their children are involved in these programs and participate.

We recognize as members of this Legislature that it would be financially prohibitive to implement immediately a denticare program in Ontario covering everyone. This is not the suggestion; nor has Saskatchewan done this up to this point. It has done it in stages, which I think is the only way it can be implemented practically in any particular jurisdiction. The first stage is the coverage of those who are youngest, in their formative years, where dental care is of particular importance in terms of the future.

There are those in the dental profession who suggest those are the most important years. I haven't had the opportunity as an individual to experience the care of a dentist, because I lived in the city of Sudbury for my first 12 years. Sudbury had fluoridated water, that rat poison that is introduced into the water system. As a result, I attribute that to producing something in me, perhaps a vindictive streak, but at the same time it did prevent me from incurring damage to my teeth to a certain extent.

I think we also recognize there are people other than children who require dental work and are unable to afford it. Each one of us as members of this Legislature receives telephone calls and letters and is approached personally by individuals who are receiving a certain government benefit, or who may be just above the level where they are receiving family benefits or some form of assistance from the provincial government.

When these people are confronted with very heavy medical bills, some of which are essential in terms of dental care, they are either forced to borrow money to cover these costs or to sacrifice other essential items in their own livelihood. These kinds of people, particularly those in their senior years and those who do not have the kind of financial wherewithal to deal with dental problems, should be assisted by any dental program which would be introduced in this province.

The suggestion that some would make, that we have a fee—in other words, a premium—would be one that would not be productive, in my view. Once again, those who are hit the hardest by premiums or deterrent fees are obviously those in the low-income bracket. They are the only people who will be deterred from seeking these services, as opposed to the fact that those who are capable of paying would be prepared to pay that additional cost.

The Saskatchewan plan, as I understand it, does not involve private dentists, at least very extensively, but instead it has staff dentists who are on salary with the province. Obviously that province wants to avoid the situation it is confronted with at the present time in terms of its medical care. The fact is that doctors in Saskatchewan do opt out of the program in a certain way by providing additional billing or separate billing.

We recognize that even in those jurisdictions where we have a Socialist government, we also have a situation where doctors for various reasons are permitted to bill over

and above the plan, although the experience may be better in that particular jurisdiction than in Ontario.

We now have coverage in terms of chiropractors in this province. If one were to suggest we should exclude from any health-care program care of the ears or some other part of the body, one could question the logic of that. This is why I think it is most logical to extend coverage to basic dental care.

5:40 p.m.

Just as the Ontario Health Insurance Plan does not allow for cosmetic services to be provided for in terms of funding, one would recognize that cosmetic services would not be an essential service in terms of tooth care, and so we could recognize there would have to be only specific services that could be provided. Dental surgery and certain kinds of preventive care would be among those.

Ideally in any such program we should try to get the participation of those dentists who at present are practising privately. This would probably take a lot of discussion before they would be prepared to enter into a government program. Certainly I would expect they would not be prepared to serve as salaried employees of the provincial government, just as doctors in this province are generally not prepared to do so.

With the establishment of negotiated fees in Ontario, we might well see a number of people from the dental profession who would be prepared to participate in this activity. Since it would not be extended to the entire population, it would not be necessary to have virtually every dentist in Ontario participating, just as at the present time we don't have every doctor in this province participating.

I hope representations will be made from various people to Mr. Justice Emmett Hall's commission on health care, and that included in these submissions will be those, even from the dental profession itself, which would make representations on how a denticare program could best be implemented to serve the people of this province and perhaps across the nation. We would require some federal funding, in my view, to extend the service to all of the people.

I wonder whether any polls have been conducted. I understand there was one poll, which appeared in Weekend magazine and which said 90 per cent of the people of Canada were in favour of some kind of denticare. There was some dispute over how it would be paid for or who would be re-

quired to do the paying, but it is clear that with the skyrocketing costs of dental care in the province and right across the nation, with the fact that this is an essential health service, the people of this country and most specifically of this province are prepared to accept and indeed would look forward to the implementation on a staged basis, and within restrictions, of a denticare program in Ontario.

I enthusiastically endorse this resolution, although I might quarrel with the advertising that takes place in the latter wording.

Mr. Foulds: Mr. Speaker, I want to say very briefly that the major initiative that we in this country must take in expanding our medicare program is in dental care. I believe it is a shocking statistic that 22 per cent of the children in northern Ontario have never had dental attention of any sort. There are even more startling statistics for areas in ridings such as yours, Mr. Speaker, and in the Kenora area, where people do not have access to primary dental care.

Mr. T. P. Reid: And Rainy River.

Mr. Foulds: And Rainy River. We must take strong steps to ensure that those children have access to dental care. We can begin by passing this resolution today. We could ensure programs such as those that have been put forward by the Kenora-Rainy River District Health Council are fully implemented so that the children, at least in the north, have the access to dental care that they rightly deserve and will avoid a great deal of expenditure of both public and private funds in future years.

Mr. Breaugh: Mr. Speaker, I have enjoyed the comments from members on all sides of the House this afternoon on the resolution that is before us. I think it is a workable and conceivable objective to provide this kind of dental care program in Ontario.

Many of the people in my own riding are members of United Automobile Workers Local 222, which has the strength to bargain for private dental plans. It also had the strength, when there were problems in the implementing of that plan, of setting up its own dental clinic. It now provides dental services to some 22,000 members and their families in the Oshawa area. The tragedy is that not everybody has that kind of bargaining or organizational strength. Many of the people in our own area have a need for dental services and simply do not get them. In parts of Ontario the services are not available. Whether or not you have the money, there are no dentists and no one to provide that kind of dental care.

I do understand that under a multitude of programs, social policies, welfare programs, assistance programs and public health agencies, there are now in place in Ontario different kinds of dental care. There also seems to be a heavy emphasis on public relations.

None of us has anything against Murphy the Molar, or any of those other people who might convince small children to brush their teeth, but I do think it is necessary that here in Ontario we look at dental care in the same way that we looked at medicare, where the arguments are much the same. There is an amalgamation of public service programs and private insurance carriers at work. Individuals are insured in some manner for full or partial coverage of dental care.

It always seems to come down to several basic arguments about whether we can amalgamate all these programs into one dental care program. I put to the members of this House that this was possible and was achieved in the provision of medical care services in this province, and that it is desirable to do so with one publicly funded and operated medical care program for dentistry services.

The other overwhelming argument is the economics of it. I think it has been proved in Saskatchewan and here in Ontario that the economics of denticare make good sense. Frankly, for anyone, free enterpriser or no, who says we could invest \$1 and get better than \$16 in return, it seems to me that is clearly a good investment from anyone's point of view.

I urge all members in this House to support this resolution. As health critic, I find this is a major area that has been totally neglected in Ontario, and it needs now to be finally addressed by the government. I propose a model here, not meaning it to be perfect, but meaning it to be one that is in existence, does work and generates substantial cost savings as well as good service to the people of Saskatchewan. I am simply asking that the same kind of service and the same level of dental care be provided here in Ontario.

5:50 p.m.

DISASTER RELIEF FUND

The House divided on Mr. G. I. Miller's motion of resolution 13, which was agreed to on the following vote:

AYES

Blundy, Bolan, Bounsall, Bradley, Breaugh, Breithaupt, Bryden, Charlton, Conway, Cooke, Cunningham, Davidson, M., Davison, M. N., Duksza, Eakins, Edighoffer, Foulds, Germa,

Gigantes, Grande, Haggerty, Hall, Hennessy, Isaacs, Johnston, R. F., Kerr, Kerrio.

Laughren, Lawlor, Lupusella, MacDonald, Mackenzie, Makarchuk, Mancini, Martel, McClellan, McEwen, McGuigan, McKessock, Miller, G. I., Newman, B., Nixon, O'Neil, Philip, Reid, T. P., Riddell, Ruston, Sargent, Smith, G. E., Sweeney, Taylor, G., Van Horne, Warner, Wildman, Worton.

NAYS

Auld, Belanger, Bernier, Brunelle, Cureatz, Drea, Eaton, Elgie, Gregory, Havrot, Henderson, Johnson, J., Kennedy, Lane, Leluk, MacBeth, Maeck, McCaffrey, McCague, McNeil, Newman, W., Norton, Parrott, Ramsay, Rollins, Rotenberg, Scrivener, Sterling, Timbrell, Turner, Villeneuve, Watson, Wells, Wiseman.

Ayes 55; nays 34.

DENTAL CARE PROGRAM

Mr. Speaker: Mr. Breaugh has moved resolution 11. Shall the motion carry?

Those in favour will please say "aye."

Those opposed will please say "nay."

In my opinion the ayes have it.

Resolution concurred in.

ROYAL ASSENT

Mr. Speaker: I beg to inform the House that in the name of Her Majesty the Queen, the Honourable the Lieutenant Governor has been pleased to assent to certain bills in her chambers.

First Clerk Assistant: The following are the titles of the bills to which Her Honour has assented:

Bill 2, An Act to amend the Drainage Act, 1975;

Bill 6, An Act to amend the Durham Municipal Hydro-Electric Service Act, 1979;

Bill 7, An Act to repeal the Welfare Units Act;

Bill 15, An Act to amend the Game and Fish Act;

Bill 26, An Act to amend the Live Stock and Live Stock Products Act;

Bill 31, An Act to amend the Credit Unions and Caisses Populaires Act, 1976 and to provide additional powers in certain other Acts with respect to Credit Unions and Caisses Populaires;

Bill 32, An Act to amend the Telephone Act;

Bill 33, An Act to amend the Public Transportation and Highway Improvement Act;

Bill 34, The Elevating Devices Act, 1980;

Bill 38, An Act to repeal the Railway Fire Charge Act.

ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS ON NOTICE PAPER

Hon. Mr. Wells: Mr. Speaker, just before the dinner hour, I would like to table the answers to questions 27 and 120 standing on the Notice Paper. (See appendix A, page 1347.)

I would also like to advise honourable members that I will inform them of the business of the House for tomorrow and next week following the vote tonight.

The House recessed at 6 p.m.

APPENDIX A

(See pages 1323 and 1346)

ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS
ON NOTICE PAPER

LIQUID INDUSTRIAL WASTE

64. Ms. Bryden: Will the Minister of the Environment table a summary of the statistics on liquid industrial waste reported on the waybills for the last three months for which tabulations are completed showing for each month: 1. total volume of each type of waste listed on the waybills; 2. disposal method for each type showing percentage going into: (1) landfill, (2) incineration, (3) export to US, (4) storage, (5) other disposal methods; 3. geographic origin of liquid industrial waste reported showing total volume originating in each major economic region of the province? (Tabled March 31, 1980.)

See sessional paper 82.

PRESCRIBED BURN SEMINAR, 1976

73. Mr. Foulds: Would the ministry table the material including the recommendations and procedures outlined for prescribed burns that arose out of the prescribed burn seminar of 1976? (Tabled April 1, 1980.)

Hon. Mr. Auld: I am tabling a copy of the material presented at the prescribed burn seminar, 1976. There were no written recommendations or procedures arising directly from the seminar.

See sessional paper 83.

74. Mr. Foulds: How and to what extent were the proceedings and recommendations of the prescribed burn seminar of 1976 brought to the attention of the ministry personnel throughout the province who are responsible for carrying out prescribed burns? (Tabled April 1, 1980.)

Hon. Mr. Auld: Every district with a prescribed burning program was represented at one of the seminars by senior fire control and forest management staff. A total of 70 participants and eight instructors were involved with each taking a complete compilation of material presented back to his home district or region. Additionally, a compilation of seminar material was readily available to all staff involved with prescribed burning.

PRESCRIBED BURNS PERSONNEL

75. Mr. Foulds: Would the ministry list the number of personnel engaged in prescribed burns for the years 1976, 1977, 1978 and 1979 in each of the following categories:

(a) full-time permanent employees; (b) full-time temporary employees; (c) contract employees; (d) casual employees; (e) Junior Rangers; (f) Summer Experience employees? (Tabled April 1, 1980.)

Hon. Mr. Auld: The number of personnel engaged in prescribed burns for the years and categories requested are as follows:

	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)	(f)
1976	118	1	—	240	12	24
1977	139	3	5	156	45	27
1978	243	1	1	484	40	33
1979	277	10	18	573	112	39

USE OF ASBESTOS IN SCHOOLS

90. Mr. Cassidy: Will the ministry fully outline its policy for financially assisting local school boards deal with hazardous asbestos? Specifically, are there any additional funds above the normal general legislative grants available and in what circumstances will the ministry be providing 100 per cent funding for dealing with asbestos hazards? (Tabled April 3, 1980.)

Hon. Miss Stephenson: Our policy for financially assisting local school boards to correct hazardous asbestos situations cannot be finalized until we have received, from the affected boards, a fair indication of the total costs involved.

In our present planning, however, it is generally felt that we will be approving the normal capital grant for the work required which is 90 per cent of the actual cost at the board's rate of grant.

BAIL

121. Mr. Warner: Would the Attorney General advise: 1. In 1979, of those people who were granted bail, how many pleaded guilty? Of those who were refused bail or were unable to meet the bail requirement, how many pleaded guilty? 2. In 1979 how many people were unable to meet the bail requirements? 3. Will the minister now draft a set of guidelines for the granting of bail? If not, why not? If yes, will the guidelines be public and subject to appeal? 4. Will the minister instruct the justices of the peace to provide a reason(s) each time a surety is rejected? 5. In 1979, how many people who were in jail awaiting trial, then acquitted or not jailed subsequently lost their jobs? 6. In 1979, how many people who were in jail awaiting trial were there because of police

detainment orders? 7. In 1979, how many bail applications were there? How many were not granted? (Tabled April 14, 1980.)

Hon. Mr. McMurtry: We do not keep any statistics on the number of people who are granted bail and who eventually plead guilty. Similarly there are no statistics on those who are ordered detained or who are unable to meet the conditions set down by the justice and who eventually plead guilty.

It is not clear what is meant by the phrase "unable to meet bail requirements" but assuming that this question pertains to the conditions set by the justice in order that the accused be released, no statistics are in fact kept.

It is not necessary to draft a set of guidelines for the granting of bail as in fact the rules with respect to release or detention of an accused are set out in the Criminal Code and the case law decided thereunder. The application of the guidelines and rules set out in the Criminal Code of course are subject to appeal.

It would be as inappropriate for the Attorney General to issue directions to the justice of the peace with respect to providing reasons for rejecting a surety as it would be for the Attorney General to attempt to direct a judge that he must provide reasons for the exercise of his discretion. Naturally, from time to time a justice in fact will supply reasons where the reason for rejecting a surety is in fact not obvious.

No statistics are kept by this ministry with respect to people who are ordered detained or who cannot or choose not to meet the conditions of a release order and who are

then acquitted or not jailed and who subsequently lose their job.

As there is no order such as a police detainment order, it is difficult to comment on the question posed with respect to this so-called order. Any show cause proceedings are in fact conducted by the crown or its representative and not because of any order by the police. Although initially the police may arrest an accused, the accused must be taken before a justice in short order so that an interim release hearing may be held.

In 1978-79 there were 28,548 bail hearings. Not all of the bail hearings were in fact contested. Approximately 7,000 individuals were denied bail at some point in the proceeding.

It is understood that the Ministry of Correctional Services does not keep statistics of any of the foregoing.

RESIDENTIAL TENANCY COMMISSION

127. Mr. Di Santo: Would the Ministry of Consumer and Commercial Relations provide a complete list of the 86 former office overload employees now employed by the Residential Tenancy Commission, accompanied by a list of their respective job specifications during their term of employment with Office Overload and current job specifications as crown employees with the Residential Tenancy Commission? (Tabled April 17, 1980.)

Hon. Mr. Drea: I have interpreted the question as referring to position classifications, since position specifications are basically lists of duties. The list is as follows:

Name	Previous classification	Present classification
Adelman, D.	Clerical Stenographer 5	Clerical Stenographer 5
Bachynski, A.	Clerical Stenographer 4	Clerical Stenographer 5
Babineau, J.	Clerk 5 General	Clerk 6 General
Barnes, A.	Clerk 2 General	Clerk 3 General
Basi, H.	Clerical Stenographer 5	Clerical Stenographer 5
Berg, G.	Clerk 3 General	Clerk 3 General
Berry, G.	Clerk 1 General	Clerical Typist 3
Brown, D.	Clerk 3 Mail	Clerical Typist 3
Buchholz, J.	Clerk 3 General	Clerk 4 General
Burger, R.	Clerical Stenographer 4	Clerical Stenographer 4
Burgess, P.	Clerk 2 General	Clerk 3 General
Calleja, M.	Clerical Stenographer 4	Clerk 4 General
Caverson, G.	Clerk 5 General	Clerk 6 General
Cecil, B.	Clerk 5 General	Clerk 5 General
Chacha, J.	Clerk 5 General	Clerk 5 General
Charles, V.	Clerk 2 General	Clerical Typist 3
Conn, J.	Clerk 5 General	Clerk 5 General
Cseri, M.	Secretary 4	Clerical Stenographer 4
Cuthbertson, S.	Clerk 3 General	Clerk 4 General

Name	Previous classification	Present classification
Egan, H.	Clerical Stenographer 4	Clerical Stenographer 4
Evans, V.	Clerk 5 General	Clerk 5 General
Gilbert-Morris, S.	Clerical Stenographer 5	Clerk 4 General
Gillard, P.	Clerk 3 General	Clerk 4 General
Gillespie, S.	Clerk 5 General	Clerk 5 General
Greenhalgh, J.	Clerk 5 General	Clerk 6 General
Grewal, P.	Clerk 3 General	Clerk 4 General
Grice, C.	Clerk 5 General	Clerk 5 General
Hall, E.	Clerk 3 General	Clerk 4 General
Hammill, A.	Clerk 7 General	Clerk 6 General
Harris, L.	FO 4	Clerk 6 General
Hawkyard, M.	Clerk 5 General	Clerk 5 General
Hazelwood, J.	Clerk 4 General	Clerk 4 General
Heller, D.	PRO 2	Clerk 6 General
Herrington, D.	Clerk 3 General	Clerk 4 General
Hurley, C.	Clerk 2 General	Clerical Typist 3
Hynes, T.	Clerk 3 General	Clerk 3 General
Ihnat, G.	Clerk 4 General	Clerk 3 Supply
Johnston, M.	Clerk 5 General	Clerk 5 General
Kearns, C.	Clerk 5 General	Clerk 5 General
King, G.	Clerical Stenographer 4	Clerical Stenographer 4
Klisouras, S.	Clerk 5 General	Clerk 5 General
Kuretzky, M.	Clerical Stenographer 3	Clerical Stenographer 5
Leduc, L.	Clerk 4 General	Clerk 5 General
Lodboa, S.	Clerical Stenographer 5	Clerical Stenographer 5
Lonsberry, L.	Clerk 5 General	Clerk 5 General
MacInnis, S.	Clerk 5 General	Clerk 5 General
Makila, V.	Clerk 4 General	Clerk 5 General
Marshall, S.	PRO 2	Clerk 6 General
Martin, D.	Clerk 3 General	Clerk 4 General
Metzger, K.	Clerk 5 General	Clerk 6 General
Moorhead, W.	Clerk 3 General	Clerk 5 General
Morrison, C.	Clerical Stenographer 4	Clerical Stenographer 4
Mouncey, S.	Clerical Typist 3	Clerical Typist 3
Moyer, M.	Clerical Stenographer 5	Clerk 4 General
Mzik, S.	Clerical Typist 3	Clerical Stenographer 3
Nangle, P.	Clerk 2 General	Clerical Typist 3
O'Hara, M.	Clerk 2 General	Clerk 3 General
Owens, R.	PRO 2	Clerk 6 General
Panchuk, J.	Clerk 2 General	Clerk 3 General
Parke, I.	Clerk 3 General	Clerical Stenographer 4
Pasini, M.	Clerk 5 General	Clerk 5 General
Pestano, R.	Clerk 5 General	Clerk 5 General
Pichette, L.	Clerical Stenographer 4	Clerical Stenographer 4
Piunno, M.	Clerk 2 General	Clerical Typist 3
Rosemeyer, M.	Secretary 4	Secretary 4
Roy, A.	Secretary 4	Clerk 4 General
Rozevicius, D.	Clerk 3 General	Clerk 3 General
Shulist, I.	Clerk 3 General	Clerk 4 General
Small, M.	Clerk 3 General	Clerk 4 General
Stevenson, C.	Clerk 3 General	Clerical Stenographer 5
Sullivan, L.	Clerk 2 General	Clerk 3 General
Swagers, L.	Clerical Typist 3	Clerical Typist 3
Sweeney, R.	Clerical Typist 3	Clerk 3 General
Taylor, A.	Clerical Stenographer 5	Clerical Stenographer 5
Waugh, A.	Clerk 5 General	Clerk 5 General
Whittaker, E.	Clerical Stenographer 4	Clerical Stenographer 4
Wilson, E.	Clerk 3 General	Clerical Stenographer 4
Wiwczaruk, A.	Clerical Stenographer 4	Clerical Stenographer 5
Wright, S.	Clerk 3 General	Clerk 3 General

Name	Previous classification	Present classification
York, J.	Clerical Typist 3	Clerical Typist 3
Yurkoski, R.	FO 1	Clerk 6 General

	Summary
Sub-total	81 employees
Plus: Terminations	5 employees
Total	86 employees

EDUCATIONAL ENROLMENTS AND EXPENDITURES

129. Mr. Nixon: 1. What was the total enrolment as of January 1980 in: (a) the elementary school system; (b) the secondary school system; (c) the separate school system; (d) the community colleges; (e) the provincially assisted universities? 2. What was the total expenditure from all

sources in each of the above segments for the last fiscal year? (Tabled April 17, 1980.)

Hon. Miss Stephenson: 1. The School September Report provides elementary and secondary school enrolments as of January 31, April 30 and September 30 in any given year. The 1979 data, the latest available, are as follows:

	January 31/79	April 30/79	Sept. 30/79
(a) Elementary	756,203	764,272	736,585
(b) Secondary	584,348	564,641	596,874
(c) Separate	366,711	366,472	364,295
(d) Colleges of applied arts and Technology			
Full-time enrolment			70,439
Part-time registrations			65,723
(e) Universities			
Full-time enrolment (undergraduate)			139,663
Part-time enrolment (undergraduate)			73,083
Full-time enrolment (graduate)			14,952
Part-time enrolment (graduate)			12,050

2. Total expenditure from all sources for the last fiscal year:

(a) Elementary school system year ended December 31, 1979	\$1,568,520,000
(b) Secondary school system year ended December 31, 1979	\$1,619,636,000
(c) Separate school system year ended December 31, 1979	\$ 754,264,000
(d) Community colleges of applied arts and technology year ended March 31, 1979	\$ 462,133,000
(e) Provincially assisted universities of Ontario year ended April 30, 1979	\$1,285,559,000

Sources: (a), (b) and (c) estimates from school boards; (d) Ontario College Information System (OCIS) financial system and college affairs branch; (e) report to the council of Ontario Universities, committee of finance officers, universities of Ontario, and university relations branch.

INTERIM ANSWERS

122. Mr. McClellan: (i) How many juveniles (under 16 years) have been held (currently and in the past) in facilities which can or may be used by adults? The annual reports of the Ministry of Correctional

Services lists some figures. On what authority have these juveniles been so placed? Where are they placed? At what stage in the process: awaiting trial; after conviction? How many other juveniles are detained overnight in adult facilities on a short-term basis? Where has this occurred? (ii) What policies have been defined by the government re: procedures to be followed by police in questioning juveniles? What provision has been made to ensure that parents are informed immediately when their children are detained? (Tabled April 16, 1980.)

Hon. Mr. Walker: More time will be required to answer the above question. The estimated completion date is on or about May 14, 1980.

126. Mr. Swart: Will the minister table all orders issued by the minister under section 3 of the Niagara Escarpment Plan-

ning and Development Act, 1973? (Tabled April 17, 1980.)

Hon. Mr. Brunelle: This question will require additional time for a response to be prepared. A response will be given on May 8, 1980, approximately.

128. Mr. Warner: Would the Ministry of Health advise the House: 1. In 1979 how much money was paid by OHIP to US hospitals? How many US hospitals were paid by OHIP and which ones were they? 2. What procedure is used to validate the claim by the US hospital against OHIP? (Tabled April 17, 1980.)

Hon. Mr. Timbrell: The preparation of an answer to this question requires a significant amount of research for which additional time is needed. I therefore anticipate that a response will be tabled by May 30, 1980 approximately.

APPENDIX B*

ALPHABETICAL LIST OF MEMBERS OF THE
LEGISLATURE OF ONTARIO

(124 members)

Fourth Session of the 31st Parliament

Lieutenant Governor: Hon. Pauline M. McGibbon

Speaker: Hon. John E. Stokes

Clerk of the House: Roderick Lewis, QC

Member	Constituency	Party
Ashe, G.	Durham West	PC
Auld, Hon. J. A. C.	Leeds	PC
Baetz, Hon. R. C.	Ottawa West	PC
Belanger, J. A.	Prescott and Russell	PC
Bennett, Hon. C.	Ottawa South	PC
Bernier, Hon. L.	Kenora	PC
Birch, Hon. M.	Scarborough East	PC
Blundy, P.	Sarnia	L
Bolan, M.	Nipissing	L
Bounsall, E. J.	Windsor-Sandwich	NDP
Bradley, J.	St. Catharines	L
Breaugh, M.	Oshawa	NDP
Breithaupt, J. R.	Kitchener	L
Brunelle, Hon. R.	Cochrane North	PC
Bryden, M.	Beaches-Woodbine	NDP
Campbell, M.	St. George	L
Cassidy, M.	Ottawa Centre	NDP
Charlton, B.	Hamilton Mountain	NDP
Conway, S.	Renfrew North	L
Cooke, D.	Windsor-Riverside	NDP
Cunningham, E.	Wentworth North	L
Cureatz, S.	Durham East	PC
Davidson, M.	Cambridge	NDP
Davis, Hon. W. G.	Brampton	PC
Davison, M. N.	Hamilton Centre	NDP
Di Santo, O.	Downsview	NDP
Drea, Hon. F.	Scarborough Centre	PC
Dukszta, J.	Parkdale	NDP
Eakins, J.	Victoria-Haliburton	L
Eaton, R. G.	Middlesex	PC
Edighoffer, H. (Deputy Speaker and Chairman)	Perth	L
Elgie, Hon. R.	York East	PC
Epp, H.	Waterloo North	L
Foulds, J. F.	Port Arthur	NDP
Gaunt, M.	Huron-Bruce	L
Germa, M. C.	Sudbury	NDP
Gigantes, E.	Carleton East	NDP
Grande, A.	Oakwood	NDP
Gregory, Hon. M. E. C.	Mississauga East	PC
Grossman, Hon. L.	St. Andrew-St. Patrick	PC
Haggerty, R.	Erie	L
Hall, R.	Lincoln	L

*The lists in this appendix, brought up to date as necessary, are published in Hansard on the first Friday of each month.

Member	Constituency	Party
Havrot, E.	Timiskaming	PC
Henderson, Hon. L. C.	Lambton	PC
Hennessey, M.	Fort William	PC
Hodgson, W.	York North	PC
Isaacs, C.	Wentworth	NDP
Johnson, J.	Wellington-Dufferin-Peel	PC
Johnston, R. F.	Scarborough West	NDP
Jones, T.	Mississauga North	PC
Kennedy, R. D.	Mississauga South	PC
Kerr, G. A.	Burlington South	PC
Kerrio, V.	Niagara Falls	L
Lane, J.	Algoma-Manitoulin	PC
Laughren, F.	Nickel Belt	NDP
Lawlor, P. D.	Lakeshore	NDP
Leluk, N. G.	York West	PC
Lupusella, A.	Dovercourt	NDP
MacBeth, J. P. (Deputy Chairman and Acting Speaker)	Humber	PC
MacDonald, D. C.	York South	NDP
Mackenzie, R.	Hamilton East	NDP
Maeck, Hon. L.	Parry Sound	PC
Makarchuk, M.	Brantford	NDP
Mancini, R.	Essex South	L
Martel, E. W.	Sudbury East	NDP
McCaffrey, B.	Armourdale	PC
McCague, Hon. G.	Dufferin-Simcoe	PC
McClellan, R.	Bellwoods	NDP
McEwen, J. E.	Frontenac-Addington	L
McGuigan, J.	Kent-Elgin	L
McKessock, R.	Grey	L
McMurtry, Hon. R.	Eglinton	PC
McNeil, R. K.	Elgin	PC
Miller, Hon. F. S.	Muskoka	PC
Miller, G. I.	Haldimand-Norfolk	L
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Riddell, J.	Huron-Middlesex	L
Rollins, C. T.	Hastings-Peterborough	PC
Rotenberg, D.	Wilson Heights	PC
Rowe, R. D.	Northumberland	PC
Roy, A. J.	Ottawa East	L
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Stong, A.	York Centre	L
Swart, M.	Welland-Thorold	NDP
Sweeney, J.	Kitchener-Wilmot	L
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Taylor, J. A.	Prince Edward-Lennox	PC
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Van Horne, R.	London North	L
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Walker, Hon. G.	London South	PC
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Watson, A. N.	Chatham-Kent	PC
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Bennett, Hon. C.; Minister of Housing (Ottawa South PC)
Birch, Hon. M.; Provincial Secretary for Social Development (Scarborough East PC)
Bounsall, E. J. (Windsor-Sandwich NDP)
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Bryden, M. (Beaches-Woodbine NDP)
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Cooke, D. (Windsor-Riverside NDP)
Drea, Hon. F.; Minister of Consumer and Commercial Relations (Scarborough Centre PC)
Eakins, J. (Victoria-Haliburton L)
Edighoffer, H.; Deputy Speaker (Perth L)
Elgie, Hon. R.; Minister of Labour (York East PC)
Foulds, J. F. (Port Arthur NDP)
Germa, M. C. (Sudbury NDP)
Gigantes, E. (Carleton East NDP)
Gregory, Hon. M. E. C.; Minister without Portfolio (Mississauga East PC)
Grossman, Hon. L.; Minister of Industry and Tourism (St. Andrew-St. Patrick PC)
Hall, R. (Lincoln L)
Hennessy, M. (Fort William PC)
MacBeth, J. P.; Acting Speaker (Humber PC)
Mackenzie, R. (Hamilton East NDP)
Makarchuk, M. (Brantford NDP)
Mancini, R. (Essex South L)
Martel, E. W. (Sudbury East NDP)
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(Dufferin-Simcoe PC)
McMurtry, Hon. R.; Attorney General; Solicitor General (Eglinton PC)
Miller, G. I. (Haldimand-Norfolk L)
Nixon, R. F. (Brant-Oxford-Norfolk L)
Norton, Hon. K.; Minister of Community and Social Services (Kingston and the Islands PC)
Parrott, Hon. H. C.; Minister of the Environment (Oxford PC)
Peterson, D. (London Centre L)
Philip, E. (Etobicoke NDP)
Ramsay, R. H. (Sault Ste. Marie PC)
Reid, T. P. (Rainy River L)
Rowe, R. D. (Northumberland PC)
Ruston, R. F. (Essex North L)
Smith, S.; Leader of the Opposition (Hamilton West L)
Stokes, Hon. J. E.; Speaker (Lake Nipigon NDP)
Swart, M. (Welland-Thorold NDP)
Timbrell, Hon. D. R.; Minister of Health (Don Mills PC)
Van Horne, R. (London North L)
Warner, D. (Scarborough-Ellesmere NDP)
Wells, Hon. T. L.; Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs (Scarborough North PC)
Wildman, B. (Algoma NDP)
Worton, H. (Wellington South L)
Ziemba, E. (High Park-Swansea NDP)



No. 36

Legislature of Ontario Debates

Official Report (Hansard)

Fourth Session, 31st Parliament

Thursday, May 1, 1980

Evening Sitting

Speaker: Honourable John E. Stokes

Clerk: Roderick Lewis, QC



02.011

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Contents of the proceedings reported in this issue of Hansard appears at the back, together with an alphabetical list of the speakers taking part.

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Hansard subscription price is \$15.00 per session, from: Sessional Subscription Service, Printing Services Branch, Ministry of Government Services, 9th Floor, Ferguson Block, Parliament Buildings, Toronto M7A 1N3. Phone 965-2238.

Published by the Legislature of the Province of Ontario.
Editor of Debates: Peter Brannan.

LEGISLATURE OF ONTARIO

THURSDAY, MAY 1, 1980

The House resumed at 8:01 p.m.

INTEREST RATES

Mr. S. Smith moved resolution 17:

That the Legislative Assembly, noting the failure of the government's budget to provide immediate and effective relief from the high interest rates now burdening mortgaged home owners, farmers and small businessmen in Ontario, declares it has no confidence in this government.

Mr. S. Smith: Mr. Speaker, there is an offer from the Treasurer (Mr. F. S. Miller) to give up before we even start the battle. I would accept this, but I'm afraid his friends, his recent converts from socialism, unfortunately feel differently.

We feel the problem facing Ontario is one which cannot simply be laid at the feet of the federal government, but is one for which Ontario must take responsibility in order to help those Ontarians at present in need.

Let me say a few words about interest rates in general, to set the pattern and the background for the motion we have presented. I think we are all aware that over the years interest rates, reflecting the degree to which money is more or less made available for investment purposes, have tended to follow inflation, and, some would contend, have been deliberately increased in an effort to deal with inflation.

Whether they have been a consequence of inflation or an attempt to deal with inflation, I think we all understand that as long as we have inflation, one way or another, interest rates are going to be high.

What we do not accept, however, is that interest rates in Canada need to be so strictly related to the inflation rate of our neighbour, the United States of America. We said this, of course, during the previous federal government of the Right Honourable Mr. Clark, and we say it during the present federal government. We believe that Canada would be better advised to follow a policy of greater economic independence.

Be that as it may, however, the main point I want to make is that our interest rates are not, at their present level, primarily a result of an effort to deal with Canadian inflation. By the admission of the governor of the Bank

of Canada, part of the reason for interest rates being as high as they are is to deal with the possibility of the Canadian dollar falling vis-à-vis the American dollar, and is, therefore, more a reflection of American inflation.

There is certain room for movement—I might say, room for action—on the part of both the federal and the provincial governments, to assist those who are hardest hit by the high interest rates, without being counterproductive—against, in other words, the very purpose of the high interest rates.

We would not be so irresponsible as to suggest, Mr. Speaker, that if these high interest rates were needed to combat inflation the government should put a lot of money into undoing the very effect the interest rates are supposed to have. Not at all. What we are saying is that these high interest rates in Canada are higher than they need to be to fight inflation and, therefore, there is a certain room for governments to aid those who are hardest hit, to bring relief to those people without facing the accusation that in so doing they are in some way undoing the very anti-inflationary purpose of the interest rates themselves.

It is interesting to note that even the Treasurer has come, to some extent, to the conclusion—he will speak for himself, I am sure, with great ability—but it is interesting that he seems to have come, to some extent, to the conclusion that there is a certain room for governments to move in this regard.

I recall that when the Right Honourable Mr. Clark raised the interest rates in keeping with the American situation, the Treasurer said he didn't know quite what to say because five of his economists told him that was a good thing, three said it was a bad thing, and they were all so darned convincing—I hope I am quoting the Treasurer correctly—that he didn't quite know which way to go on the issue.

One can sympathize with anyone having to take advice from a number of economists nowadays but, as it happens, the Treasurer seemed to resolve his dilemma once Mr. Clark was no longer in office. At that point it suddenly became clear to him that the interest rates did not need to be all that

high and he found himself much more free, shall we say, to criticize the federal policies once they were red policies rather than blue policies.

We are used to this in this House. We are used to the fact that everything good that has happened to Ontario over the last 37 years is supposedly a reflection of the excellent management provided by the members opposite and that everything bad that has happened is due to international forces, is due to enemies in the labour movement, is due to the federal government which is usually Liberal. I suppose if such a fairy story has convinced people to vote for this government for the last 37 years, we must forgive the members opposite for thinking that it has not yet worn thin and that it might yet fool the people again at some point. Frankly, I don't feel people are willing to buy that any longer. But I am being sidetracked by the thought of whether the people will be fooled by Tory policies in the future.

Mr. Nixon: Never again. It is game over for the Tories.

Mr. S. Smith: I must return to the point I am supposed to speak to. I would hate to be accused of wandering from the main point of the motion, Mr. Speaker.

I want to say this. There are some very important needs created in Ontario as a consequence of the high interest rates. To be fair, it is not in every instance that the high interest rate itself has been the sole creator of the problem. For instance, let us speak, first of all, of the farm community.

People in the banking business in south-western Ontario tell me that their desks right now are piled high with files that represent the lives, the aspirations of farmers who deal with those particular banks. In fact, these people are in very grave danger of losing all the equity they have ever had, that they have built up during their lifetimes on these farms. To be fair—and I know the Treasurer will want to say this anyway—it is not just the interest rates that have done this. Many of these are hog farmers and we know how a lot of them expanded their production unwisely. Some are cattle farmers in similar situations. Some are farmers with crops that do not fall under supply management and are, therefore, facing a credit squeeze at this time. We understand the problems.

Mr. Foulds: This is the authentic voice of rural Ontario speaking.

Mr. Nixon: He knows more about it than anybody in the NDP.

8:10 p.m.

Mr. S. Smith: The member for Port Arthur is very upset about the fact that I would offer to say something on behalf of the farm community. I hope he will understand that although I don't pretend to be an expert in farm matters, I do have the advantage of about 15 or 16 members who are and have been farmers and who represent the rural areas, unlike the member for Port Arthur, who doesn't have a farmer in his caucus and never will have.

Interjections.

Mr. S. Smith: The member for York South (Mr. MacDonald), is trying to palm himself off as a man of the soil.

Mr. MacDonald: Go back and lie on your couch.

Mr. S. Smith: I admit he has a considerable knowledge of agricultural matters and has been an effective critic for his party in these matters. The member for York South knows I have enormous personal respect for him. However, I think he would be the first to admit that most of his farming activity lately takes place in flower boxes and in the cracks in the asphalt around his riding.

Interjections.

Mr. S. Smith: May I say that the farm community has come to visit members of our caucus and talked with me. I have spoken with bankers. I don't need to be an expert in farming to have an enormous respect for those people who are the producers of food in our society and, secondly, to have a very profound feeling of sadness to see how difficult it is, especially for the new farmer, especially for the young farmer and especially for those in certain crops and certain herds where the difficulty stems both from the low commodity prices and from the high interest rates.

Even if we can all agree, as ladies and gentlemen in the Legislature, that it is not just the interest rates, but that the low commodity prices are also a very important factor, we must do what we can within our ability to help. We do not have the ability at this time nor, do I suspect, would it be a policy that any of us would wish to implement immediately to increase the price of certain food commodities. It is not a desirable nor an achievable objective. What we do have is the ability to help those people who are hardest hit by the high interest rates.

If we lose these farming people, if they are put in a position where they have to sell out to large agri-business or they have to sell out to foreign owners or they have to take the discouragement and the misery which comes with losing one's life savings and one's aspirations of farming, if these people become the example for the next generation, who are already in some great trepidation about whether going into farming is a good way to spend one's life, given the vicissitudes of that way of existing, if we cannot help people and prevent them from having their farms foreclosed, from having their equity lost, from having to sell out, if we can't do that for our farming community then what are we about in this Legislature? Surely we understand that.

I am not for a moment saying the federal government should not be helpful. Frankly, I am disappointed they haven't been more helpful up to now.

Mr. Martel: Move no confidence in them then.

Mr. S. Smith: It is suggested by the member for Sudbury East that I should move my no-confidence motion in the federal House. As it happens, I am the Leader of the Opposition in the provincial House. Although the member for Sudbury East does not have the privilege or the pleasure of turning out of office a government at the federal level, which I know he wishes to do, he does have the possibility of turning out the government at the provincial level, which he refuses to do.

Mr. Martel: You will change your mind before we get to the vote. You will flip-flop three times before then.

Mr. S. Smith: The member for Sudbury East is going to lose his job in the public relations department of Inco if he keeps shouting like that.

We must help the farming community.

Let me say a few words about the small business community. The greatest hope we have in Ontario is to once again take our rightful place as a business and economic leader in Canada, not as the province that grows the least slowly of all 10 provinces as has happened under Mr. Davis in the 1970s. The best opportunity we have to become the growth centre we should be is by developing not the multinationals and not by inviting in branch plants, but by helping small and medium-sized Canadian-owned, owner-operated businesses in our province.

To give the Treasurer his due, the budget he has brought in contains certain measures

to assist small business. We favour those and members can be sure if we were in a position to bring in a budget, those measures would be reintroduced. But I say this, and I say it very sincerely, the small businesses that will be helped by those measures will be helped about a year from now when it comes time for their taxes to be filed. They will be helped down the road.

These people we are concerned about, these people who can produce affidavits from the bank managers to say the interest rates are the reason for the possible nonviability, these people who are now having bankruptcies at record levels in Ontario with a 40 per cent increase in bankruptcies in southwestern Ontario, these people who are the very fibre and substance of the small communities as well as some of the larger ones in Ontario, these people need help with interest rates now.

We propose that the government should move to assist these people and not just say it is someone else's responsibility. Other provinces have helped their farmers. Other provinces have helped other citizens deal with high interest rates, yet Ontario, which used to lead, now hangs back and promises us a study.

The third group I wish to discuss is the people who have after many years managed to save up enough money to plan their lives accordingly, and have managed to purchase a home. A home may be the one stake they have in our society. We believe a home is a root to a stable society. There is no violence in the streets when on those streets people own their own homes. It is a very interesting phenomenon, but owning a home is a very important stake in society.

It should not be a roulette game that when people own a home they have to worry about what is going to happen to interest rates. When people decide to buy a home they base it on their income, they base it on their expenditures, on their family size. To increase, suddenly out of nowhere, the payments on that home by 50 per cent or 60 per cent, as happens to people whose mortgages go from 9.5 per cent to 10 per cent up to 16 per cent or 17 per cent, is a totally unfair burden to place on these individuals.

It is not good enough to say we will help those who are above 30 per cent of their family income in terms of shelter payments, because I want to point out that in today's society family income in many instances comes from more than one breadwinner.

Mr. Foulds: Is that the gunslinger pose?

Mr. S. Smith: No, this is my thoughtful statesman's pose.

There are many families with more than one breadwinner and although it may be argued that the family income is so many dollars, let's say \$30,000 in total, if it comes from two breadwinners, two earners, it is not realistic to base 30 per cent on that \$30,000 because there are expenses involved in transportation to one's place of work, in the type of clothing one may require, in day care and in babysitters. It is not that simple for people with two incomes suddenly to be regarded as though \$30,000 was a lot of money.

I say that to demand that they have to reach 30 per cent is to put a good many of those people to the wall. I say, furthermore, although the Treasurer nods and says in most instances there is nothing to worry about, although he thinks there is no reason to help these people, there is plenty of reason to help these people.

8:20 p.m.

I realize that time is limited, and I want other members on our side to have some opportunity to speak. I could go on at some length, but I will not do so. I know the NDP enjoys it when I go on at greater length because it is their only opportunity for education in many instances, but I will confine myself to a few comments, for their benefit and for the benefit of others.

We produced a paper well in advance of the budget explaining one way that farmers, business people, small business people and home owners could be helped. We do not say that is the only possible way, but we put a lot of thought and effort into it. We believe we put forward a good program, a helpful program, which with federal support would be an even better program. What do we have from the Treasurer? We have the promise of a study of various options in the month of May. Isn't that marvelous—a study of various options. His own officials, when they presented that in the lockup, had to laugh, because it is just a sop to the NDP to get them off the hook. Everybody knows that is what it is.

What good is it to go to the farmers faced with foreclosure, to the home owners against the wall, to the small business people faced with bankruptcy and tell them the government is going to have a study of options? Can they go to their bank manager with the Treasurer's study of options? Is that going to get them anywhere? No possible way.

Look at what the president of the Ontario Federation of Labour, a former NDP member said: "The problem of interest rates is the number one issue in Ontario at this time. People are losing their houses now. Small

businesses are going bankrupt now. Investment decisions are being put off now. Jobs are being lost now. Ontario needs action now." That is what Mr. Pilkey said.

Why confine ourselves to former NDP members? The member for Wentworth (Mr. Isaacs), who sits so peacefully and pleasantly in the House right now—

Mr. Laughren: Placidly.

Mr. S. Smith: —placidly you might even say—said only on April 25:

"Does the Premier (Mr. Davis) realize that many families are facing mortgage renewal now and cannot wait until mid-May or later? What does the Premier advise a family to do when they are faced with a mortgage renewal which includes monthly payments they know they cannot afford? Should they sign a mortgage when they know they will be unable to meet the payments? Should they abandon the home to the mortgage holder? Or should they hope and pray that the Treasurer will do something to help them before too many mortgage payments become due?"

We know what his policy is. We know what the policy of his leader is. The member for Wentworth never told the people in the by-election—and I was there; I know—he was going to go in and support the government. I can assure the House he never said that. No. The same man who says now, "Should these home owners hope and pray that the Treasurer will do something to help them before too many mortgage payments become due?" is a member of the party of exactly such hopes and such prayers, because they certainly do not have any principles: the NDP, the party of no determined principles.

I know the NDP have seen the same polls we have seen. They are aware that their support is at a post-war low in Ontario. They are trying to avoid political annihilation, and I can understand self-preservation as an instinct. It is an instinct I know something about, but much as I can understand that instinct, there is no way I can respect it. There is no way I can respect a party that presented eight no-confidence motions and suddenly decided that this is a government worthy of support.

Listen, Mr. Speaker, to their leader: Their leader now says and the Premier says, "Dr. Smith and the Liberals don't want to help the pensioners. That's why they want an election." What nonsense. Of course the pensioner program would be reintroduced immediately as part of a Liberal budget and would remain retroactive. But it would be introduced in such a way that nobody got

less than he would have got under the old program. We wouldn't be giving money to E. P. Taylor and taking it away from the people near the very bottom of the income scale.

So many thoughts come to mind that it is hard to limit myself but I shall tear myself away from this interesting situation we are debating and allow others to have the floor.

This government has allowed Ontario to deteriorate economically during the 1970s. We have squandered the 1970s. I don't intend to waste the 1980s. We will have an election soon. The election may come when the Premier calls it or it may come when we call it, but sooner or later the record of this government will go before the people of Ontario and there will be a change and then Ontario will get moving again.

Mr. Laughren: Mr. Speaker, it's always revealing to have yet another lesson in Liberal economics because it changes from week to week. The best lessons I have heard in years are Liberal economics.

We are going to vote against the Liberal motion of no confidence on interest rates. We understand very well—

Interjections.

Mr. Laughren: Mr. Speaker, do I have the floor? We in this party understand very well that there must be relief for people hard pressed by rising interest rates. Let that be clearly understood. We insist, too, there must be relief; everyone in the chamber, I suspect, agrees on that. But there's another thing that we all agree on and that is what it is that has caused the high interest rates in this country. We all know what it is. We know that it is caused by the Liberal wrecking machine in Ottawa.

Here we are in Ontario, picking up the pieces of the damage done by a federal Liberal government these many years. It takes some kind of nerve, more nerve than Dick Tracy ever had, for the Liberals to blame anybody else for the cause of interest rates rising higher than they should be. It takes a lot of nerve for a Liberal to do anything like that.

8:30 p.m.

Mr. Speaker, I shall be very direct to you and to other members of the chamber. We are not voting with the Conservative government of Ontario; we are voting against Liberal hypocrisy in the chamber tonight. We are voting against an election at this time. We are voting against Liberal paranoia because they know full well, as the Liberals in Ottawa engage in their games of manipulation

and deceit, they will take a nosedive and they will be obliterated in the province.

There is no doubt in any of our minds that there needs to be interest rate relief provided to home owners and to farmers in Ontario. That is not even in question. We also know that even though that is basically a federal responsibility, this government has an obligation to bail out those people who get into trouble. There is an obligation on the part of the provincial government. We know too that the Treasurer (Mr. F. S. Miller) and the federal government in Ottawa are playing an incredible game of chicken, waiting to see who will make the first move to provide interest rate relief. We are very much against that.

To look at the Ontario Liberal Party's reaction to the whole scenario and all the problems of high interest rates, one would almost think, even though it is a federal responsibility, that the Liberals, as though acting on direct orders from Pierre Trudeau and Allan MacEachen, had said, "Stand back, federal counterparts, we will pick up the major part of the tab here in Ontario," thus taking the heat off their federal cousins in Ottawa. That is what they have been doing.

The Liberals in Ottawa are snickering at the Ontario Liberals because the parent company in Ottawa has told its own branch political party what to do and they have done it. They have toed the line. Provincial Liberals toeing the line for their federal counterparts are like a Tory back-bencher never stepping out of line. As R. H. Tawney from Great Britain once said, they have a lively sense of favours yet to come. They wait their turn.

I have made a few comments to try to put the whole question in perspective and put some of the blame where it belongs. I would like to state very clearly that the Ontario Tories are not exactly knights in shining armour either. They have been willing accomplices in causing the problems which create rising interest rates in the first place. The Tories know full well, and if they don't they should, that the reason we have high interest rates is the incredible sellout of this country, including this province. They send the Minister of Industry and Tourism (Mr. Grossman) out to make sure we have more foreign ownership and higher interest rates. He is engaging in his own form of fiscal sado-masochism.

Mr. Kerrio: Bad as they are, they are not as hypocritical as you are.

Hon. Mr. Gregory: Mr. Speaker, as a member of this Legislature I have a right to hear the remarks of the member, but because of the ridicule from the members over there

I can't hear a thing. I wonder if they would keep quiet?

Mr. Laughren: Mr. Speaker, we are very proud that in this party we agree with our federal counterparts that we need a made-in-Canada interest rate policy, not one that is imported from the United States like the Liberals. The Tories won't do anything about it either.

In the long run we understand what the problems are and they require long-run solutions. In the short run there simply must be help provided to protect home owners and farmers against the rising interest rates. The government has said it will introduce assistance on its own without federal support for the farmers and we intend to hold it to that commitment.

The Liberal Party, a month or so ago, introduced an interest rate relief program. One might wonder why we are so leery of supporting anything the Liberals in Ontario do. They have a plan which would provide that a family with an income of \$37,500 and a mortgage of \$40,000 will be eligible for a grant—that's with interest rates at 16 per cent. So somebody earning \$37,500, with the mortgage payments being only 21.7 per cent of their family income, would receive a grant. We think that's not equitable. That's not the way the taxpayers' money should be spent. That is not what we believe in.

Perhaps I could give another example, because I don't think the Liberal backbenchers know what their financial critic has done to them. Another example is that a family with an income of \$30,000 and a mortgage of \$30,000 would be getting a grant of \$30 a month, even though their monthly payments, including—

Interjections.

Mr. Kerrio: Let's hear your answer.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: Order.

Mr. Laughren: You will hear it, if you will shut up for one minute.

Mr. Kerrio: You are a second-rate citizen. Tell us your plan.

Mr. Laughren: Would you tell the clown to be quiet?

The point I am trying to make is that the Liberal plan—

Interjections.

Mr. Martel: Mr. Speaker, on a point of order: While there is a little bit of kibitzing, my colleague has been attempting to speak for about 10 minutes and there has been so much jibber-jabbering from a couple of people over there. Mr. Speaker, in all fairness, you have been sitting in the chair and

I would ask you to bring a little restraint so we can hear what he is saying.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: Order. Order. Order.

Mr. Kerrio: He is not making a point of order at all.

Mr. Laughren: Mr. Speaker, the point I am trying to make is that people whose mortgage payments and taxes are under 20 per cent of their family income would be given a grant by the Liberal plan. We say that is not an equitable plan and we have one that is infinitely more equitable than theirs.

Let me give an example. What we have said is that there must be interest rate relief for people in need. We believe that very strongly. We are more fiscally responsible than the Liberals though and we are more equitable, and I will tell members what we would do. Perhaps I could use three examples. A family earning \$15,000 a year in income and with a mortgage of \$30,000—

Interjections.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: Order.

Mr. Laughren: Do we have to listen to that clown for the rest of the night, Mr. Speaker? Maybe you had better throw one of us out, because he can't stay. It's ridiculous.

Mr. Kerrio: Point of order, Mr. Speaker.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: Order. What is your point of order?

Mr. Kerrio: I refuse to listen to that pip-squeak refer to—

Mr. Deputy Speaker: Order. Would the member for Niagara Falls take his seat? That's not a point of order. The member for Nickel Belt.

8:40 p.m.

Mr. Laughren: I find it very strange that the Liberals would introduce a no-confidence motion and then let the clowns take over. It's a serious matter we are debating here.

With our program, our policy, a family with an income of \$15,000 and a \$30,000 mortgage would receive an annual grant of \$1,320. A family with an income of \$20,000 and a mortgage of \$35,000, would receive a grant of \$672 annually, and a family at the top of the scale—we think the ceiling should be around \$25,000, not almost \$40,000 like the Liberals, we estimate that at that level, with a mortgage of \$40,000, there would be a grant of approximately \$150, or \$144 to be precise.

We believe in a scheme that is graduated, that is progressive and that will look after the families in greatest need because of rising interest rates. That's what we believe and

that's what I put in my response to the budget the other night. I suggested to the Treasurer that's the program he should look at, not one that's a bottomless pit, not one that's regressive in nature, not one that provides relief to people whose mortgage payments are less than 20 per cent of their family income.

Mr. Sargent: Why doesn't the member bring in a motion? We will support it.

Mr. Laughren: I want to see what those people are going to do.

While we are voting against this Liberal hypocrisy disguised as a motion, we are also serving notice to this government that action must be taken to provide relief to home owners who are hard pressed by high interest rates. We are serving notice to them and we are very serious about it.

We also believe that the small business community has received some relief in that budget with its capital exemptions and with its capital investments. We are also firmly committed to relief for the farmers who are hard pressed as well.

We think there are about 20,000 home owners in Ontario who are going to be hardship cases this year as their mortgages roll over, and those are the ones for whom we're prepared to stay here and work out a program to ensure that they get help, not go out on the hustings with these people so they don't get help. That's what the Liberals are trying to do.

In conclusion, I would offer two pieces of advice: to the government, that they should get on with the job of providing relief to farmers and to home owners, and to the Liberals, to start talking to their colleagues in Ottawa. They should be able to get action, because blood is thicker than water.

Hon. Mr. Drea: Mr. Speaker, I would like to start my remarks tonight with the remark that someone made on May 13, 1974, approximately six years ago, in talking about an Ontario budget: "In this budget, the provincial Treasurer has made economic history. For the first time in the history of Canada he has not only met the pressures of the day, but he has made the social policy of this government part and parcel of the budget. He has transformed the budget from a mere economic weapon into a weapon that will achieve many of the social reforms that are the hallmarks of this party."

Those remarks were made by me in response to the budget of former Treasurer John White. Those remarks were true six years ago. They were true because the budget of Ontario entered a phase where it be-

came a social weapon, one that was primarily aimed at making the retirement years of people of this province years that would be filled with the dignity and self-respect that comes from being able to weather the vicissitudes or the changes or even the worries of a changing economy that in 1980, just as in 1974, often stem from results beyond the control of any government in this country.

The budget that was tabled by my friend and colleague, the member for Muskoka (Mr. F. S. Miller), firmly establishes a foundation that will ensure a continued stance in dignity and a continued participation in the community by those who are in their retirement years.

Mr. Kerrio: Plus a \$1-billion deficit.

Hon. Mr. Drea: It is a landmark budget because for the first time it addresses the demographic changes in our society that—

Mr. Kerrio: Give them chapter two now.

Hon. Mr. Drea: Mr. Speaker, I am going to start that sentence again and I would eminently ask the buffoons across the way to keep quiet.

Mr. Kerrio: Let the buffoon on the other side speak.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: Order.

Mr. Sargent: Come over here and say that.

Hon. Mr. Drea: Mr. Speaker, I assure you that I may be the last speaker tonight but I would appreciate some order.

Mr. Kerrio: We will balance the budget in 1980.

Hon. Mr. Drea: As I was saying, this is a landmark budget, because it does approach the demographic changes that are going to have such a profound impact, not only on our economy as they are beginning to have today, but on our standard of living and, finally, the most important thing, our quality of life. Yet tonight I am being asked, as is every member of the House, to vote no-confidence in that approach. What I am being asked to vote against is very significant, albeit over the years, a first step towards enabling the older person in our society to maintain their own homes, notwithstanding the inflationary pressures that affect their fixed incomes.

When you are 65 or 70, Mr. Speaker, and have paid off your mortgage and have paid off your interest, your great concern is what will the property taxes do to you. No matter how efficient the municipality and no matter how efficient the board of education,

they have to face the fact that inflationary pressures mean that the local municipalities will have to raise more funds.

In the three elections I have been in the one common concern of the older person has been not the demand, but the plea, that something be done particularly about the education taxes. Sometimes it includes the entire property tax as well. It is made on the basis that they paid and made their contribution to a society and now they fear they will no longer be able to keep up with the need for revenues that come from an increased expectation within that society.

In this budget, one half of the people over 65 who are property owners in this province will have their entire tax load taken from their shoulders.

Mr. Sargent: That is a lot of malarkey.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: Order.

Hon. Mr. Drea: Almost two thirds of the retired persons in this province will have their property taxes offset by the cheques that will come from the province.

8:50 p.m.

Mr. Speaker, I suggest to you this measure has such overwhelming support is this House tonight that, just a few moments ago, the Leader of the Opposition (Mr. S. Smith) pledged his heart and soul that no matter what happened here tonight he would reintroduce it. If it is so important for so many people, then why am I and every other member of the House tonight being asked to dissolve the House so those cheques will never go out?

I am not even being asked to vote against the budget because it does not go far enough in terms of small business. Just a few moments ago, right over there in the loyal opposition, that very frustrated, somewhat hyper loyal opposition of tonight, the leader solemnly pledged that the benefits for small business in the 1980 budget of the Treasurer were so vital to the progress of this province that no matter what happens tonight they will be reintroduced.

I and the other members of this House are being asked to vote tonight so those measures will not come into effect on schedule. Never before have I been asked to vote against something for pure political expediency. Even the political expediency comes with an apology that, notwithstanding what happens tonight, they will all be reintroduced.

I suggest to you, **Mr. Speaker**—I suggest to you, I suggest to you for the third time, in order that the rather unruly conversations can continue—that the budget I am being asked to vote against was a budget that came in

on schedule, on the day it was supposed to, in the manner it was supposed to, notwithstanding the fact that less than 24 hours before there was a sneak attack and a stab in the back aimed directly at the Treasurer of this province by the federal Minister of Finance, **Mr. MacEachen**. It was supposedly not a mini budget, supposedly not a budget—I understand it was a statement of economic destiny.

I say to the member for Niagara Falls (**Mr. Kerrio**), the member for St. Catharines (**Mr. Bradley**) and the member for Lincoln (**Mr. Hall**), who is not here. In the federal Finance minister's sneak attack he was so careless in his insatiable lust for political expediency and money that every grape grower in the peninsula is looking for Liberal scalps tonight. When I go to the Niagara Peninsula, those grape growers are out in appreciation of the work of this government. Those three honourable members cannot even go out tonight.

Mr. Kerrio: How many members has the minister down there?

Mr. Bradley: How many members has the minister?

Hon. Mr. Drea: Two thousand jobs are going to be lost because the Minister of Finance of Canada had to move quickly in the stealth of the night, and did not really understand the tax he was imposing. This afternoon, obviously, somebody had a frantic phone call with him.

Interjections.

Hon. Mr. Drea: I don't speak to the Finance minister. As a matter of fact, I am rather enjoying watching him twist on that little petard. All of a sudden the federal Finance minister concedes that perhaps he really didn't know what he was doing with this tax and is going to retreat.

Tonight, I am being asked to vote against a budget that is going to bring the benefits that I talked about a moment ago. Yet, what are those who say, for the sake of political expediency, for the right to tread the boardwalk, for the right to put up our wee little sign, there should be an election that will cost millions, going to do about the grape growers, about the 2,000 of them who are out of business because of their party in Ottawa? Surely, tonight instead of all this playacting—

Interjections:

Mr. Kerrio: How many members have you got in Niagara?

Mr. Deputy Speaker: Order. Order! Would the honourable member for Niagara Falls refrain from interrupting?

Mr. Kerrio: Yes, Mr. Speaker, if he refrains from directing his—

Mr. Deputy Speaker: Order! This is the last time I will ask the honourable member to refrain.

Mr. Sargent: On a point of order, Mr. Speaker—

Mr. Deputy Speaker: Order! I will take the honourable member's point of order in a moment.

I distinctly told the member for Niagara Falls that would be the last time he would be allowed to interject. He did interject, therefore, I would ask the honourable member to leave the chamber.

Mr. Kerrio left the chamber.

Mr. Laughren: That's one clown less.

Mr. Sargent: Mr. Speaker, on a point of order—

Mr. Deputy Speaker: What is your point of order?

Mr. Sargent: My point of order is this: The member who was speaking, the honourable minister, was directing his remarks in the exchange towards the member and the member for Niagara Falls was within his rights to interject.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: The honourable member doesn't have a point of order.

Mr. Laughren: Throw him out too.

Hon. Mr. Drea: Mr. Speaker, surely instead of all of this the business of the House might very well be conducted tonight. What is going to be the fate of the Niagara grape grower because of the indiscriminate and rather thoughtless attempts at taxation? Indeed, what is going to happen to the—

Interjections.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: Order. Order.

Hon. Mr. Drea: Mr. Speaker, surely the time of the House might be much more advantageously used to cope with that situation than with this exercise we are going through tonight.

This government, in the course of the budget debate, and I assume the remarks were aimed at the Treasurer, has already been called inefficient, ineffective and inept. If it is the mark of an inefficient, ineffective and inept monetary policy of a provincial government that it does not have to borrow on the open market then Canada certainly needs more such inefficiency, such ineffectiveness and ineptitude.

If the self discipline this government has used to produce restraint without sacrificing necessary social services is a mark of inef-

ficiency or ineptness, then I humbly suggest many more governments on this continent need those characteristics. Because certainly the results of discipline, of restraint, of the gumption to tighten the belt, are evident.

9 p.m.

As the Treasurer mentioned in his budget, there was additional revenue realized last year which in the ordinary course of events would have tempted one to produce more programs and to spend the money. Restraint, no matter how practical and how necessary, doesn't come without sacrifice and without criticism. But that wasn't done. I suggest if perhaps more governments, more Legislatures and indeed more Treasurers or Ministers of Finance might enjoy those characteristics, then we might be much better off for it.

If I am being asked to vote against this budget tonight, what I am being asked to do is, in the words of the critic of the opposition—just part of a sentence, but I was here when he said it, and he said it with great drama and I believe great honesty; I am convinced after hearing his remarks in detail and reading them over later that he did mean it—and that is the line that what is given is either so little as to be absurd, or given so inequitably that it hurts those who need the help so much.

If what this budget provides is so little as to be absurd, then I suggest that absurdity may be the national characteristic that provides for a full and responsive economy. If it is a budget that is meeting the emerging needs of an ageing population and that is considered to be so little as to be absurd, then what am I being asked to vote against?

The fundamental issue is that I am not, nor are members of this House, being asked to vote against anything. They are being asked, with all the candour of an outraged seducer when his clumsy attempts are foiled, to go forward into an adventure that will satisfy the insatiable lust for power of some, the insatiable egos of others, but, above all, meet the insatiable fear of the fact that inevitably some in this House, for better or worse—and unfortunately it is getting worse by the day—are being linked so intimately with Ottawa that the very scourge of the voters that is going to come upon those who now occupy power in Ottawa may very well, and unfairly, be vested right at the ballot box if things are allowed to continue much longer.

We are not being asked to vote for or against a budget. We are being asked to provide a life-saver before somebody goes down for the third time. And it would be at a cost

of millions to the taxpayers, at tremendous inconvenience to the public in a year when they have had a federal election—and a municipal election is just down the road—more uncertainty, more chaos, in what has to be the fixed and stable institution in these trying days in all of government.

And it would be on an issue so nonexistent that the Leader of the Opposition promised that if his master plan worked and this House dissolved tonight, the very first thing he would do is to come back in and reintroduce the entire budget.

Mr. Speaker, I suggest to you that is not the politics of hypocrisy. That is not the politics of adventurism. That is the politics of schizophrenia. At this time in Ontario, there is no need for a mixed mentality, not only a paucity of ideas but a bankruptcy of mentality. Not a single positive suggestion is advanced. We are always being asked vote against. "Give me my lifetime desire to lead my charger out and then, when all is done, I will come back after having spent all of the money and do exactly what is already on a piece of paper." I leave the judgement on that proposal to the very sound mentality of the majority of this House.

Mr. Acting Speaker: The member for Huron-Middlesex.

Mr. Riddell: Mr. Speaker, I find it very difficult to believe that a member can stand up in this House and expound on what we all know is a very superficial budget. He talks about the increases in pensions for senior citizens, the additional aid for hospitals, and what have you, knowing full well that farmers throughout Ontario are facing bankruptcy and foreclosures, knowing that we need the food to feed the people in Ontario regardless of what their pensions happen to be.

It is unfortunate that we are restricted in time, because I wanted to talk about the impact of the interest rates on farmers and what that means to all the consumers in the province. Unfortunately, I do not have the time so I will have to restrict my remarks to the impact of interest rates on the farming industry.

Farmers are facing a very serious economic situation in Ontario. For many, it is a critical period in their lives. The times are difficult indeed. Farmers are being hit with unprecedented increases in their input costs: fertilizers, fuel, pesticides, equipment, replacement costs and particularly the cost of credit, everything necessary to put a crop in the ground or to get the livestock ready for market. Costs have gone up at a rate

which would have been unbelievable just a few years ago.

This situation is not unique to farmers. It is being experienced by all businessmen, including small businessmen in rural Ontario. I can see there are many members here who represent that particular part of Ontario. But what is unique to farming is the fluctuation in the prices which farmers receive for their products. Since a year ago, beef has dropped 11 per cent, pork 33 per cent, soybeans five per cent. Corn prices are also declining. Even tobacco farmers, who have seen a moderate increase in their prices, have been hurt by the decrease in the size of the crop due to blue mould.

Poultry prices—eggs, chickens and turkeys—have increased moderately but not enough to keep pace with inflation. The same is true of dairy prices. The federal government has predicted a 40 per cent drop in Ontario farm net income this year. Unfortunately, it looks as if their predictions will be true. If it was not for the decrease in prices of products grown on the farm, farmers might well be able to tighten their belts and carry on.

With the drop in prices, the situation for some has become desperate. That is the most pressing issue facing farmers today and the cost of money compounds the problem. Each spring, farmers must spend large sums to put crops in the ground. Very few have the cash to put in their crops without seeking credit. Credit has become very tight and for some, unfortunately a growing number, impossible to find, whether from their bank or their suppliers.

9:10 p.m.

Under the present circumstances, many crops will not be planted. It is difficult to estimate the number of acres which will lie idle, but the number is significant. Furthermore, farmers will reduce the fertilizer requirements by about one half. Think of what that will mean to consumers next year and in the years after.

The Minister of Agriculture and Food (Mr. Henderson), the Treasurer (Mr. F. S. Miller) and all government members of this House were made well aware of the farmers' dilemma on April 10 when debate took place in this Legislature on the resolution introduced by the member for Grey (Mr. McKessock). Prior to that, in the latter part of March, a letter was sent to the Treasurer from the Ontario Federation of Agriculture requesting aid on interest rates. They estimated the minimum aid required would be a \$25 million interest subsidization program.

This would be used to provide short-term loans at 10 per cent to help farmers through this year's planting season. Only farmers who could demonstrate need would be eligible. Twenty-five million dollars seems like a lot of money until one puts it into perspective.

Ontario agriculture is a \$4 billion industry and generates nearly a quarter of the province's jobs. British Columbia now provides \$27 million a year in subsidized loans for its farmers and Quebec \$30 million. Ontario's agriculture is bigger than that of British Columbia and Quebec combined.

There are a number of areas in the farming industry where action is needed by this government. I am not going to take the time to mention them, but I will say that the most important issue at the present time is the planting of this year's crops. Farmers are in an economic straitjacket. Without assistance, many farmers will not survive the year. Unfortunately, it is the younger or the more innovative farmers who are being hit hardest. What will happen if we lose them? Who will feed future generations and continue to provide the people of Ontario with one of the least expensive, highest quality sources of food in the world?

The present problem has implications for our whole society. As I indicated, if I had the time I was going to tell members what an increase of five per cent in interest rates in the dairy industry, in the beef industry, and in the cash crop industry would mean to the consumer if that could be passed along to the consumer in the price of the product the farmer receives at the farm gate. It is astounding how much the price of milk would go up and how much the price of beef and all the other commodities the consumer relies on would go up.

It is imperative that the Ontario government respond without further delay to help the farmers now. Farmers know that interest rates are a federal responsibility.

Hon. Miss Stephenson: Why doesn't the member know it then?

Mr. Riddell: Just hold on. They also feel the province has some responsibility as well, because it was the province which talked the farmers into a capital-intensive investment and not a labour-intensive investment. The member for Durham-York (Mr. W. Newman) knows that as well as anyone. With the incentive grants, with the Industrial Milk Production Incentive Program and all the rest of it he has talked the farmers into a capital-intensive investment and now he has some responsibility.

Mr. Nixon: Every other province has a program but this one.

Mr. S. Smith: It's the only province that doesn't help its farmers.

Mr. Riddell: That's right.

Mr. Nixon: The government hasn't listened to the Minister of Agriculture and Food for 10 years.

Mr. McNeil: The Liberals are not the least bit interested in helping farmers.

Mr. Riddell: Let me tell the member for Elgin this: Farmers are not in the mood for buck passing. He knows that.

Mr. McNeil: You should know it too.

Mr. Riddell: Farmers need help and they need it right away. This government has procrastinated too long. Many farmers have already been forced out. Others are facing foreclosure. Take a look at the papers. The member for Elgin (Mr. McNeil) reads the *Western Ontario Farmer*. He should take a look at the ads, and the number of farms that are for sale, many of them liquidations. They are going out of business. The only way we are going to be able to save the farming industry in Ontario is by giving the people an opportunity to elect a government that cares, and that is a Liberal government.

Mr. Renwick: Mr. Speaker, you can understand the concern which I would have this evening in speaking in this debate when I have had to forego one of those immense pleasures which was available to me of singing a duet with the member for St. George (Mrs. Campbell) on the stage of the Castle Frank High School in the great ward seven of the city of Toronto. I have given that up this evening. She has to sing solo in that concert because of a debate precipitated with an unbelievably inappropriate sense of timing by the Liberal Party.

Let me say two or three things so that there will be no confusion about it. The vote is whether or not this House has confidence in the government. Of course, this party does not have confidence in that government. Anybody has known for a long time that we have not any confidence in that particular government. But let me say to the Liberal Party, and I am speaking now to the sane men and the women in the Liberal Party, not to support this ill-advised motion of confidence which has been brought at this time in this House, but to look at what they are doing.

I am quite prepared to say this party has already extracted from the Treasurer (Mr. F. S. Miller) a commitment to protect the

farmers of this province. Next to this party, I would trust the fate of the farmers of Ontario to that party before I would risk their fate with that other party.

Let me make one other point. We will extract—mark my words—from this government the kind of assistance to the home owners of the province that we have been asking for since the day this House came into session. Let me talk about something somewhat more fundamental than that. The one thing the Liberal Party does not have is any sense of politics. It has no sense of timing. It has no understanding. If we were to vote with the Liberal Party this evening, there would be no Legislative Assembly of Ontario in existence at the time when the major debate in Quebec is taking place with respect to the referendum vote.

Let me make a second point and let me make it very clear. There would be no Legislative Assembly in existence in Ontario at the time when the fate of one of the cities in this province is at stake. The keystone of the arch of the industrial life of this province is threatened because of policies instituted by the Liberal Party in Ottawa and connived in by that government. We are faced with the most crucial negotiations which have ever taken place with respect to one of the major car industries and with other aspects of the car industry in this province.

The government knows that without this assembly in session, without this party every day asking, demanding and insisting upon job protection for the people in the Windsor area, this government would not have the strength or the willpower to withstand the negotiations which are presently going on. Everyone now knows, and it is very clear, that in the absence of this party and this party's demands on that government, the Minister of Industry and Tourism would not have made the demand for jobs for the people in Windsor and the peripheral jobs involved in the whole of the automotive industry.

9:20 p.m.

Let me say this, and let there be no misunderstanding: If we had to rely on the federal government in Ottawa—with the three ministers from that area as part of that cabinet—if we had to rely on them for the capacity to protect jobs, we would not have protection of any kind.

The federal Liberal Party has no capacity to extract from the Chrysler Corporation in the United States the kind of guarantee which this government may be able to extract if we demand it and insist upon it.

I want to say to the Treasurer, so that he and his colleagues will have no misunderstanding about where we stand on the question of those negotiations, I am aware of the circumstances in which such negotiations take place. I know what we are talking about there. We are talking about a guarantee of 15,000 jobs. We are not talking about this government being asked for money for capital investment; we are talking about a government being asked to provide working capital.

This government is the banker. Can you imagine a banker going to a company and saying, "The conditions under which we're going to advance these funds are the protection of jobs in this province" and then having Chrysler Corporation say: "Oh yes, but we want an out on that clause. We don't want that kind of protection; we're not prepared to give it to you"?

Without this party, that government may very well succumb to that kind of business-like argument. I am saying to the government on behalf of this party—my colleagues have said it on many other occasions—that we expect a job guarantee, ironclad. No ifs, no ands, no buts. And if somewhere down the line the circumstances change, they can come and talk to the banker. By that time, we will be the banker and we will do the dealing on what is going to take place.

The Liberal Party, with absolutely no sense of anything other than its own opportunistic wishes with respect to an election, is going to throw into jeopardy the jobs of one of the major automobile industries in this province.

I want the government to understand that it has our total support so long as it hangs tough in the next few days on the bargaining with the Chrysler Corporation in the face of an impending cave-in by the federal government about the job guarantees. But the government has to hang tough. If it doesn't hang tough, then it can be certain that our sense of timing will come into play.

Let me get another thing straight as well. When this government falls by vote in this House, it will be by motion of this party, not by motion of the Liberal Party.

Surely my colleagues in the Liberal Party must understand this. The Conservative government fell in Ottawa last December on motion of this party, and when this government falls it will be on motion of this party. We do not march to the Liberals' tune. We have our agenda; we have our policies.

Let me tell the Liberals one other thing before I sit down, and I am talking to the member for Huron-Bruce (Mr. Gaunt), the member for Grey-Bruce (Mr. Sargent) if he

were here, and the member for Essex South (Mr. Mancini).

Let us get it straight. From 1945 to 1960, when the sellout took place in this country, for most of that time there was a Liberal Party in power. When the Conservative Party came to power under the late John Diefenbaker there was some indication that there might be some capacity to talk about protecting the economic integrity of Canada. But when James Coyne put the issues to the then Conservative government, they slit his throat. When Walter Gordon tried to indicate to the Liberal Party that it was time they changed their policies, they were so intent on scrambling back into power that in a very short time they slit Walter Gordon's throat.

This party was founded upon the principles of economic nationalism to support the integrity of Canada, and I am not going to sit idly by while the Liberal Party cosily attempts to move in either at this level or at that level and take over the area that is fundamental to the democratic socialist party to which we belong. When the election is fought it will be fought on the principle of a made-in-Canada policy to which this party adheres.

Let me give the Liberals one minor piece of advice. They can ponder it as long as they want, and they can talk about it as long as they want as long as they understand it. It is very simple. To the extent that this country imports goods and services in excess of the value of what it exports, it must import an equivalent amount of capital. It is the importation of that equivalent amount of capital over the years of this government in power in Ontario and the Liberal Party in power in Ottawa, with intervening periods of the Progressive Conservative Party, that has created the economic dependence of Canada on the United States and the mish-mash that we are now facing because of the deterioration of the automotive industry. This is no time to vote no confidence. This government needs this party in this assembly every day while these crucial matters are being debated both in Quebec and in the negotiations which are taking place.

I appeal to the sanity of certain members of the Liberal Party not to vote on this motion tonight, because their timing is wrong. Their purpose may serve their purpose, but it does not serve the needs of the kind of people that we in this caucus represent.

Hon. F. S. Miller: Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to take my turn in this debate, if one can call parts of it that. I wish the television had been here tonight. If the television

had been here tonight, I think we would have given some indication to the people of this province of the lack of capacity of the official opposition to govern this province. When they cannot govern their own party in this House, it is a pretty bad scene. I have seen many debates, but seldom have I seen one where so many interruptions took place while a member of the New Democratic Party was speaking. Nor have I seen as much of an attempt, at least in the first of the speakers, to add a touch of drama, almost saccharin, to the debate.

I would like to read a quotation that I heard some time ago. It comes from the time of Elizabeth I. It says:

"He that goeth about to persuade a multitude that they are not so well governed as they might be shall never want attentive and favourable hearers."

That message is as true today as it was in the time of Elizabeth I. It is always easy to convince people that those who govern are incompetent.

9:30 p.m.

Mr. S. Smith: It is particularly easy in the minister's case.

Hon. F. S. Miller: I do not doubt that. Of course, the Leader of the Opposition's duty and responsibility is to show how incompetent I am.

However, I have seldom found it necessary to go after individual small businessmen in letters and to destroy their careers as the honourable member did with Highbury Ford Sales Limited in London. I do not go after somebody like that without checking facts. I have a letter here addressed to the Leader of the Opposition from a dealer whom he criticized in public and I bet never apologized to in public.

That dealer did nothing improper, and the honourable member knows it. I would like to see the response, because that gentleman wrote to the Leader of the Opposition and sent me a copy, saying, "Mr. Smith, the statements you have made and the press coverage they received will tarnish the fine reputation which Highbury Ford earned since I purchased the dealership five years ago. I am an independent businessman who works hard, respectably and honourably, and I believe you owe me an apology."

Mr. S. Smith: Mr. Speaker, on a point of privilege: The minister knows, or should know, the incident he speaks of is one where, once his program of rebates for 1979 models was introduced, this particular company placed advertisements in the paper advertising the rebate program and advertising

certain cars for sale, which same cars previously had been advertised about a week before then. They advertised them for a higher price in the new ad than they did in the old ad.

According to the manager of that particular company, in the letter which the minister has referred to—

Mr. M. Davidson: That's not a point of order.

Mr. S. Smith: Does the member mind if I defend myself? Let's be reasonable for a moment.

Mr. Acting Speaker: Order. I recognize the point of order. Make it brief.

Mr. S. Smith: I will try to make it brief, believe me, Mr. Speaker. It is a point of privilege and not one of order.

The manager claims that in point of fact it had been their intention to raise the price of those items anyhow, and that the ad had been placed in the hands of the advertising manager before they realized the rebate program ad would be appearing at the same time.

I understood that, but I asked him to explain to me, just as I asked the Treasurer, why a rebate program was needed if the market was so good that people could actually raise the price of their cars. I found, therefore, that particular businessman to be very unacceptable and I told him so.

Mr. Acting Speaker: The honourable member has had sufficient time to put his point on the record. He should not ask the Speaker to make rulings that might properly belong in a court of law.

Hon. Mr. Drea: Mr. Speaker, on a point of privilege for the sake of the record: There was a complete investigation of this particular matter in London by my officials, and the dealer was found blameless. Those are the same investigators who, under another circumstance, did lay charges. I think that should be in the record because of the remarks of the Treasurer.

Mr. Acting Speaker: I wish the members would depart from this subject because, as I say, it is a difference of opinion. I do not think it is one for the Speaker to make a ruling on.

Hon. F. S. Miller: Mr. Speaker, it has something to do with credibility and concern about small businessmen. A good deal of tonight's debate hinged upon whether the Liberal Party had a concern about individuals. The wild rush for power of the Leader of the Opposition, who has tried to precipitate an election in this province tonight so

that he can establish his future career—which, thankfully, will not be here—has made him blind to any human's needs. He hungers after an election so much that he would compromise any principle, against any stated wishes of the electorate—

Mr. S. Smith: Personal insult is no excuse for argument.

Hon. F. S. Miller: My friend—no, I thank goodness the honourable member is my colleague, and not my friend.

Mr. Riddell: The minister should go to Clinton and talk about his credibility.

Hon. F. S. Miller: I had the courage to go to Clinton and meet people face to face and tell them what I had to do. I did not send a messenger. I did not try to besmirch anybody in any other way, and the member for Huron-Middlesex (Mr. Riddell) knows it. Very few over there would have that kind of courage.

I would like the honourable member to have the job some day to do some of the things he talks so pontifically about on that side of that House, about saving the taxpayers' money. He hasn't the courage to stand up for a principle.

Mr. Acting Speaker: Order. If the members would address their remarks through the chair instead of pointing the finger at one another and addressing them directly, I think we would attain greater order in the House.

Mrs. Campbell: On a point of order, Mr. Speaker: Would you define for this House what is meant by attributing motives to another member of this House?

Hon. F. S. Miller: The motives were implied by that gentleman over there to me about an incident when I was Minister of Health.

Mr. Acting Speaker: I am not about to attempt to define that. I would ask the Treasurer to proceed with his speech and to try to deal with the main content of the motion.

Hon. F. S. Miller: Mr. Speaker, look at the kinds of problems we have talked about tonight. Ontario does not try to deny its role or responsibility in the problems faced by small businessmen, by farmers and by property owners. What we did say in the budget, in a positive sense, was that we had some responsibility towards the farm community and would find it necessary to act unilaterally and would do so if, as and when we exhausted our attempts to get the federal government to help us. That com-

mitment has been made in the budget in writing. It is one I intend to honour.

All members should recognize that the combined effect of two governments can be far more useful. In fact, when unilateral action is taken, one simply doesn't have anything left to negotiate with. I would hope honourable members would be concerned about that and support us as we try to get a reasonable deal for Ontario's farmers and home owners, through the federal government.

We often criticize the federal government; let me give them some credit. I think they took a very positive step on Monday night in the budget when they introduced in the throne speech debate, without so much as a blush or batting an eye, parts of the budget that the previous federal finance minister had brought in. A very important measure introduced was the small business bond. Frankly, that doesn't help too many farmers, because farmers are not generally incorporated; I am told that only five per cent are incorporated, whereas a much larger percentage of small businessmen are. But that bond has the potential of bringing interest rates down by fully one third and the cost of that subsidy is shared by the federal and provincial government.

I say that is great, and I encourage it and endorse it. I don't criticize them where they do take an action that I sincerely believe is done in the interests of all of our clientele and that is done jointly. I only ask that that kind of thinking and action be extended to the other groups too.

What did Ontario do for the small businessman? I could quote the Financial Post of this week, since I was being told how little I had done. It says on page five, "Miller's favourite constituency, small business, gets the lion's share of beneficial tax measures totalling roughly \$85 million through expansion of the venture-capital SBDC [small business development corporation] program and the new investment tax credit equal to 20 per cent of the cost of depreciable assets." What they did miss were the great reductions in the capital tax payable by Ontario's small businesses—a transference of \$85 million; \$15 million in the tax area; \$35 million probably in the other sections—directly aimed at assisting the very vulnerable small businessman in this province as they go through a tough year.

Mr. Peterson: It's really going to help next week, isn't it, when they go bankrupt?

Hon. F. S. Miller: I have to admit I can't stop every bankruptcy at any point. I can

take measures that help prevent the bankruptcy of those who are otherwise running a business well. The member knows that fact and I know it. I am simply trying to say those are the ones we have to concentrate on. Whether I like it or not, there are always some businessmen at times of three per cent interest who have trouble.

9:40 p.m.

The member for Huron-Middlesex (Mr. Riddell) did bring up a key point, I thought. He brought up the point that the major problem of the farmers right now is prices. That is putting more pressure on more farmers in Ontario, I think, than any other item. I hope we agree on that. I am not trying to disagree. I am in no way reducing the import of that for the kinds of farmers who are highly specialized in today's world and who take many more risks than farmers used to take when everything on the farm was produced with their own skills and few things were purchased. Farming isn't that way any more, and you and I know it, Mr. Speaker. There are many purchases to be made at today's prices, and yet one takes what one can get for many commodities when the market buys them. Those kinds of pressures are ones I recognize.

I referred to the fact that I have had a bit of experience on that side. I do accept that young farmers have specific problems in the community right now, and I do want to find programs that will help those young people to survive this period so that we will have a future generation. I only ask that members opposite give us a wee bit of time while we finish off some of the discussions. They know I talked to the Ontario Federation of Agriculture last week. They know the Minister of Agriculture and Food (Mr. Henderson) talked to them again this week. We are continuing those negotiations, trying to find out how to help them, and I hope we are very close to it.

I would say that the question of mortgage interest deductibility for home owners, which has been addressed by several speakers tonight, is one that still requires a good deal of negotiation with the federal government. There has to be help for those people in trouble. I don't think any of us have denied that. How one defines trouble and how the program gets delivered are still subject to some negotiation. I can say that kind of negotiation is proceeding. Ontario stands ready to be involved in a system that is shared on the basis of our normal tax revenues with the federal government.

Members opposite are all representatives of the people of Ontario. They recognize it is a national problem. They had a lot of talk about a Canadian interest rate. We have Canadian interest rates today. They are several points below the American rates because inflation in this country, for a number of reasons, is lower than it is in the United States. We have successfully kept Canadian interest rates lower than American rates since about mid-November. That is about the time they peaked and we started going below. Why? Because fundamentally the energy base of this country—not Ontario's running of its government—has kept that kind of essential value in our dollar that has allowed us to drop our interest rates without a tremendous outflow of cash that otherwise occurs.

Otherwise, why wouldn't all the money in the world flow out of Switzerland, which has a four or 4.5 per cent interest rate right now for mortgages? Why would it not all desert Switzerland and go to the United States, where it is 18 per cent right now? It doesn't for one simple reason. People have faith in the basic value of their currency. In fact, that is why Canada currently has a lower rate than the United States and why we have a made-in-Canada interest rate policy right now. The simple reason we can afford to have it is that our economy is doing better and our dollar is worth more because of our energy reserves and good business.

My colleagues over there have to recognize when they lambaste me for the poor management of this province that my cash requirements last year were something like four per cent of my spending. On the federal scene, they were 28 per cent, seven times on a relative basis our basis, not in dollars but in percentage. That was hard work. That was unpopular work. It was the Clinton kind of work, if one wants it.

I went into several ridings where my colleagues will have some trouble winning because of me. I never failed to recognize that, even in the heat of doing it. Members opposite tell us we have to be responsible, and we have to take measures that will cut the inflation spiral. We took those measures in a minority government situation so that we could come into this year, as we have, and next year, with a gradually declining cash requirement, aiming for our balanced budget by 1983-84; so that we could release \$500 million of money in this current year and Ontario Hydro wouldn't have to go out and borrow it in the market place, which is a far more productive use of the resources; and so that we could cut the percentage of the gross provincial product we tax away from

the consumers of Ontario from 17.2 per cent to 15.5 per cent in three years.

An hon. member: Tell us about Minaki Lodge.

Mr. Riddell: The people out in the rural areas can't believe that Minaki Lodge is more important than a hospital.

Hon. F. S. Miller: I say to my friend that the hospitals of Ontario, in this year's budget, got \$487 million more than they got last year. We are adding 600 nursing-home beds to the nursing-home service this year, and we added 400 last year. We are adding to home-care services. We are adding to day-care services. We are giving pensions to senior citizens that exceed those of last year. We are bringing them up to an amount so that if one adds the guaranteed annual income supplement, the guaranteed income supplement and the old age security, plus these kinds of benefits for the senior citizens, they are well past the poverty line. For example, do members know that right now single pensioners get \$240 a year from free coverage under the Ontario Health Insurance Plan, \$125 on average from drug benefits, \$50 from sales tax rebates, \$400 from the property tax program, in addition to the \$50 to \$100 they will be getting July 1, and that brings them up beyond the average poverty line figures. There is a large argument about what the poverty line is but, on average, it's in that area.

We feel the budget of Ontario is one that has been accepted and understood and welcomed by average people in this province, because it solves the problems of average people in this province, and I challenge the members opposite to take us out on the hustings to prove otherwise.

Mr. Charlton: Mr. Speaker, I found it quite significant that, in his opening statement on this motion tonight, the member for Hamilton West chose to quote my colleague from Wentworth (Mr. Isaacs). He used the quotation—and I can't quote it exactly from memory—in which my colleague laid out very carefully his concern about the urgency of providing assistance, on the interest rate problem, for home owners and for others, such as farmers and small businesses.

Unfortunately, I found it rather strange that the leader of the official opposition—a man who is asking the people of Ontario to make him Premier so he can govern this province—could stand up in this House tonight and suggest that an election campaign of five or five and a half weeks, plus the time it would take after that campaign is over for the victorious party to regroup, to

set up an administration and start putting programs in place, would be a faster solution to an immediate problem than a task force taking a serious look at the alternative methods of dealing with the interest rate problem, reporting in the month of May, then getting on to deal with that problem in this House.

I find it strange that the member for Hamilton West could suggest in this House and to the people of this province that elections are necessarily a solution to anything. The people in this country have just been through two elections. Last May we had a federal election. The Tory cousins in Ottawa of the government across the way said that, if they formed the government, they would deal with the interest rate problem; they would keep interest rates down. They won the election and they did nothing. Last February we had another election and the Liberals said the same things, but they have done nothing, absolutely nothing.

I don't believe and the people of this province don't believe that an election is necessarily going to provide a solution. They are sick of elections without any changes. They want some serious work done on the issues at hand, and the issues at hand happen to be interest rates, the auto industry, jobs, our declining manufacturing sector and a whole range of other problems.

9:50 p.m.

My colleagues the member for Nickel Belt and the member for Riverdale put part of the matter very succinctly. We in this party firmly believe that those things we have got out of this government this year are only the beginning. We seriously believe that we in this Legislature have a better opportunity, for the people of Ontario, to deal with the issue of interest rates and the issue of Chrysler, as my colleague for Riverdale suggested, than we will ever have on the hustings while the problems go by the board altogether while we are out there playing political games.

The leader of the official opposition suggested a couple of weeks ago at a nomination meeting in Hamilton that the New Democratic Party in Ontario had become irrelevant and that his party had become the social conscience of the province. I would like to say to him that in this budget the government and the Treasurer dealt with health care, which we made an issue in this province. They dealt in part with property tax credits, which I personally have made an issue in this House for three years now, with little or no comment from the party to the right. They dealt with special educa-

tion, educational opportunities for the retarded, day care and a number of other things. All of those are issues emanating out of this caucus.

The Liberal Party missed the boat on all of them, and they are missing the boat on the interest rate issue because their desire is and always has been for power and nothing else. They are not interested in providing a solution on the interest rate issue. They are interested in it as an election issue, the same as their federal colleagues were and the same as the Tory colleagues of the government were in Ottawa as well. They are interested in it for no other reason than as an election issue.

We believe anything that happens in this province to be worthwhile has to be a benefit that is put in place and becomes a fact. We are prepared to stay here and see that the government deals with the problems of interest rates, the problems of the auto industry, the problems of a declining manufacturing sector in the province and the problems of job creation, but we are not prepared to help the party to our right play games with the people of the province.

Mr. Cassidy: Mr. Speaker, I have a few words I want to say about this debate and about the overt agenda and the hidden agenda of the Liberal Party in proposing this no-confidence motion tonight.

This debate is over two issues. One issue is the question of interest rates, and the other is the pretension of the Liberal Party that they have so much to offer Ontario that we should go and have an election now. As my colleague the member for Riverdale pointed out, having an election right now means this Legislature cannot respond to the questions of national unity being raised in the context of the referendum debate. It means this Legislature cannot continue to badger the Tories and, through the Tories, badger none other than the federal Liberals to make sure we get a fair deal for our automobile workers who are now threatened with unemployment on a permanent basis if nothing is done to ensure that Chrysler Canada stays and the jobs Chrysler provides continue to be provided.

I want to put a few home truths about what this debate is about and about the politics of this province, in case the Liberal leader has not understood what is happening. If the member for Hamilton West could get out of the delusions of grandeur which seem to envelop his head, he would know the people across the province are tired of election campaigns. They had 60 days of electioneering in January and February. They had 60 days electioneering last April and May. They had

almost constant politicking at the federal level because the Joe Clark government was a minority government, and they are saying it is about time to see whether the minority government of this province can get the job done. We believe there are possibilities of getting some action from this parliament over the few remaining months before we do go to a provincial election.

The Minister for Culture and Recreation (Mr. Baetz) has just come in here; he is flint-like and adamant most of the time but, if the Liberal Party were prepared to put any energy or effort into making this House work, they would find that it was possible to get a few results. I want to tell the House that today I learned from the minister that the Woodsworth homestead in Etobicoke, the birthplace of J. S. Woodsworth is to be preserved. The birthplace of J. S. Woodsworth was due to go under the wrecker's hammer today, but it has now been decided, I am told by the Minister of Culture and Recreation, that the government will see to it that homestead is preserved as a shrine to the founder of the New Democratic Party. If the Liberals had their election, we would not see that homestead preserved.

If the member for Hamilton West believes the people of Ontario are preparing to embrace the Ontario Liberal Party, I want to tell him there is absolutely no sign of that anywhere in the province. I have been a long way across this province for a long time. If he thinks the federal election results are going to propel his party to power, I would point out that consistently, year after year and election after election, the Ontario Liberals are never able to come within 10 percentage points of what federal Liberals get in Ontario. I would point out to him as well that if the results—

Mr. Bolan: Just remember John Rodriguez.

Mr. Cassidy: What happened to Rodriguez? It was the deal between Liberals and Tories in northern Ontario..

Mr. Peterson: The people there wouldn't embrace your party.

Mr. Cassidy: The member for London Centre should say how many federal Liberals in northern Ontario have already indicated to their provincial Conservative buddies that when the provincial election comes along they are going to take a walk, because the interests of that party in northern Ontario are more to keep the New Democrats out than to get their party in. We just want New Democrats up there.

If they want to know about northern Ontario, in the federal election there was a higher percentage of the vote cast for the NDP in northern Ontario than in Saskatchewan, where we got seven members elected to Parliament, and very fine members they are. It's a two-party system right there. That party cops out in the north at the provincial level in the same way the Tories cop out when it comes to federal elections in northern Ontario.

The last federal election where we had a majority Liberal government elected was in 1974 and, in the subsequent provincial election in Ontario, the Liberals went to third for the first time in 30 years. It's going to happen again.

If the leader of the Liberal party were not so blinded by partisan whatever-it-is, he would realize that the interest rate problems we have in this province right now stem from the misguided monetary policies we have in this country—monetary policies that are taken straight from the US Federal Reserve courtesy of Allan MacEachen and Pierre Trudeau, people whom the member for Hamilton West supported in the federal election campaign.
10 p.m.

I recall around Christmas when the member for Hamilton West made cracks about the Premier. He, as Liberal Party leader, asked, "Why is the member for Brampton going to his condominium in Florida instead of supporting Joe Clark? Why is there such a rift between the provincial Tories and the federal Tories?"

I want to point out that the leader of the Ontario Liberal Party should be ashamed of himself for having supported Pierre Trudeau in the federal election, because Pierre Trudeau is responsible for the outrageous interest rate policies we have in Ontario.

I say to the member for Ottawa West (Mr. Baetz)—I see the member for Ottawa East (Mr. Roy) is absent again—and I say to the Liberals as well, that if the Liberal Party of Ontario were genuinely interested in ensuring that small businessmen and farmers and home owners in this province were protected against outrageous and exorbitant interest rates, then instead of being in this chamber tonight, every member of the Ontario Liberal caucus would be out lobbying federal Liberals and telling them to give Canadians a fair deal on interest rates.

The decision of the federal Minister of Finance (Mr. MacEachen) to bring in a mini-budget a week ago Monday, with no advance warning, and a day before he knew the Treasurer of Ontario was bringing in

his budget, was as underhanded a piece of deceit as I have ever seen in provincial-federal financial relations.

I want to suggest to you, Mr. Speaker, and through you to the House, that the reason for this misguided piece of political opportunism, this no-confidence motion that has been put tonight, is that the Liberals in Ontario know that with each month that goes by, their leader's chances of returning to psychiatry get greater and greater.

The Liberal Party knows that if they wait six months for an election, they are headed for a disaster, and if the province has to put up with Pierre Trudeau and federal Liberal policies for 12 months, the Ontario Liberal Party is headed for a debacle in the next provincial election.

When we come to an election, the credibility of the Liberal Party of Ontario will be just as much at stake as the credibility of the Conservatives in Ontario.

When we come to an election, we are going to be asking the Premier of Ontario, "What was this government doing to serve the auto pact to create jobs in the automobile industry?" We are going to be asking the government of Ontario, "Why was there no industrial strategy to stop the industrialization that was going on?"

What I am going to say to the Ontario Liberal Party is, how could they have sat there year after year after year, while we New Democrats raised issues about the automobile industry and the auto pact? Why were they not prepared to say one word about how the auto pact was short-changing the people of this province?

When we come to jobs in the next provincial election, the Liberals are going to strut and posture. We know that. We will be asking about their credibility when they sat there year after year and never raised a question about the failure of their federal counterparts to bring down an industrial strategy for Canada that would make every part of this great country of ours strong and provide employment for the million Canadians who now are out of work.

When the question of interest rates comes up, we will remember the fact that the Liberal Party was prepared to attack the Premier, his cabinet and the government, but the Liberal Party acted like a limp fish when it came to uttering criticisms of the federal Liberals who are responsible for the situation we have right now.

When we come to an election, we will be fighting the Tory cutbacks, and those cutbacks continue. We will also be fighting

the hypocrisy of the provincial Liberals when they talk restraint on one hand but on the other hand go to the Sault and promise more roads; when they promise restraint but the member for Kitchener-Wilmot (Mr. Sweeney) promises more spending to every education group he sees across the province; when they say they want restraint and then argue for more money for every kind of social service; when they say they care about the trade union movement and then have what the member for Huron-Middlesex (Mr. Riddell) said about the workers down at Fleck Manufacturing Company.

Mr. Riddell: No, not the workers, but the union leaders.

Mr. Cassidy: They are a two-faced bunch, and their hypocrisy should be displayed. It is a hypocrisy that is shown by the fact that they are trying to have an election right now when what we should do is get out and resolve some of the problems in the province. That is what we are committed to do in the New Democratic Party.

Mr. Peterson: Mr. Speaker, we have seen one of the most amazing intellectual conversions tonight since Saul on the road to Damascus. I was amazed how little of the debate tonight focused on the issue at hand. You will understand, of course, Mr. Speaker, that the Liberal Party deems that the issue expressed in the no-confidence motion is the single most important issue facing this province at this time. Let me say we hope it goes away. There is some evidence it may decline in the very near future. But I want to establish tonight that this is a problem that needs direct, immediate government action now.

We have heard tonight a replay of the James Coyne affair. We have all bled with him as his throat was slit by the federal government. We have heard almost every issue discussed from the referendum to the auto pact. That is not the issue here tonight nor why we are proposing no confidence in that government. That is the only device we have to impress the realities, not only of this economic problem but also of this real and imminent social and personal problem, on this government now. It is not good enough for us to say we will have a discussion paper some time in May.

I regret in a way that this discussion of interest rates we are having tonight has not had more serious consideration. It has been taken in a very facetious manner by a number of members. I regret that because I want to impress upon them in the time I have remaining why I think, as one who

does believe that government has only a limited role, that there is a definite, necessary role here for government which should be played now.

Two weeks from now is not good enough and three months from now is not good enough. The Treasurer's almost-stated strategy is to hang on with the compliance of my hypocritical friends to the left who are satisfied with committees and discussion papers. In the vernacular of the street, that crew to the left is the easiest make in town.

10:10 p.m.

I accept the point of view of my worthy friends opposite when they say they do not have the authority to create interest rates. I agree with that. But clearly they have the responsibility for the fallout. If they do not, who has the responsibility for the foreclosed mortgages, for the bankrupt farmers and for the bankrupt small businessmen?

Those are real and immediate problems. We brought to this Legislature and laid before the members opposite, and before the people, a real program; a short-term, targeted, sectorial, costed approach that we thought and believed, and many experts believed, would help to solve this problem as it exists now in immediate and present terms.

The human or social fallout is not something we are going to easily recover from. I hear stories daily; people phone me; people write me. I want to talk about that in a minute. I want this taken much more seriously, because my agricultural friends and the Minister of Agriculture and Food know of a situation near him where a young farmer got involved with a farming installation. He was over his head because of the high interest rates. When he went to the feed store, the co-op said, "No more credit." That case ended in a suicide.

I know of other cases where farmers have had to walk into the bank manager and say to him, "Do you know how to feed hogs?" and throw him their keys. I know that happened in one case. Three days later the humane society phoned the bank manager and said, "You had better come out and feed your hogs." Those are real cases, and not one or two. I could name names, but I do not want to bring any embarrassment to people in this province.

In my area, bankruptcies are up by 40 per cent this year. The social cost of that is not going to be easily recovered from. I know of cases of young people going in to renew eight or nine per cent mortgages who are facing double payments this year. I know

cases of people who have come to me not being able to face it. We read daily of the social fallout: the broken marriages, the increases in mental health problems and that kind of thing: This is a real and human problem, and if one puts it in straight economic terms he is missing the import.

The government's solutions for the small business problems are not bad, but they are going to occur at the end of the next taxation year. No amount of interest bonds or small business development corporation help or investment tax credits or vendor compensation is going to help those people who are faced with real problems now.

I want to read a letter I received, because I think it is important, and I want to ask the Treasurer for a response to it:

"I was listening to your discussions on television on Tuesday evening regarding financial assistance for small business. I have worked and operated a small building business for the past 25 years. I have built houses for the Ontario Housing Corporation in approximately six area locations, and I have also built houses and small buildings of my own over the years.

"I started to build a semi-detached house in Kitchener and now find, with mortgage rates at 17 per cent and bank loans at 18 per cent plus, the mortgage companies will not give me sufficient mortgage financing to complete this house that I have started. No one is building or buying houses at these high mortgage rates. I cannot finish this house I have started and I need financial help right away.

"I have worked hard all my life building houses, and now I find myself in a very bad position that I cannot do anything about."

Let us not forget that these unfortunate victims of the high interest rates did not cause them. These are not problems of their own making.

"I owe \$21,000 on this lot and house in the Kitchener area, and I just cannot borrow money at 18 per cent to carry on, as I have no income now that there is no work in construction. I contacted the industrial development bank and they advised me their rates are one per cent over banks at 19 per cent interest.

"Small businesses are going bankrupt very fast and I really need help right away. We have no control over these high mortgage and interest rates and do not know what to do now or how to cope with this situation. I have invested some money in this double house in hope of being able to finish it and

moving into this house, but now I have no way of completing the house.

"I have contacted at least 20 companies in the Kitchener area about a job, but I cannot find work and I have no income. I want to work and I have worked hard all of my life when housing was being built. I have got to have some kind of financial help for my family or I cannot carry on with this situation. I have to pay taxes and heating and other expenses. I would appreciate hearing from you regarding my situation and what can be done about this impossible situation I find myself in. I need assistance now."

I think that says it all. These people are not out buying Cadillacs with fins. These people just want to survive a very temporary but difficult situation. What we are doing in not helping them is robbing them of hope. When we rob someone of hope and when despair starts to set in, we are robbing them of their human dignity, and one does not easily recover from that. In the process of not helping these people, we are destroying an ethic that we feel is so very important in this party, and that is the ethic of having a stake in community. When we remove a person's right to hope and chance to dream about having some stake in a business, a farm or a house, then we are going to destroy some of the fundamental working principles upon which this province was founded, and we are not going to recover in one day.

I am glad the Premier is back from his crusade. I want him to hear this. I want him to understand it in real terms. I will supply names of individuals, hundreds of them, to him. These are real cases. This is not fabricated. I say to the Treasurer and the Premier, they have a role of responsibility. If they are not going to honour it, I say to my friends on the left, who masquerade as the party of compassion, rise up with us, take these guys on and we will institute it.

Interjections.

Mr. Peterson: Mr. Speaker, the volume of noise is a straight function of their political embarrassment tonight. They are like pigs squealing under pressure.

I wish I could convince them, but I think we have lost them. I have never seen so much intellectual dishonesty out of people I formerly respected, at least for their ability to carry an argument over the last little while, as has come from some of these people to my left. I used to think they had principle; unfortunately they do not.

Mr. Speaker: Order. There has been a lot of hyperbole tonight. There has been a lot of excessive language tonight. I distinctly

heard the honourable member accusing members of this House of dishonesty. I think he can choose another word.

Mr. Peterson: Mr. Speaker, if I may respond. I think the words were intellectual dishonesty, which describe a train of thought.

Mr. Speaker: I don't differentiate between intellectual dishonesty and any other kind of dishonesty.

Mr. Peterson: Distortion is the word I will substitute therefor, Mr. Speaker. Thank you.

Let me say, in finishing, that I have lost all hope that our friends to the left will support us tonight. I regret that very much. Let me take this opportunity to impress upon the Premier to save his breath. I know he has had a busy day and will be entitled to his two minutes or so where he can capsule everything with his usual skill. But let me say to him, this is a real problem; act, do something. We have presented a plan. If he does not like it, he can change it. We will assist him. We will work with him. We will sit over the weekend to have this in place by Monday morning. But I say to him not to leave it, because lives are being destroyed in the meantime.

10:20 p.m.

Hon. Mr. Davis: Mr. Speaker, I regret I did not hear some of what I am told were the significant contributions to the discussions this evening. I understand that the Leader of the Opposition (Mr. S. Smith) was at his usual dramatic best after several hours in front of the mirror prior to his contribution. I understand the member for Niagara Falls (Mr. Kerrio) is probably still in the Tory caucus office commiserating about the real seriousness of this motion of non-confidence.

I am not going to be sarcastic tonight, except to make one observation. I say to the member for Hamilton West, because I think the Ontario Liberal Party has disappeared—I don't see any sign of it any more—

Interjections.

Hon. Mr. Davis: I have seen egos and I have seen egos, but I have to wonder when I see official communiqués coming out from the opposition with not a single word about the great old traditional Liberal Party of Ontario. Is the member for Hamilton West ashamed of the name? I am not. It has been a great party. What is he doing to it? Does he know what he is doing to it? I say to the Leader of the Opposition, it is so easy to see through what he is attempting to do. But he is destroying his own credibility in the process. We know he wants an election. We know why he wants an election. He wants an election

now because his party is going down. The Liberal Party in Ottawa is causing the problem. I know that.

I have been in this House now for about as long as anyone else, except one or two members opposite. I have sat here and listened to a lot of budgets. Not only is the budget presented by the Treasurer a few days ago the best budget of this decade—it is the first and best of this decade—it is also the best of the last decade; it is one of the best budgets that has been presented here.

Do the Liberal members know what they want to do? They want to defeat this government before we can provide the increased support for our senior citizens. What do they think the senior citizens across this province feel?

I have to confess, I would be delighted to campaign on the budget of the Treasurer. I would love to go around this province and say: "The Liberal Party of Ontario does not want us to increase your tax credit, Mr. or Mrs. Senior Citizen. They have no sensitivity. They have no feelings. They don't want to see these programs move ahead. They don't want to see the economic stability, the common sense, the humanity and the sensitivity demonstrated by the Treasurer in his budget."

It was a great budget. Ask the members opposite, who want to defeat this government, who want to cost the taxpayers of this province \$25 million to have an unnecessary election. Ask them in their own consciences—

Interjection.

Mr. Speaker: We have only a couple of minutes left, and I am sure the honourable—

Mr. Sargent: How does one change a word like that?

Mr. Speaker: I think you can without any difficulty.

Hon. Mr. Davis: Mr. Speaker, before the member for Grey-Bruce so constructively interrupted me, I was going to make this observation. I know some of the members opposite; I know them well. If they were to stand up and say what is in their hearts—not just what is in their minds or what they have been told to say—what would they say? Does the Liberal leader know what some of his own members have said to me? They have said, "Mr. Premier, that was a first-class budget." Liberal members have said it is a first-class budget. The member for London Centre thinks it is a first-class budget. He can't stand in his place and deny it. His father-in-law thinks it is a great budget. His brother thinks it's a great budget. His wife thinks it's a great budget—

Mr. Peterson: On a point of privilege, Mr. Speaker: The Premier said that I said to him it was a great budget. That is abjectly untrue. My father-in-law may feel it's a good budget but, of course, he's in the pocket of my father-in-law; so why wouldn't he?

Hon. Mr. Davis: Mr. Speaker, I don't think I said that the member said that. I said that he feels it's a great budget.

Mr. Speaker, I have to tell you how refreshing it is to come back here after a quiet day.

Interjections.

Hon. Mr. Davis: Can I say this to the member for Hamilton West? I hope I never embarrass my colleagues over here as consistently as he embarrasses the colleagues who support him. I have to tell him that. He knows what they say. We both know what they say.

I make a very sincere plea to the members opposite who still have a bit of independent thinking going for them: Recognize the hypocrisy of the no-confidence motion we are debating. Recognize there are important issues in front of us. Recognize this Legislature has a great deal to do. Recognize and see through the very blatant attempt to force an election. They know why; they want to do it because they sense that the national government, the government that's being administered by their national leader—they used to kid me; now, when I kid them, they can't take it. I have to tell them this: A political party in this province should be able to carry its own weight. It shouldn't be disturbed by what people may or may not feel about the government of Canada. We never apologized for our colleagues when they had the responsibility, and we don't do it now.

Mr. Speaker, I urge the members opposite—

Mr. Speaker: Order. I want to remind the Premier that it is 10:30, I am obliged to put the motion. He has 30 seconds to wind up; I will give him that opportunity.

Hon. Mr. Davis: Mr. Speaker, in 30 seconds: I very simply urge the members of the Liberal Party of Ontario to recognize their responsibility; to reject the motion that is in front of this House; to support the other members of this House in an attempt to give meaningful government to the people of this province; to assist the Treasurer in the programs that he has initiated; to show a little maturity, a little common sense. I recognize that what I am saying is falling on deaf ears, but I make the plea.

The budget of this Treasurer is one of the finest I have seen. We will support it with enthusiasm with the members opposite. I expect we will find that we will be back here at 10 a.m. and that the Liberal Party will have failed once again to force an election on the people of this province.

10:30 p.m.

The House divided on Mr. S. Smith's motion, which was negated on the following vote:

AYES

Blundy, Bolan, Bradley, Breithaupt, Campbell, Conway, Cunningham, Eakins, Gaunt, Haggerty, Hall, Mancini, McEwen, McGuigan, McKessock, Miller, G. I., Newman, B., Nixon, O'Neil, Peterson, Reed, J., Reid, T. P., Riddell, Ruston, Sargent, Smith, S., Stong, Sweeney, Van Horne, Worton.

NAYS

Ashe, Auld, Baetz, Belanger, Bennett, Bernier, Birch, Bounsall, Breaugh, Brunelle, Bryden, Cassidy, Charlton, Cooke, Cureatz, Davis, Davidson, M., Davison, M. N., Di Santo, Drea, Duszta, Eaton, Elgie, Foulds, Germa, Gigantes, Grande, Gregory, Grossman, Havrot.

Henderson, Hennessy, Isaacs, Johnson, J., Johnston, R. F., Jones, Kennedy, Kerr, Lane, Laughren, Lawlor, Leluk, Lupusella, MacDonald, Mackenzie, Maeck, Makarchuk, Martel, McCaffrey, McCague, McClellan, McMurtry, McNeil, Miller, F. S., Newman, W., Norton, Parrott.

Philip, Pope, Ramsay, Renwick, Rollins, Rotenberg, Rowe, Samis, Scrivener, Smith,

G. E., Snow, Stephenson, Sterling, Swart, Taylor, J. A., Taylor, G., Timbrell, Turner, Villeneuve, Walker, Warner, Watson, Welch, Wells, Wildman, Williams, Wiseman, Yakubski, Young, Ziemba.

Pair: MacBeth and Edighoffer.

Ayes 30; nays 87.

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE

Hon. Mr. Wells: Mr. Speaker, this matter having been settled, I would like to indicate the business of the House for tomorrow and next week.

Tomorrow the House will continue with the budget debate.

Next week, as has been arranged, the members of this House will participate in a Confederation debate. The rules have been adjusted to provide that all speakers participating in the debate will speak for 20 minutes, except for the opening three speakers from the different parties who will share the afternoon of Monday and the closing speeches by the party leaders which will be on Friday and which will be 45 minutes in length.

The House will meet on Monday in the afternoon and in the evening; on Tuesday in the afternoon and the evening; on Wednesday, with no question period, from 2 p.m. to 6 p.m.; on Thursday morning, if needed, and on Thursday afternoon and evening, with the question period at 2 p.m.; and on Friday morning, with a 30-minute question period and a recorded vote just before closing at one o'clock.

The House adjourned at 10:37 p.m.

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Laughren, F. (Nickel Belt NDP)
MacBeth, J. P.; Acting Speaker (Humber PC)
MacDonald, D. C. (York South NDP)
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No. 37

Legislature of Ontario Debates

Official Report (Hansard)

Fourth Session, 31st Parliament

Friday, May 2, 1980

Speaker: Honourable John E. Stokes

Clerk: Roderick Lewis, QC



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Hansard subscription price is \$15.00 per session, from: Sessional Subscription Service, Printing Services Branch, Ministry of Government Services, 9th Floor, Ferguson Block, Parliament Buildings, Toronto M7A 1N3. Phone 965-2238.

Published by the Legislature of the Province of Ontario.
Editor of Debates: Peter Brannan.

LEGISLATURE OF ONTARIO

FRIDAY, MAY 2, 1980

The House met at 10 a.m.

Prayers.

STATEMENT BY THE MINISTRY

HOSPITAL FIRE

Hon. Mr. Timbrell: Mr. Speaker, I believe copies of this have been delivered.

As the Provincial Secretary for Social Development (Mrs. Birch) advised this House yesterday, there was a serious fire in St. Joseph's Hospital, Hamilton. The fire originated in electrical wiring in the basement and was confined to the lower levels of the hospital. There was heavy smoke and water damage there and the smoke spread to higher floors. A decision to evacuate was made by the medical staff of the hospital shortly after the outbreak.

This morning I would like to report to the House on the response of our health-care system to this emergency. In a matter of one hour and 15 minutes the entire hospital was evacuated. Altogether approximately 500 patients were either sent home or moved to Hamilton and Henderson general hospitals, Kitchener-Waterloo Hospital, Chedoke-McMaster Hospital and five area nursing homes. Psychiatric patients were moved to Hamilton Psychiatric Hospital.

I was on the scene myself and was told that everyone involved handled his or her tasks calmly and efficiently. In fact, during the early stages of the evacuation, hospital staff who were not involved in the crisis continued to function effectively and several operations were completed. In all, 42 emergency vehicles from Hamilton and the surrounding area, including the Metropolitan Toronto ambulance bus, were involved in the transfer which was carried out smoothly and without incident. Unfortunately, however, five firemen had to be treated for smoke inhalation; three were subsequently released and two, I am told, remained in Hamilton General Hospital for observation.

The decision on when the patients will return is pending the assessment of the fire marshal who was on the site again today. While in Hamilton I met with officials of

the hospital and the district health council. I assured them my ministry will make resources available to assist the hospital and work with them to ensure that services in the area are not interrupted.

I think it is important that the co-operation and effort of all those involved in this emergency be acknowledged publicly. In short order and under emergency conditions, beds were made available and the patients were transferred without jeopardizing their condition. All of those involved in this emergency are a credit to our health-care system. I am sure all members of this House join me in congratulating them on a job well done.

Mr. S. Smith: Mr. Speaker, as you and members of the House may know, I am a member of what is known as the senior staff of St. Joseph's Hospital in Hamilton. As members can imagine, I was upset, and quite naturally so, when I learned of the fire that broke out in the boiler room and the resultant damage.

I am very gratified to hear that no serious casualties have occurred and that the fire was quickly contained. I want to commend the members of the Hamilton fire department for their quick action, their usual excellent efforts and their bravery. I certainly hope those who were affected by smoke will all recover totally as soon as possible.

I want to express my admiration for the staff of the hospital, all of whom acted very swiftly and efficiently with concern for the patients. It was a remarkable effort. I am grateful to the staff members of the Chedoke, Henderson, Hamilton General and McMaster hospitals, as well as neighbouring hospitals and nursing homes, for the way they adapted. I want to thank everyone for his or her professionalism and express the hope, as the minister has, that things will be back to normal quickly. It was a job very well done by all concerned.

Mr. Mackenzie: Mr. Speaker, I too would like to add my congratulations to the staff of the hospitals involved—St. Joseph's and those hospitals to which the patients were moved—on the very efficient manner in which the evacuation was carried out. I have one minor

concern I would like to address to the Minister of Health regarding some comments passed on to me that it may be a little difficult, particularly on Saturdays over the next week or too, in terms of the facilities that are available in Hamilton should there be any run on hospitals or serious emergencies. I am wondering if he has taken any steps to look into this particular concern.

QUESTIONS ON NOTICE PAPER

Mr. T. P. Reid: Mr. Speaker, in regard to the standing orders, particularly standing order 81 on written questions, I had placed a question on the Notice Paper to the Minister of Health regarding the internal report on the provision of assistive devices for the physically handicapped. I tabled that question on April 14, 1980, and received what I think was a hurry-up answer from the minister yesterday, two days after the date it should have been answered.

However, in response to my questions about who was on the committee and when was it set up, would the minister make the report available? None of these questions was answered. Since this matter has been dragging on for some years, I wonder, Mr. Speaker, if under standing order 81 you might direct the minister to answer the questions that were placed on the Notice Paper in regard to this matter.

Hon. Mr. Timbrell: Mr. Speaker, with respect, I think they have been answered. I have indicated several times that the matter is under review. I indicated in that response that once the matter is completed and the government and ministers have had a chance to make some decisions, it will be released. I don't think I could answer it any more fully than that.

Mr. T. P. Reid: I asked who was on the committee and when the committee was set up. Could I have answers to those questions?

Hon. Mr. Timbrell: I will review the matter again, but once the matter is completed and a policy decision taken, it will all be released.

Ms. Gigantes: Mr. Speaker, I have a similar question. It relates to question 43 which I placed on the Notice Paper many weeks ago. I received an interim answer which was noted before orders of the day on March 24. It was an interim answer to a very simple question asking the Minister of Health whether he would ever table the committee report on the Badgley commission report. The interim answer I received on April 8 gave me the information that the answer to my question would be available on April 18. I have re-

ceived no answer. It seems such a simple question that I can't understand the delay.

Hon. Mr. Timbrell: Mr. Speaker, with respect, it is very simple. The honourable members opposite, as is their right, have tabled a very considerable number of questions. I have a very small staff to work on preparing all of the answers. I believe the interim answer said we would answer on or about April 30, and it is only a couple of days late. I recognize we have been late on a few of them. I apologize for that, but we have had a considerable number to deal with.

10:10 a.m.

Ms. Gigantes: Mr. Speaker, if I may draw the minister's attention to page 12 of our Order Paper which for the last few days has indicated on the bottom of page 12, after four asterisks—this is in relation to question 43 which I had asked—"Approximate date information available April 18, 1980." I can't understand why the answer wasn't available long before then. Mine is not a complicated question.

[Later:]

Mr. Speaker: With regard to the two other points that were raised by the member for Rainy River and the member for Carleton East, I am going to have to look into the standing orders to see whether or not the provisions for the answering of questions within the time frame outlined in the standing orders is being lived up to. If I find that it is not I will issue a statement sometime next week.

YOUTH ASSISTING YOUTH

Mr. Warner: Mr. Speaker, I have a point of privilege which relates to a press report that the Provincial Secretary for Social Development (Mrs. Birch) made a financial commitment on behalf of the provincial government to Youth Assisting Youth. She has misled the community, as well as me. The government has decided not to live up to the commitment. Mr. Speaker, very simply, I ask if you have any jurisdiction when a member is misled because of a broken promise.

Mr. Speaker: I am sure that the honourable member, given his academic background, can use better language than that. You know that we consider unparliamentary any suggestion that a member has been dishonest or has misled the House, and I would ask you to phrase that statement in another way.

Mr. Warner: I understood the promise quite clearly, Mr. Speaker, and it wasn't fulfilled.

Mr. Speaker: What you understood is fine in your own mind. All I am saying is I, as the presiding officer of this House, have to maintain order and make sure that the rules are lived up to. You personally will not accuse another member of misleading the House.

Mr. Warner: Would you like me to withdraw the remark and simply imply that the government doesn't fulfil promises? I would be quite happy to do that.

[Later]

Hon. Mrs. Birch: On a point of personal privilege, Mr. Speaker, if the honourable member is really interested in finding out the facts about what was said and the funding this province is providing for that group of young people, why does he not ask a question?

Mr. Warner: I asked the question many times. The government promises money and does not deliver.

FLECK DISPUTE

Mr. Riddell: On a point of privilege, Mr. Speaker: Last night, in the remarks of the leader of the NDP, he made some insinuations about my involvement with the Fleck strike and in his usual fashion he fabricated the truth.

Mr. Speaker: No, no. I know this is Friday morning, but we are not going to get into a hassle over that. The honourable member will withdraw that comment.

Mr. Riddell: All right. I will withdraw "fabricated the truth." He was not accurate in his remarks.

My confrontation was not with the workers; it was with the union leaders. In my personal view, until politicians demand more accountability of the actions on the part of union leaders we are going to have government by international trade unions and not by the people.

Mr. Speaker: Order. That is not a point of privilege.

RESCUE REPORT

Mr. Cunningham: Mr. Speaker, last night, during the course of the Ministry of Transportation and Communications estimates, the minister tabled a report entitled *The Rescue and Extrication of Victims Trapped in Accident-Involved Vehicles*. When I opened the front cover, I noticed the date of this document was July 11, 1979.

In view of questions raised in this House and the concerns expressed by myself and the member for Etobicoke (Mr. Philip), I would like some explanation possibly with

regard to why the Attorney General (Mr. McMurtry), I suppose, or the Solicitor General, has suppressed this report for well over nine months?

Mr. Speaker: That is neither a point of privilege nor a point of order, and there is ample opportunity for the member to question any minister at the appropriate time.

ORAL QUESTIONS

AID TO CHRYSLER

Mr. S. Smith: Mr. Speaker, I would like to ask the Premier whether he is in a position to tell this House, since there are rumours there will be a statement just after we rise at the end of our sitting today, the latest status with regard to the Chrysler Canada Limited negotiations. In particular, has an agreement been reached that involves the Ontario government? Will it involve loan guarantees as opposed to grants? Will there be job guarantees of any kind, and if so, would the Premier be kind enough to describe those guarantees? Is he able to bring us up to date on this matter?

Hon. Mr. Davis: Mr. Speaker, I hope the Leader of the Opposition will understand that we are not yet in the position to do so, although the Minister of Industry and Tourism (Mr. Grossman), who has been working on this hourly for the past four or five days, will be here a little later. If he is in a position to communicate something, I am sure he will do so.

Mr. S. Smith: That's fair enough, Mr. Speaker. I guess we will have to wait for the minister.

Without stretching the meaning of "supplementary" too much, may I ask the Premier what steps his government has taken to move the automobile industry into the kind of engines, the kind of planning which will have a real future? He will remember that while the automobile engines were all large ones, everybody knew the future was the small car, but we did not get there. Now we are getting into small cars but everybody knows the future will be in engines that burn more than one fuel. Volvo and Mercedes are going to engines that burn more than one fuel.

Will the Premier tell us whether the government is taking any measures to help the automobile companies and encourage them to get into engines that have more than one fuel capacity?

Hon. Mr. Davis: Mr. Speaker, unfortunately I am not as familiar with Volvos or cer-

tainly Mercedes as the Leader of the Opposition. It has never been within my economic capacity to investigate the availability of those vehicles.

Mr. Nixon: When did the Premier last buy a car? He has not bought a car for years.

Hon. Mr. Davis: No, but my wife has. The member is quite right; I haven't.

Mr. Nixon: Anybody who would drive a big green Chrysler—

Hon. Mr. Davis: As a matter of fact it is brown, and I make no apologies for buying Chrysler. I just wish more people had bought Chryslers. Mr. Speaker, the Leader of the Opposition might redirect his question to the Minister of Industry and Tourism, who is now here and who might give him any up-to-date information we can publicly disclose.

Mr. Speaker, while I am on my feet, in answer to the supplementary question, because it does relate to the issue very directly, I would like to extend my congratulations to the government House leader (Mr. Wells) who is today celebrating a fairly significant anniversary, his 50th birthday. Many happy returns.

Mr. T. P. Reid: Give him a raise.

Mr. S. Smith: I wondered why they brought in that new pensioner credit. Happy birthday to the government House leader.

May I ask the Minister of Industry and Tourism if he is able to bring the House up to date on the Chrysler negotiations? Is it true there will be a statement at noon or so and can he tell us what job guarantees have been negotiated, if any?

10:20 a.m.

Hon. Mr. Grossman: May I say at the present time I would be confident there will be no statement at noon. Talks concluded yesterday in Ottawa among my officials, federal officials and representatives of the Chrysler Corporation in the United States. They did not break off. They simply concluded at that stage with all the people at the negotiating table returning to their principals for further instructions. That is where it sits right now.

In view of the fact that in essence nothing has happened this morning and we haven't heard from any other principals, it would appear to me there would be no announcement in the next few hours. My sense of where the negotiations are at the present time also would reaffirm that I wouldn't expect anything to be reached in the next couple of hours either.

The situation surrounding the job guarantees which is, as I have indicated from

the start, the prime concern of this government and one of the prime reasons for the delay, is simply that job guarantees have not been arrived at which are satisfactory to us, and I believe the federal government, in order to permit a deal to be struck at this time.

Mr. Sargent: Is the minister in a position to tell the House the magnitude of his support for Chrysler at this point?

Hon. Mr. Grossman: No, really we are not because all of that is very much subject to the kinds of guarantees we may or may not be able to achieve. While Mr. Iacocca has decided that bargaining a bit in the public domain would be helpful to his side of the discussions, I think the responsible approach would be for us to protect our position of the Ontario taxpayer by not giving away any of our bargaining positions nor indicating how hard or soft they were on matters, other than job guarantees, on which we have been fairly direct.

Mr. Speaker, while I am on my feet I might take this opportunity to address the point of privilege raised by the member for Windsor-Riverside (Mr. Cooke) yesterday before question period before I arrived. While I haven't read precisely what he said, he raised some concern about the fact I had indicated some matters publicly which I had not answered in the House.

I should say I try very sincerely to protect the rights of this assembly. I think my record over time would affirm that. I very strongly try to ensure that during the period of time when the assembly is sitting, all announcements, all major policy changes or statements are made here, not outside the assembly.

What happened in the last few days was that in order to have a sincere and serious business negotiation, up until Tuesday we did try to protect the confidentiality surrounding those very difficult negotiations. Between Tuesday, when the House last sat, and Thursday, a great deal of information began to leak out, perhaps predictably. When there are a great number of people involved in negotiations such as these, some of them want to get some information out to help their side of the negotiations.

With all sorts of information beginning to come out during the period between the time the House sat on Tuesday, and yesterday, I felt it was incumbent upon me to respond to certain matters which had come out publicly in order, in turn, to protect that very same bargaining position and to let the public and the members of the assembly know in the

interim that we were there and we were trying to protect their interest. Because the House was not sitting and because information was coming out, I deemed it appropriate to make certain responses in order to protect all of us. I trust the House will understand that situation.

Mr. Renwick: By way of a supplementary question to the minister: Who are the principals to whom the various parties are reporting for further instructions on these negotiations?

Hon. Mr. Grossman: In Canada, it involves reports to the provincial and federal government. In the United States, the other principal is essentially the second in command to Mr. Iacocca of the Chrysler Corporation. Clearly, he is reporting to Mr. Iacocca who is operating, in turn, within the context of undertakings he must give to the Chrysler Loan Guarantee Board. In that sense, no arrangement can be struck without having some sort of understanding or concurrence among the government of Ontario, the government of Canada and the loan board, representing, I would say, the government of the United States and Chrysler Corporation of the United States.

Mr. S. Smith: In the minister's absence, I had put the question to the Premier but I would now ask the minister to consider it as well. Given that we went through a process over the years of building big cars when small cars were on the way, we are now going to be building small cars when there is another type in the future, namely, with dual-fuel engines—engines which can burn more than gasoline, that can burn either propane or compressed natural gas and possibly even liquid hydrogen or fuel alcohol. Given that is clearly going to be a wave of the future in order to reduce our dependency on oil, what is the policy of the government, what measures has the government taken to encourage movement into dual-fuel engines by auto makers in Canada?

Hon. Mr. Grossman: There are a great number of works being undertaken under the aegis of my colleague, the Minister of Energy (Mr. Welch), which he could report on in more detail.

It has been my desire to make sure that any application of that technology be made available to the Canadian auto industry and, to that end and for other reasons, we have formed a special branch in my ministry, the energy projects branch. I had intended to make a statement in that regard this week but because of the Chrysler situation that fell by the wayside. Next week I will be outlining to

this House specifics of the mandate of that branch, which has been assembled from some of the staff people in our ministry who have a special orientation towards energy projects.

With a view to ensuring that any of the technology in those areas the member referred to will be available to those parts of my ministry that interface directly with the auto industry, we have put together this energy project branch. It will be operating over a wider area as well, but one of its chief interfaces will be with the auto industry.

I should also say to the Leader of the Opposition that the auto parts technical centre which, as we announced yesterday, we are setting up at the Ontario Research Foundation, has also very great potential for work in that area. It is a centre which is specifically there for the auto industry and to help the small Canadian auto parts firms stay abreast of that technology in order to ensure they have access to the kinds of research and development facilities that they simply don't have in their own operations.

This technical centre will, in fact, do more than just respond to requests from the auto industry. It will be trying to define what kinds of new products and processes are being demanded by the North American and foreign automobile industries, and trying to find unique ways in which our Canadian auto parts firms can use our strengths in Canada—aluminum, plastics and steel—to meet those particular demands out there.

Quite frankly, I think the auto parts technical centre will be a very major step in the kinds of directions the Leader of the Opposition is referring to and his concern is quite properly placed.

SUDBURY TEACHERS' STRIKE

Mr. S. Smith: The Minister of Natural Resources (Mr. Auld) has just left us so I will ask a question of the Minister of Education.

Could the minister tell us what steps will now be undertaken to try to do the virtually impossible, which is, make up for the time that has been missed by the Sudbury students? In view of the fact that the non-semestered students have now lost 29 per cent of their instructional days, and have about 18 per cent of their year remaining, and the semestered students have lost 58 per cent of their instructional days, and have 35 per cent remaining, what measures will the minister be taking to help these students make up the deficiency?

Will she be contacting the institutions of higher learning so that none of these students will be penalized, with respect to the possi-

bility of their applications not being considered because of cutoff dates and so on at these various institutions?

Hon. Miss Stephenson: Mr. Speaker, the HS-1 representatives within the ministry met approximately 10 days ago with board members and those responsible for scheduling and curriculum in the Sudbury area to make an assessment of the requirements of the students based upon the final termination of the dispute. There has been a good deal of discussion and much exploration of methods of implementing programs to enhance and bring up as close as possible to the requirements, the teaching hours that the students require in order to attempt to gain their credits.

The universities of this province have been, over the past many years, of particular assistance in those few areas in which disputes have occurred. Although they have not in fact relaxed their academic requirements, they have been much more flexible in terms of the receipt of applications.

I have been assured by the members of the Council of Ontario Universities that they don't intend to change that policy.

10:30 a.m.

As I'm sure the honourable member knows, Laurentian University in Sudbury has already proposed some special arrangements which it will provide in order to ensure the very large number of first-year students it acquires from the Sudbury basin will not suffer any detriment as a result of this dispute.

Mr. Speaker, I must comment that it must be the Leader of the Opposition's long and unhappy experience in psychiatry that leads him to be such a pessimist. Nothing is impossible as long as human beings try hard enough to make sure that it happens.

Mr. S. Smith: I found psychiatry a very optimistic profession because I actually saw changes and improvement in people. It is only in politics that I have to look at people who never improve and never change.

I would ask the minister if she can tell us whether there will be provision made for extra days of teaching, and whether she has the co-operation of the Ontario Secondary School Teachers' Federation and the teachers themselves in this regard. Will she explain to us how it is that despite the attention being paid to curriculum some of these students who have missed over half their year can expect between now and the end of June to make up that deficiency unless there are extra days added and extra teaching provided? What has she been able to achieve

on behalf of these students in her discussions with the teachers?

Hon. Miss Stephenson: Mr. Speaker, I did not suggest all of this could happen before the end of June. For some students, it may be possible to ensure the required number of teaching hours will be provided within the time frame which occurs before the end of June; for others it may not be possible.

Discussions with the board and the teachers would lead me to believe there are a number of programs which may be established and that there will be some flexibility in the provision of those programs in order to accommodate the specific needs of students who have summer jobs and various other kinds of activities.

It is not one single program which is going to be established. I am sure there will be a number of them and the discussions are ongoing at this time.

Mr. Sweeney: By way of supplementary: Given the report, or statement perhaps is the proper word, released by the Council of Ontario Universities approximately one month ago, which indicated in pretty straightforward language that students who had missed a considerable amount of time towards their credits would be in a precarious position with respect to enrolment in limited enrolment courses, what provision, if any, has been, can be or will be made for the students from this area for enrolment in those kinds of courses?

Hon. Miss Stephenson: As I'm sure the honourable member knows, most of the major limited-enrolment courses are courses that do not admit first-year students on a first-year basis at the university. Some of the concerns that were expressed were related to engineering and to architecture, and that is a matter of concern to which I'm sure the universities are particularly sensitive.

We have been attempting to arrange that there will be at least interim reports available on behalf of students involved in a long dispute, in order that the universities may make preliminary assessments, with the aspiration that they might consider the final marks when they are provided, at a date later than usual, for examining all the applications to specific courses within the universities.

AID TO CHRYSLER

Mr. Renwick: Mr. Speaker, I have a question for the Premier or for the Minister of Industry and Tourism, whichever the Premier prefers. I know where it is going to go, but I want the Premier to feel free to interject at any point he wants.

Within the bounds of the secrecy of the details, we simply have to have more information here about the Chrysler Corporation negotiations. My questions, therefore, are: What are the matters that are coming back to this government, as one of the principals, for reconsideration or discussion or report? Why has there been—and I choose my words very carefully—a breakdown, if not a breakoff, in the negotiations among the principals with respect to this matter, since the May 1 deadline was not met? Are the Premier and the minister and his colleagues prepared to hang tough on the job-guarantee operation, or is that one of the matters that are back for negotiation and discussion?

What, for example, is the relationship between the original number of dollars, the \$500-million guarantee, and the \$171 million additional to the \$200 million now being talked about in so far as the inclusion or exclusion of the engine plant and the investment and retooling of that operation are concerned? Out of that, what we need is the fullest possible available information on the present state of the negotiations, what the problems are, why there are contradictions between this minister and the federal minister, and where we now stand and what course we can expect the negotiations to take.

Hon. Mr. Grossman: Mr. Speaker, I'll try to take those matters in order, except that I will begin with the last one and then go to the first.

The last part of the question refers to the contradictions between the federal minister and me. As I have read what he has been saying, I don't think there have been any contradictions at all. I don't suggest our bargaining positions are exactly the same at any given time, but in essence they aren't that much different that there are fundamental contradictions.

With regard to the first part of the question—what matters are coming back for negotiation—may I say no matters are coming back in any sense. What has been there, as the beginning point of our interest in the discussions, was jobs. I think we made this clear when I spoke in this House last December 18 or 19. At that time I indicated our interest was not in helping this particular company per se but in getting jobs for the Windsor area and in the auto industry. That's the reason we were at the table, and the only reason we were at the table.

Unless we go away from the table with what we went there to get—secure jobs for Windsor—there is little point in our spending a lot of time on the numbers and costs and

the prerequisites we would put in place. Those matters have been on the table the whole time. They have not been withdrawn. At this stage of the negotiations, I believe it is becoming a challenge for the other partners to the negotiations, which, inter alia, include the American states that have participated, to meet our requirements for job guarantees for Canada. That is the main issue that is still being discussed.

I also want to clarify that it does not mean there are not other issues still outstanding. There is, as in any set of negotiations, a whole host of other issues that need some fine tuning. But in terms of being in a position to spend a great deal of time on those other issues, I have made it fairly clear that there is little point in spending a lot of time on those until we know we're going to have a deal. We won't know we have a deal until we know we have firm and secure job guarantees for the Canadian auto workers.

The member suggested there has been a breakdown or breakoff of talks. With respect, that is really not a fair way to describe what has happened at the present time. As in any set of negotiations, unless you have the principals themselves sitting at the table, at some stage those who are in the discussion are going to have to go back to the policymakers involved to get some policy direction. That is simply what has happened.

10:40 a.m.

In terms of how sincere everyone is and how hard everyone is trying, I should say the people we had negotiating were there, while they negotiated, for 16 or 17 hours out of 24. They broke off for some hours of sleep and then went back and concluded the negotiations by 3:30 yesterday afternoon. They concluded, not breaking off and not at a stalemate, by simply saying, "Here are some variables. We had better go back and see whether the governments of Ontario and Canada are satisfied on the job-guarantee aspect and, on the other hand, see if Chrysler Corporation, which is being asked to give the job guarantees, is able to meet these job-guarantee requirements." That is pretty well where we are at the present time.

Finally, the member asked questions with regard to the inclusion of the engine plant. The member will be familiar, I know, with detailed and complex negotiations. There is a point at which opening discussions are held and people try to lay out the general parameters of where they are. In a very general sense, I would say the engine plant was at that time—and I am talking about last fall—something that Chrysler didn't certainly

foresee, but could foresee as part of its future if it was able to call down the \$1.5 billion from the American federal government.

As circumstances changed for Chrysler, as they lost substantially more money in the first quarter of 1980 than they had projected, and as they increased their projected losses for 1980 quite dramatically as a result, obviously the structure of the company they then envisaged was quite different from the structure they envisaged at the start. That was quite apart from the numbers of dollars the Canadian and Ontario governments were willing to put on the table. It simply meant they were looking at a company that was a couple of hundred million dollars poorer than it was when it began setting out a game plan, which included the engine plant, in the middle of last year. Therefore, they had to look at their operations anew.

One of the things they decided to do in order to recoup those and other losses, in part, was to stop and cancel their plans to make a \$200 million or \$300 million expenditure on the retooling of plant to turn out engines which they were unable to use until 1983. Therefore, they decided it would be in their best interests to stick to that revised plan, simply decide to buy the engines somewhere, if they were in business in 1983 and, in essence, that would keep them in the same position in which they started, i.e., having found a way to offset their projected deficit.

Mr. Speaker: Order. It was about a seven-part or eight-part question that required a very detailed answer. I think what you are getting into now are things you said earlier this week, so it is really a reiteration of a former position or a former statement.

Mr. Renwick: Supplementary.

Mr. Speaker: In all fairness, it was about a seven-part original. We have to share the time. We have used about 28 minutes of the question period and we are just on the third question. There was ample opportunity for members of the New Democratic Party to get in on supplementaries to the question posed by the Leader of the Opposition. In equal sharing of time, I will recognize the member for Grey-Bruce.

Mr. Foulds: On a point of order, Mr. Speaker.

Mr. Speaker: There is nothing out of order.

Mr. Foulds: On a point of privilege then.

Mr. Speaker: What is the member's point of privilege?

Mr. Foulds: Mr. Speaker, you have just chastised members of this party and the leadoff questioner for this party for taking too much time with his lead question.

Mr. Speaker: No, I did not, not at all. Will the honourable member take his seat? I was just appealing to the members of the House for some semblance of fairness and equal sharing of the time. I have not chastised anybody.

Mr. Sargent: Mr. Speaker, I realize this is a difficult question to answer. Based on the premise that 75 per cent of the American people are opposed to this kind of subsidization but the time and place change things now, and based on the premise that it is ridiculous for government to tax winners to subsidize losers—and I think the question by the member for Riverdale was very important at this point—can the minister tell us that if we do go through with these guarantee loans, both federally and provincially, and tax concessions, is the government going to have a management shake-up which, I understand, is very badly needed? Will there be periodic reviews? Are these things a part of the discussions?

Hon. Mr. Grossman: Mr. Speaker, in terms of the activities of the Chrysler Loan Guarantee Board in monitoring the future management of Chrysler in that narrow area, I have a great deal of confidence in the expertise the board has and has bought. They spent several hundred thousand dollars, if not \$1 million by now, in buying expertise from private-sector consultants to advise them on how best to structure the managerial side of the business.

I do not agree with all the views of the Chrysler Loan Guarantee Board on where various investments should be placed across the world, but in terms of their assessment of the management structure of the company, I have the highest confidence in the decisions of the board and their advisers.

Mr. Renwick: Mr. Speaker, by way of a supplementary question: I specifically talked about breakdown, not breakoff of negotiations. I take it from the minister's reply to my question that the reason matters have now been referred back is the key issue of jobs. My question is, either to the minister or to the Premier, is the government of Ontario, as one of the principals, prepared to hang tough on—I use a round figure without knowing any of the details—the 15,000 jobs at stake?

Hon. Mr. Grossman: Mr. Speaker, may I say with full confidence in my answer that

one of the reasons the negotiations were not concluded earlier this week is because this government has been very firm on the question of job guarantees.

Mr. Mancini: Mr. Speaker, my supplementary question to the Minister of Industry and Tourism is, could he inform the House in round figures, so that the people in Windsor may know what type of employment future they have and the city of Windsor may know what type of investment future it has, what the Ontario government is considering lending Chrysler in return for how many jobs and how many dollars in investment?

Hon. Mr. Grossman: Mr. Speaker, the figures that have been speculated on in the press, while not dead on, are in the general area in which we are carrying on negotiations—a general outline of where we are. In terms of what kinds of jobs we are looking at, if Chrysler Corporation continues with or without our support, the auto pact will ensure there will be several thousand jobs in Windsor. That is on the down side, without our support.

On the up side, this government and the federal government are looking at the historical optimal level of employment in Windsor in Chrysler, which is about 15,000. We would be looking at only incremental gains from the auto-pact figure up to 15,000 if we did not look at historical levels. I am sorry for approaching it that way but I have to, in view of the negotiations. Suffice to say, if we end up with many fewer jobs than there were in the auto industry we started with in Windsor, there is no point in us being at the table. We are looking at historical, if not better, levels.

INTEREST RATES

Mr. Renwick: Mr. Speaker, I have a question for the Premier. In view of the statement by the Treasurer (Mr. F. S. Miller) in his budget that a paper would be tabled about interest rates, will the Premier advise the House when the paper will be tabled in the assembly, and what will then be the process? Will it be accompanied by government proposals with respect to the interest question as it affects the three areas of small business, home owners and the farm industry? Will there be a discussion and a debate in the assembly? What is the process by which we will come to grips with the urgent needs of those three sectors for interest-payment aid and assistance?

Hon. Mr. Davis: Mr. Speaker, I cannot really answer the second part of the question.

I think it depends to a great extent on what the paper itself produces. What might be done in terms of the mortgage situation, as I am sure the member for Riverdale appreciates, is probably far more complex than what might be done in terms of the farm community. I am not as familiar with what might develop with respect to small business, but the anticipation of the government is to have this study paper, or whatever term one way wish to use, available by approximately the middle of this month.

10:50 a.m.

I should also add—I think the Treasurer made it clear, as did the Minister of Agriculture and Food (Mr. Henderson)—that because of the concerns of the farming community and the complexity of that, we have not precluded the possibility of the government moving in that area prior to whenever the paper may be produced, but we are trying to look at roughly the middle of the month.

I might say while I am on my feet, in direct reply to the supplementary question of the Leader of the Opposition with respect to family life, that it is a great pleasure to extend on this Friday morning congratulations to the Minister of Natural Resources (Mr. Auld) who tomorrow will be celebrating, along with his wife, their 34th wedding anniversary, which in this day and age may be relatively unique.

Hon. Mr. Auld: I would like to thank the Premier. This year, I won't forget.

Mr. Renwick: Mr. Speaker, by way of supplementary: Since the budget did contain ingredients that were of assistance to the small business communities, and since the budget did contain a specific commitment reaffirmed by the Premier this morning that there will be assistance to the farming communities, is the Premier at this time prepared to make the commitment that there will be assistance made available to home owners faced with hardship in connection with mortgage interest payments and renewals?

Hon. Mr. Davis: Mr. Speaker, I think the government has made it clear that for those cases of real need we are anxious to find some solution. I think it is fair to state that the Minister of Housing (Mr. Bennett) from this province has taken a great deal of initiative. In fairness to the federal minister, Mr. Cosgrove, as one reads his statements on the policy the federal government has adopted—I get these programs mixed up, but it is the Assisted Home Ownership Program—I think there is some evidence from the nation's capital that they too are looking to find solutions that meet real problems in an equitable fashion.

The member for Riverdale is very familiar with the mortgage business, the complexities and the difference between the institutional lenders and the private lenders, and the great difficulty in sorting out something that is equitable for both the mortgagee and the mortgagor. I know he doesn't have quite the same sympathy for the mortgagor perhaps, but that has to be taken into account, otherwise the availability of mortgage funding which is also essential to the process becomes just a little more questionable.

I make it quite clear that we will have this documentation. I know the member for Riverdale was trying to put words in my mouth, just slightly, as is his very subtle custom of doing on occasion. What I did say, and I made it clear, was that we will have this paper by the middle of the month. The fact that we will have it does not preclude the possibility of this government moving with respect to the agricultural industry. I think that is what I said.

SUPERMARKET PRICING SYSTEMS

Mr. B. Newman: Mr. Speaker, I have a question of the Minister of Consumer and Commercial Relations concerning the universal product code. The minister is aware that it has been well over three years since I first introduced legislation, hoping that the government would copy it and introduce its own, that would require that every product having the universal product code marked on it also to have the individual purchase price. Would the minister care at this time to inform the House as to whether he is going to introduce legislation along that line in the immediate future?

Hon. Mr. Drea: Mr. Speaker, members will recall that in December I announced several steps were being taken in regard to the application of the universal product code, to electronic scanning at checkout counters in supermarkets, and to the question of the price stickers being on or off. At that time I made it very plain that the government would not decide the issue, and the industry would not decide the issue, but that the consumers would decide the issue. To ensure the fullest participation of consumers, the ministry undertook a survey of people who were actually shopping in stores, particularly in Ottawa and London, that were using scanning without the prices. In addition, surveys were being conducted by the industry. Further, two surveys were conducted by the Consumers' Association of Canada (Ontario).

Almost all the data have been assembled, including the government's part. As soon as

those data are compiled, I will be tabling the results in the House and taking the appropriate steps to ensure the will of the consumers in regard to this technological improvement and how it will be used will be applicable.

Part of the government's position on this, regardless of the in-depth survey results, is the fact that the honourable member's original private member's bill received second reading in the House. That obviously carries a considerable amount of weight. I would hope the data would be available very soon. I am waiting for one more piece, and at that point it will all be tabled. The government policy, reflecting the will of the consumers, will come at the same time.

Mr. B. Newman: I am sure the minister is aware that more and more retail outlets are going into the automatic cash register system. Does the minister not think it is quite urgent that some action be taken very shortly concerning this important item?

Hon. Mr. Drea: Any individual supermarket or supermarket chain that has gone into this in the past six months has been fully aware of the fact that, notwithstanding their investment or their policy, they were going to be subject to government policy and the will of the consumers in this province. The one chain that did introduce it has very specifically labelled it a pilot project. They are not expanding. Anybody who is expanding is fully aware of the risks involved.

Mr. Swart: Mr. Speaker, can the minister tell us whether his survey or, to his knowledge, any of the other surveys being done with regard to the UPC, are doing a survey of the comparative price consciousness of consumers as between a conventional store and a store that is using the scanner and has abolished the individual price tags? This was done in a comprehensive manner in the United States. Does he know whether there is a loss of price consciousness in these new types of stores?

Hon. Mr. Drea: Mr. Speaker, the survey by the government is very specific on two grounds. We had to go to great lengths to find people who were actually shopping in stores without the prices and what their very detailed feelings were. In addition, we had to go to people who were not using it but had heard about it to find what their feelings were. That is a very comprehensive point.

The question of price consciousness, if I understand what the member means, is paramount in the whole issue. The whole

issue is not whether one goes through the checkout lines faster or not. It isn't whether the checkout counter aborts from time to time. The question is—and I say this in the broad way; it is broken down in much more detail than that—how comfortable as a purchaser does one feel with that system. I think that is all-embracing in terms of price consciousness.

11 a.m.

INCO EMISSIONS

Mr. Germa: Mr. Speaker, in the absence of the Minister of the Environment (Mr. Parrott), I will address my question to the Premier. Is he aware that at a press conference yesterday his Minister of the Environment said that the appropriate amount of study has not been done to determine how much Inco Limited can cut back on its pollution levels? He also defended the Inco line that the 1,900-ton limit on emissions would limit Inco's investment opportunities, its ability to expand and so on. Yet he admitted he had not seen the federal studies to which we referred in the House which say the technology is available for Inco to cut that to 1,000 tons a day and Inco can afford it.

If the minister has not seen the studies and has not done his own study on Inco's ability to afford further pollution reductions, is he just once again taking the old Inco line?

Hon. Mr. Davis: Mr. Speaker, I would have to make this observation. I think it was demonstrated very clearly yesterday that the government is not accepting Inco's point of view. If the government had accepted Inco's point of view, the figures would have been substantially different.

Mr. S. Smith: Nonsense.

Hon. Mr. Davis: I want to read from comments of the Leader of the Opposition's friend. "I am pleased to inform the House that my Ontario colleague has today announced a new order on Inco. I wish to congratulate Dr. Parrott on the step he has taken. I know it wasn't an easy decision to make. I believe it is an important and courageous one. The decision, which I salute and support, results from close co-operation between the federal and provincial governments. A sharing of detailed information strengthened Canada's case and encouraged the United States in their attempts to develop control policies." I just hope brother Roberts can produce as much in the United States as we produce by way of environmental controls here. I have to guess that he may not. That's what he said.

The Minister of the Environment for the government of Canada was in Washington. He made certain comments.

Mr. Laughren: John Roberts.

Hon. Mr. Davis: Yes, John Roberts.

Mr. Foulds: You hadn't mentioned that.

Hon. Mr. Davis: I just thought I would tell the honourable members.

I think it is also fair to state, and one cannot ignore this, that there is still some doubt about the technology that may or may not be available. I cannot comment in as much detail as the Minister of the Environment can but, as I understand it, there is a possibility and they feel encouraged that the pyrite separator, or whatever term is used, is technically possible. There will be some time getting it in place.

Mr. Germa: It's only \$50 million.

Hon. Mr. Davis: It is not a question of the money. It is a question of whether the technology will work, and I think it is a logical next step. This is to be completed, as I recall—I was not here for the statement—by the end of December 1982. The ministry has also ordered Inco to move ahead with the next phase. If there is technology available, if it can reduce further—and that is the belief of the ministry—then it is the obligation of Inco to do so.

The minister's order yesterday was tough. It was also realistic. The member nods or shakes his head. I have to tell him that, in terms of the financial capacity of Inco, over the next two years they will be operating at 15 per cent or more below their present rated capacity which, in terms of the world marketplace, causes a potential problem.

Interjection.

Mr. Speaker: The Premier doesn't have to respond to a nod of the head—

Interjections.

Mr. Speaker: Has the Premier completed his response to the original question? I think it was quite adequate. Does the member for Sudbury have a brief supplementary?

Mr. Germa: I have a short supplementary. On the question of affordability of the program, the Premier and I both know that Inco is heading for a \$350-million year this year. How can he continue to defend Inco's poverty line, knowing figures like that are coming through?

Hon. Mr. Davis: I am not defending Inco's poverty line. I do not know where a poverty line exists when one takes into account return on investment. I know the member for Sudbury is very familiar with this and he will

say to this House that Inco is probably earning 10 or 12 per cent on investment. Even some of his colleagues, who on occasion may make an investment, would feel in this day and age that is not unreasonable. The fact is that Inco is earning far less on investment than that figure. The member knows that. Others may not know it, but I am sure he does.

I also would point out to the member for Sudbury that I did not hear him urging us to assist Inco when their earnings were substantially below what they may be today. I do not recall the member taking up a collection or wanting Lottario to assist. I never hear that when the corporate community is suffering losses. No one in this House will say, "Can we help them in any fashion?" except maybe in the case of Chrysler.

It is not just a question of money; it is a question of whether the technology is there to do it. In my understanding, Inco itself is optimistic about the ability of this converter to reduce the emissions in the process by roughly 25 per cent. They plan to have this in place by December 1982. It is a very encouraging step forward. I am not competent to guarantee that technology will work. They think it will work. The Ministry of the Environment thinks it will work. That is why the order is where it is, and it is a very major reduction. In case the minister did not mention it, I will point out that Inco is a very high-profile emitter of sulphur dioxide, and not just because of the stack.

I read some of the testimony given by the head of the Environmental Protection Agency in the United States, the same gentleman the member for Niagara Falls (Mr. Kerrio) is reciting to us, when he was before a Congressional committee. He said to the members of the committee that he supported the program of the President of the United States to shift to coal. Does my friend know what that program means? It means an increase of 300,000 tons in sulphur dioxide and an increase of 200,000 tons of nitrous oxide. We all know in this House the main source of acid rain or sulphur in the atmosphere is south of the border in percentages far in excess of what is happening here. Here is the head of the EPA in the United States saying to the Congress of that nation, "We should approve this program which will substantially increase emissions."

I want to point out to the honourable member that we are doing our part here. A very significant step was taken yesterday. What concerns me as a resident here is that our neighbours to the south may not be

influenced. The bulk of the problem is still there, and I have seen no evidence of movement on their part to reduce their share of the problem.

AUTO INSURANCE

Mr. G. E. Smith: Mr. Speaker, I have a question for the Minister of Consumer and Commercial Relations. Is the minister aware of any problem existing under the compulsory insurance program whereby a person purchasing a new or used vehicle, whose insurance agent does not carry on business in the owner's municipality, does not have in his possession the proper insurance identification and consequently, on a technicality, could be charged by the police?

Hon. Mr. Drea: Mr. Speaker, I am not aware of any problem. First of all, when people purchase new or used vehicles, they can carry their existing insurance certificate, which is valid for 14 days' coverage on the new vehicle. Second, the law was written so that the police do have discretion, just the same as they have if people fail to carry their operator's licence on their person. They can make a notation of the occurrence, but the occurrence can be cleared by presentation of the document at the police station.

In the case of a person transferring a policy from one vehicle to another, the 14-day automatic period would appear reasonable. If there is some peculiar reason, for example, a person has an agent or a firm far removed, there is still the discretion. The important thing is to carry the existing pink slip; that is sufficient for the police.

Mr. G. E. Smith: I think the ministry should give a directive to the police from the Solicitor General (Mr. McMurtry), because in my area the police are not recognizing the 14 days. People must have the proper insurance identification for a particular vehicle. There is a lot of confusion. Would the minister check into it, along with the Solicitor General, and give direction to the police?

11:10 a.m.

Hon. Mr. Drea: Mr. Speaker, I will speak to the Deputy Solicitor General so that these concerns are reflected in the weekly communications that go to all police forces in the province.

LICENCE FEES

Mr. J. Reed: Mr. Speaker, I have a question for my constituent from Hornby, the Minister of Transportation and Communications.

Hon. Mr. Davis: Why don't you phone him or why don't you visit him?

Mr. J. Reed: In the interests of getting this on the public record, I will ask it in the House. What level of gasoline tax increase does the minister contemplate if he introduces a common licence plate, and how is he convinced that the best interests of conservation will be served?

Hon. Mr. Snow: Mr. Speaker, I thought the honourable member might have dropped in on his way home this afternoon for a quiet scotch and we could have discussed this.

Hon. Mr. Davis: What is a quiet scotch?

Hon. Mr. Snow: A quiet scotch is one without ice cubes.

Mr. Speaker: It wasn't part of the question either.

Hon. Mr. Snow: I'm sorry, Mr. Speaker, I know what the member is referring to. I guess it was the article that appeared in the *Toronto Star* yesterday quoting certain comments I had made. These comments were made in answer to many very intelligent questions that were put forward during the question period at the annual meeting of a provincial Progressive Conservative association.

During the forum on those questions, some of my constituents asked about alternative ways of establishing licence fees for automobiles. One particular gentleman had suggested a different system, rather than using the number of cylinders of cars as the method of establishing the different fees; that is, four cylinders, six cylinders and eight cylinders. As we all know, there are imperfections in that system, because many small eight-cylinder cars are perhaps more fuel-efficient than the larger sixes and so on. He suggested going on cubic content of the engine and having more variation. I explained to him that the ministry had looked at the possibility of having one fee, for instance, for an engine of two litres or less, one from two to three, one from three to four and so on, which would have about seven or eight different fee structures and no doubt would relate fee structures more to the actual size and efficiency of the engine.

I also stated I had a personal view that a fairer way of dealing with motor vehicle fees might be to have a standard registration fee, which would be just that, a registration fee to cover the registration of the vehicle, but then the Treasurer would not agree with me on that since there would be considerable lost revenue. To make up that revenue which, in a roundabout way through the consoli-

dated revenue fund, is used to maintain the road system of this province that automobiles are driven on, I felt the fairest way would be by an increase in the gasoline tax. In that way the overall cost to the operator of a motor vehicle would probably be more fairly distributed, because he would be paying more on the usage of the vehicle and the miles driven. The more efficient vehicle would burn less gasoline, so the operator would pay less tax than with a vehicle that uses larger quantities of fuel.

I also explained, Mr. Speaker, if you will give me another 30 seconds—and the article was well reported—that this was my own personal view and not the view of the government in any way.

Mr. J. Reed: The minister must be aware that introducing a common licence plate price would appear, at least on the surface, to reduce the incentive to the conservator and would provide a greater benefit to the driver of the larger automobile at licence plate time.

Has the minister given any consideration to the additional benefit which is apparent here, and can he explain how an increase in gasoline tax will offset that differential?

Mr. Speaker: Yes or no?

Hon. Mr. Snow: It is impossible to answer that with a yes or no. First of all, I would have to agree that a common licence fee, by itself, would remove a certain incentive that is there now to buy a smaller car and pay a \$40 fee, rather than \$80 for the largest car. It would remove that incentive.

I would be quick to point out that that in itself, in conjunction with an increased gasoline tax, would raise the same amount of revenue from the motorist to the consolidated revenue fund, and the increased gasoline tax would offset that and would provide an even greater incentive to drive a fuel-efficient car.

Mr. Speaker: The time for oral questions has expired.

RESCUE REPORT

Mr. Speaker: The member for Wentworth North (Mr. Cunningham) raised what he thought was a point of privilege. He has written me two notes. He is very incensed about my inability to respond in the way in which he thinks I should.

I thought the Minister of Transportation and Communications (Mr. Snow) might have wanted to respond to his point of privilege. I am being inundated by notes, Hansards and everything else from that corner.

I want to remind the honourable member that it is the responsibility of the member,

when he is dissatisfied with either the actions or the lack of action by a minister or any other member, to take advantage of the rules, by way of asking a question, by way of a debate in the committee or by way of a late show.

In a number of ways, he can approach the Minister of Transportation and Communications to seek redress for the thing he feels very strongly about.

I am here to enforce the rules. We do not have a freedom of information act. All I have to do is enforce the rules as I interpret them. If you have a grievance with a member, please don't continue to write me notes. Seek redress in the normal fashion. It is as simple as that.

Mr. Cunningham: Speaking on the point, if I could, Mr. Speaker, I merely drew to your attention a matter that I thought was an abuse of my privileges and other privileges of the House.

If I could have your indulgence, sir, I felt that you might take it upon yourself, in your capacity as the Speaker, to look into the matter.

Since that time, I have given you two occasions and two references in Hansard where members of the Legislature were told that the report in question was going to be distributed to us as soon as possible. The latter instance and the quote on December 13, 1979, in the Hansard reference you have was that it was at the printers and the members would get it as soon as it was completed. That reference was on December 13, 1979. The report distributed to us last night indicates the date was July 11, 1979. If those are factual and the date is correct—

Mr. Speaker: All this is very interesting, and we could talk about this for the next half hour. If you have a grievance, it is with the honourable minister. Why don't you ask him a question at the appropriate time?

Mr. Cunningham: Mr. Speaker, my point is that we have been misled very severely.

Mr. Speaker: No, no.

Mr. Cunningham: Oh yes, we have.

Mr. Speaker: No, no. That's not acceptable language.

Mr. Cunningham: No. We have been misled.

Mr. Speaker: No. You haven't been misled.

Mr. Cunningham: Mr. Speaker, on the point: If I could say to you, when the minister tells us—

Mr. Speaker: Are you going to withdraw the allegation that the minister misled the House?

Mr. Cunningham: No, I am not.

Mr. Speaker: I think you should reconsider. I know you have very strong feelings about this issue, but don't let them carry you away.

Mr. Cunningham: The minister said on December 13 it was at the printers, and it had already been printed.

Mr. Speaker: Please withdraw it.

Mr. Cunningham: I can't withdraw it.

Mr. Speaker: Then I will have to ask you to leave. I'll have to name the honourable member.

(Interjections.)

Mr. Speaker: Would you care to withdraw it?

Mr. Cunningham: No, I'm not going to withdraw it.

Mr. Speaker: I will have to name the honourable member. Please leave the chamber.

Mr. Cunningham left the chamber.

Hon. Mr. Snow: Was this a point of order or privilege before I arrived at the House?

Mr. Speaker: No. The honourable member felt very strongly about it, and I was simply asking, why didn't he put a question to you?

11:20 a.m.

Hon. Mr. Snow: Mr. Speaker, may I have the privilege to respond to the point of order?

First, may I say I regret I was not here sharp at 10 o'clock. I was tied up in a meeting. As I recall the situation—and I think I can add enough together to guess what went on here this morning—there was an interministerial committee of a number of ministries of the government working on this report. It so happened that a member of my staff was chairman of that committee. A report was completed. The report went to the Solicitor General of Ontario, as the Solicitor General was delegated to be the lead minister in this report.

The report was completed. I haven't got the answer for the date of July 11, other than that it was the day before my birthday. What I believe happened is that the report in draft form was completed and dated that date.

I was told, when the question was asked me last December, that the report was at the printers and that it had not been received. The report went to the Solicitor General, not to me, and I had no access to the report and did not receive a copy myself until I received two copies yesterday afternoon, which I gave to the two critics.

Mr. Philip: On the same point of privilege, Mr. Speaker: I think it should be pointed out, with respect to the member for Wentworth North, that he did not have the same opportunity that other members have to respond to the minister for an unsatisfactory answer, because the questions were directed to the minister by me on December 5 and December 13.

It was on those occasions that the minister indicated to the House that the report was at the printers. When we obtained the report last night, the member for Wentworth North correctly pointed out that it was dated July 11, 1979, and he asked why the minister had withheld it at that time.

I just want to point that out to the Speaker. I realize that the Speaker has made his ruling and had the member withdraw from the House. But I think this will at least shed some light on the matter and perhaps make the actions of the member for Wentworth North seem less objectionable to the Speaker.

MOTION

TIME LIMITS

Hon. Mr. Wells moved that on Friday, May 9, the time for question period be limited to 30 minutes, speakers on the order of the day be limited to 45 minutes, and the question be put before 1 p.m.

Motion agreed to.

INTRODUCTION OF BILLS

CAN-CON ENTERPRISES AND EXPLORATIONS LIMITED ACT

Mr. Rowe, on behalf of Mr. J. A. Taylor, moved first reading of Bill Pr13, An Act to revive Can-Con Enterprises and Explorations Limited.

Motion agreed to.

CITY OF TORONTO ACT

Mr. Renwick moved first reading of Bill Pr14, An Act respecting the City of Toronto.

Motion agreed to.

ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS ON NOTICE PAPER

Hon. Mr. Wells: Mr. Speaker, I would like to table the answers to questions 130, 131 and 132 on the Notice Paper. (See appendix, page 1420.)

ORDERS OF THE DAY

BUDGET DEBATE

(continued)

Resuming the adjourned debate on the amendment to the motion that this House approves in general the budgetary policy of the government.

Mr. Renwick: Mr. Speaker, during the remaining time I intend to speak on the budget debate, I want to cover two or three matters. The House will recall I was establishing certain considerations related to the death of a constituent of mine, Dolly Gallant, as the result of sniffing Pam. Later on in my remarks I intend to complete the comments with respect to that matter.

I would like to have the opportunity, I hope in an organized way but likely in a disorganized way, to deal with some of the matters arising out of the budget which are of basic concern to the province at the present time.

First of all, let me say that over the years I have had my own method of plotting the date for the next election. I would like to share that with the members. It is a relatively easy matter and can be put in diagrammatic form. I will have to put into words what could more readily be conveyed by a graph. I have it here, and members are well aware of what a graph is like. On one side there is the number of dollars, in this instance, and across the bottom are the dates, 1971, 1975, 1977 and 198-question mark.

One can do it by dates or guesswork, but there is a scientific method of determining that election date. I have so determined it. Because I would like to have the benefit of other members checking to see whether my date is correct, I am not going to disclose my date to the House. I am going to introduce them to the technique for finding the election date. It is quite simple.

Some people could take the date of the last election and relate it to another matter and say, "Oh, the election occurred on that date, which was the fixed element, and I know this was the result of that election, or a cause of that election."

Mr. Nixon: How do we predict the election date?

Mr. Renwick: Let me go on here and explain. It is very easy, because we all know the date of the last election and we guess about the date of the next election. I want not only to reduce the guesswork to a minimum, but also to eliminate it.

Mr. Nixon: The NDP should have voted with us last night.

Mr. Renwick: If the members could bear with me on this, they will notice that this line on the chart is related to the deficit the province runs in any given year and what happens to the deficit figures of the province. In 1971, there was a peak in the deficit spending of the government, and there was an election in 1971. In 1975, there was an amazing peak in the deficit, and there was an election in 1975.

Mr. Nixon: What does the bottom line say?

11:30 a.m.

Mr. Renwick: I know the member is excited to know the result. There was a significant peak again in the deficit in 1977 and, of course, there was an election in 1977. Now we come to the interesting part, because the deficit has been declining and was declining right through until this last budget. Now, as members can see, the rise to the next peak has already started. The projection of the deficit for 1981 is somewhat higher, which means the government is spending a little more money because it is an election year and they are responding to the needs of the—

Mr. Nixon: As long as you are voting for them, they don't have much to worry about.

Mr. Renwick: I am quite happy to compress this into a single chart. Anybody who wants to have it can guess at what point in that rising line in the graph towards the deficit, at what point in that deficit we can say, "There, it has peaked; that coincides with the election date."

I think it is foolproof and scientific, and I think it is beyond reproach. It eliminates all the guesswork about when the election is going to be. All one has to know is how high the peak will be. I have my guess or my exact calculation of when that peak will be and when the election will be. I cannot spot it to the day, but I can spot it to the month. It has, perhaps like a Gallup poll, a minor margin of error, but I guess I am accurate nine out of 10 times on the week it will be held.

I have my guess, and I ask any other members of the assembly to join with me in the scientific determination of the date when the next provincial election will be held. I think we are all interested in it.

I will make one other comment and that is that I think we can be sure or satisfied that the countdown has started. That seems to me to be obvious, but I am not quite sure. I am sure of the numbers; I start at 25, but I am not sure just when I am going to reach zero, other than by intersecting the countdown with the rise in the deficit. It is the intersection of

those two points, give or take as I say the margin of error allowed by the Gallup poll, that allows one to pinpoint exactly the date of the next provincial election.

As I say, Mr. Speaker, I have my date. I have filed it with one of the leading chartered accountancy firms in secret and in private to show how detached I am about it. I am quite happy to have my method of calculation checked by any other members of the assembly, particularly those who are politically astute. By that, of course, I include any member of the Liberal Party. Perhaps I should correct that; maybe what I am saying will be of immense help to them because the one thing, one of the many ingredients that they lack in their political astuteness, is the sense of timing, and perhaps this will help them with their timing problem as to when the date of the next election will be.

I, as usual, lost a particular piece of paper that I had. I am sure I will find it shortly after I sit down, but there was a very real contradiction which appeared in the press which I have to draw to the attention of the members of the assembly and, I trust, to the Minister of Labour (Mr. Elgie) on the one hand and the Minister of Industry and Tourism (Mr. Grossman) on the other hand. I wish it were possible in a government such as this for people to recognize that the relationships in industry must have a corresponding relationship between the labour people and those responsible for labour policy.

All of us will recall the immense personal dedication and attachment that the Minister of Industry and Tourism has to global product mandating.

The key example he has used time and time again is that of a company that he believes to be a Canadianized company, even though it is not owned in Canada, but a really fine corporate citizen that has honed down the question of local product mandating in a way which permits Canada to be involved in the export markets, even though all we have is a subsidiary plant of an American corporation or a small component part of a multinational corporation, whichever analysis one may choose.

That company that is the star in the firmament of the Minister of Industry and Tourism as he illustrates the benefits to be derived from global product mandating is the Westinghouse Company. I believe it is correct that the president of Westinghouse is one of the key members of the task force or working group that he has set out to develop for us a whole technique and process by which we can go to global product mandating.

I am going to touch lightly on the next part. I don't know whether the matter is under appeal as yet, but my colleague the member for Hamilton East (Mr. Mackenzie) raised a matter yesterday about the judgement of the Ontario Labour Relations Board and what appears to be an evident attempt to disperse the Canadian Westinghouse operation. They are trying to disperse their operations in smaller areas around the province so that there will be no union obstruction to their plans.

I want anybody who is interested in it to take into consideration at least the article which Wilfred List wrote in the *Globe and Mail* on April 30, setting out this concern of the board. For those who are really interested in the corporate techniques of avoiding union involvement with their operations I recommend they read the whole of the judgement of the board in connection with that matter. I can't take it further because the matter may well be a subject of appeal.

But I am saying only by way of illustration that the Minister of Labour of this government and the Minister of Industry and Tourism cannot operate in water-tight compartments. They have a very close and a profound relationship. This is one of the matters I would have liked to have had an opportunity to address this morning. However, it was seen that perhaps I had asked too much of an omnibus question in one of them and I didn't get a chance to address it. It was that the Minister of Industry and Tourism on behalf of the government is engaged in a negotiation about jobs with the Chrysler corporation and the guarantees about jobs in Chrysler corporation over a great period of time.

There has not been a single indication of any kind that the Minister of Labour, other than in his capacity as one of the members of the cabinet, has had any participation in those negotiations. It is always the same: Labour is never consulted about matters of importance, yet it always carries the can for the problems that occur because of any opportunity to negotiate and to treat labour's role as a partner in the operation.

Whatever anyone else may say about it, it is time that the corporate practices of all kinds of Canadian industry in the industrial field must be set either by Canadian companies or at least divorced from the kind of corporate practices that may be successful or may be the pattern that is used by the parent corporations of American companies with subsidiaries here. The question is much broader than that but I wanted to focus

attention on that specific contradiction which occurs time and time again—that a company could be engaged, whether they are ultimately held to be subject to the strictures imposed on them by the Ontario Labour Relations Board because of some failure in the language of the Labour Relations Act is not the relevant consideration. The relevant consideration is the kind of technique which that company was using over a period of time in order to so decentralize its operations that it could destroy the union in its operations.

11:40 a.m.

What were they going to substitute for it? What a delightful phrase there is at the end of Wilfred List's column; "There would be a commitment to good labour-management policies and to increased employee job satisfaction." Oh, that would be just tremendous for those people who were fortunate enough to work for Canadian Westinghouse after the dispersal of the plants took place and the unions had to start again to try to organize in the kinds of plants that have been the bane of our existence here, such as the Fleck plant and Radio Shack, dispersed in small pockets around the province. It is a serious problem. It is one of the ramifications of the price we pay here for the foreign control of the Canadian economy and, particularly, of the industrial establishment in the province itself.

One thing is a constant and continuing mystery to me. I suppose at one time I used to consider it, one way or another, a frustration. On occasion I was perhaps angry about it. Now it is simply a matter of frustration to me that when the Treasurer makes a statement in the Legislature about his view of the world so far as the Ontario economy is concerned, the lights are on. The *Globe and Mail* plays the story big. It's front page; it's editorial comment. But when the opposition parties spend a reasonable amount of time in response in alternative positions with respect to economic matters, the *Globe and Mail* carries little, if any, of that dialogue.

I speak particularly of the reply made to the budget address by my colleague the member for Nickel Belt (Mr. Laughren) on April 29 of this week. I could find nothing about the model he was proposing. The overall outline of the model he was setting before us for the governance of the economy, the relationship of the government to the economy, the nature of the economy, that alternative model, received no consideration, no analysis and no comment.

On very odd occasions we may find there is no descriptive material or no reporting

material in the paper, by virtue obviously of the editors, because the reports do go in from here, but one will suddenly find there is an editorial about it and nothing else. Most of us know at least a little bit about the origin of most editorials, that somewhere there is a report in one of the issues of a newspaper which leads up to and deserves the comment of an editorial.

I don't know why, and I suppose it is one of the most profound problems we face in a time of very great unease and uncertainty about the economic future of Canada, let alone of Ontario, somehow or other there is no way in which one can get public interest in a dialogue about the alternatives. I have said, both in the throne speech and indirectly in some of the remarks I made last night on the motion of no confidence proposed by the Liberal Party, which I reiterate today, that our party was founded at a time and as part of the basic substructure of this party there is a commitment not only to the principles of democratic socialism but to a recognition that the achievement of those goals can only be if we do in some way have a sense of economic independence, a sense that we have some way of making decisions about our economy which will result in certain results being achieved.

We have lost that. We lost it very clearly, and one need not be an historian to allude again to the 15-year period from 1945 to 1960 when it came to the consciousness of some of the leading people dealing with policy matters that we had to call a halt, we had to look at what was happening and we had to do something about it.

I mentioned last night what happened to the two men in public life who dared to raise the matters in any significant way. I drew attention to the fact that it coincided with the time of the founding of the New Democratic Party and that we have adhered to that policy ever since; that the alternative model, the only way in which we can establish some sense of distance in an inter-related world, is to regain to a reasonable extent the kind of control which we have to have in respect of our own economic affairs.

I want to turn to the automotive industry. There are very few members here on this beautiful Friday morning at 10 minutes to 12, but for those who are here, perhaps some have watched that wonderful television series, *The Music of Man*, and perhaps some of us have bought the book. I missed some of the shows but I bought the book and I opened it, and perhaps my venture into the automotive industry could be

placed somewhat in the words used by Yehudi Menuhin in the foreword to that book, "that fools walk in where angels fear to tread but that may be the ultimate justification for fools and, indeed, may have been the original conception which God had when he put fools on earth."

So, in that spirit, I am going to make a few comments about the automotive industry, not with respect to any detailed knowledge that I have about it, because I don't have any. I have none whatsoever except what I have learned and absorbed in the course of the time that we have been in the assembly during the period of the operation of the auto pact, which happens to coincide with my particular time here as representative of the riding of Riverdale.

I know half a dozen very simple things that need to be clearly stated in this assembly in order to bring ourselves into the 1980s. In the 15-year period since the auto pact came into force—I believe, if I am correct, that it was finally ratified in the United States Senate at the end of 1965, so at the end of this year it will be roughly 15 years it has been in operation—times have changed immensely. We have been talking a lot about Chrysler. I want to talk in the context of the Chrysler problem but I want to talk in a larger context, at least a little bit, about the automotive industry.

I was prompted to do so because of the concerns which have been developing and have been expressed in this assembly over the whole range of that vexed problem. I was pleased to have had an opportunity to read the address given yesterday by the Minister of Industry and Tourism (Mr. Grossman) which touches upon the very areas which are uppermost in the minds of many of us and I want to draw to the attention of the assembly the two key matters.

11:50 a.m.

There are other matters in the speech, some by way of background, some by way of analysis, very little by way of goals and objectives. But there are two very important goals, not to downplay in any way the comments the minister made in the assembly referring to this very speech about the initiative being taken with respect to the Ontario Research Foundation and the development of a special centre there for automotive matters.

In my judgement, the minister made two key statements yesterday in view of the preceding introductory remarks which he made about the automotive industry. He said it is time for this country to seek commitments

from the auto makers to increase the level of Canadian value added in world production to a level equal to 100 per cent of Canadian sales. In short, the Canadian content should be raised from its present 65 per cent to 100 per cent to equal Canadian sales.

The second major goal, as I understand it, is that we should insist on obtaining from the auto makers a commitment that on a five-year average basis they will balance corporate trade between Canada and the United States. In other words, this horrendous deficit we have been facing over a considerable period of time—particularly as it began to grow during the 1970s and culminated at the end of 1979 in a tremendous deficit in the auto pact trade, particularly with respect to parts—which appears to be headed in the same direction this year, would be eliminated.

Let me set the context, as I see it, of the automotive industry in the world and the kind of transition—maybe very far advanced, maybe actually arrived at—whose results may have already taken place. The transitional element that becomes very clear to me is that if I want to understand the automotive industry I have to go to Oshawa or Windsor. I have to understand Oshawa and Windsor as places where people live, move and have their being by virtue of the automotive industry.

If I want to understand Windsor and Oshawa I have to go to Detroit, because that is where all the basic, fundamental decisions with respect to the automotive industry of any one of the Big Three industries are made. We all know who the Big Three are at this time. I need not go into why it is, but the decisions are made in Detroit. The decisions are not made in Canada. I will come back to that perhaps in a moment or so.

Let me just repeat that. To understand the automotive industry I have to go to Windsor or to Oshawa, and to understand Oshawa and Windsor I have to go to Detroit, because that is where the Big Three are located and that is where the decisions are made about the automotive industry.

Another aspect of the automotive industry which comes through very clearly to me is whatever the complex process—and I am quite sure the historians of the industry will write about it or think about it or talk about it for a long time—by which the decision was made to down-size the automobile, down-size the automotive ingredient of private transportation accommodation by reducing the size of the cars, that came about fundamentally and very directly amidst all the complexities of that decision because of government standards.

I happen to think that if you want to single out the basic thing which led to General Motors deciding to move effectively to down-size, it was because the company recognized it had to accept the emission standards, the miles per hour standards and the safety standards imposed by government. They fought against those, but there came a point when they had to accept them.

We in Canada have to recognize the correlative responsibility, either at this level of government or at the level of the federal government in Ottawa, that if we want to move specifically with respect to the automotive industry to down-size the cars to conserve our energy in this province, we have to be very effective and determined about the kinds of standards which government will impose in those three areas. We should be a leader in that field, not a follower.

Let me make a third point about the automotive industry. It is, in my judgement, no longer something which can be talked about as a domestic industry, as though there were a domestic industry in the United States which is quite large and a somewhat smaller domestic industry in Canada, relative to the size of the country, and the auto pact was a result of the allocation of a sort of common domestic industry.

The industry at the present time is an international market, and it is very clearly an international market. There are no longer just the Big Three, but at least the Big Eight. Probably over the course of time that will be reduced to five or six, and maybe Chrysler, in the course of time, will be one of the casualties of that reduction. Only time will tell.

The other point which comes through to me very clearly is that General Motors is at a point in its development where it is no longer an American corporation with foreign subsidiaries, but it is a multinational corporation. It certainly did not appear, even though it was of mammoth size in the United States and Canadian markets, having at this time upwards of 60, 65, 70 per cent of the share of the market, that it really had any commitment to overseas expansion the way that some others have. General Motors, at this point in time, is no longer an American corporation with foreign subsidiaries, but is, in fact, a multinational corporation which happens to have its controlling centre in the United States.

It is interesting that General Motors does not appear, on balance, to be any longer mainly concerned about whether it will run afoul of the antitrust laws in relation to increasing its share of the market at the ex-

pense of Ford or Chrysler. That it is a multi-national in the much broader context of an international market and in the automotive industry must be taken into consideration.

The last very general point in the framework I'm trying to indicate in a very linear way that we must understand is that the decisions of the Big Eight are made at their home offices and nowhere else.

When our caucus was first in contact with Chrysler last summer in order to get some idea or inkling of their plans, when I talked with the president of Chrysler Canada and with one of the vice-presidents, and then when they came and met with the leader of our party and some of my colleagues here in Toronto last September to try and get some handle on what Chrysler was about in Canada, one of the principal points they made was: "You've got to understand that Chrysler Canada is sort of separate from Chrysler US. We have a good record. We haven't got the kinds of problems that Chrysler US have."

It was clearly part of the line we were supposed to accept. I don't think any of us really accepted the particular distinction that somehow or other Chrysler Canada was a viable, going operation with no financial problems and that they sort of ran their own show here in Canada and what happened across the river in Detroit was kind of insulated by the river and you couldn't get there by tunnel. If you wanted to communicate you had to swim over, which would take a little longer time.

12 noon

It wasn't so. Obviously, the decision with respect to the engine plant was not taken by Chrysler Canada. It was taken in Detroit, by the home office. I want everyone to understand that we should no longer kid ourselves about where the decisions are made.

I tried this morning to get some indication from the government as to who the principals were, who were the persons who made the final decisions. I wanted to know not who they had to consult with as a group, but when the chips were down, who said "Yes, that's the deal," among the parties.

What did I get? That the principals are the government of Ontario and the government of Canada and the loan board in the United States, under the US treasurer. There is no personalization allowed in the game at all.

We find all these negotiations that we were supposed to be waiting to hear an announcement about were not being conducted among principals at all. They were being conducted among certain negotiators who had to go back and report for further instructions. What good would an announce-

ment have been had it taken place on May 1 or May 2?

I would hope and expect the announcement that is made with respect to Chrysler aid will be made by the top players in the game and not by anybody else. The top players in my judgement in any event are, in the United States, at least the treasurer of the United States, Mr. Miller, if not the President of the United States; the top player in Chrysler Canada is Lee Iacocca and nobody else; the top player in Canada is the Prime Minister of Canada, the Right Honourable Pierre Trudeau; and the top player in Ontario is Premier Davis.

When the record is clear, we want to understand they are the ones who make the final decision. In my judgement, the announcement of a deal will only be stuck together and put together when that particular time comes.

The decision which has been ongoing, and ongoing, is about the protection of jobs. The Conservative government has enough wits to understand it can't again get away with a Ford deal. They can't again make public moneys of the province available without some substantial and significant commitment about the people involved in the industry to which they are making assistance available.

If we have gained one thing, perhaps we have gained a little understanding about that. They have at least had the wits to understand that. My assessment is and the record can prove me wrong, but until it does I will hold to it—the pressure from this party, its insistence, again and again, on the guarantee of jobs if public funds are to be made available, has provided at least a good part of the stiffening of the government's attitude, let alone their own political survival—if it has a political survival as a party, in the province. They understand as we understand that they've got to have the job component.

I was using my language reasonably advisedly this morning when the minister said, in response to a question from the Leader of the Opposition (Mr. S. Smith) that there hadn't been any break-off in negotiations. I used what I believe and am convinced is the accurate term, there was a breakdown in negotiations, because only when this question of jobs can be sorted out and the principal players—not the ones who were negotiating and whose every word we were listening to—are satisfied on the job question, will the negotiations resume, and not before.

It was couched in very polite and very nice terms, that they've really all gone home on a nice May weekend and they were going

to sit around and toss this around somewhere in the upper levels, and when that was ironed out they were going to come back. They said: "We are not near the point of derailment. Negotiations are very delicate and very sensitive"—all of the nonsense we have to listen to when we are trying to find out the kind of information we require in order to make certain there is no breakdown in communication between this party and that party about where we stand on that issue. Therefore, it has become a case, as often happens in this kind of situation, of having an international market with the Big Eight operating in it under the conditions and within the framework I tried to elaborate a few minutes ago.

We have the basic reduction. I don't have any magic about the number, but I think the round number is about 15,000. It is the guarantee of that 15,000 jobs. What sets them all scurrying to their dovecotes for the weekend and for the next several days are the implications, not only for Chrysler Canada and not only for the multinational or American company with its foreign subsidiaries, Chrysler in the US, but the implications of that with respect to the whole of the automotive industry.

That is the very fundamental problem. As members know, as I know, as I hope the Minister of Industry and Tourism (Mr. Grossman) knows, as I trust the Premier (Mr. Davis) will know, and as I hope his cabinet colleagues will know, as presently structured or forecast there is no conceivable way that a promise by Chrysler to maintain 15,000 jobs in Windsor can be worth anything in real terms unless the outrun of that is a restructuring over time, by way of significant investment and co-ordination of activities, of the operations in Canada of Chrysler.

That is the only way 15,000 jobs can be guaranteed. In any real business sense, in the atmosphere in which we are working, with the component parts that now remain of Chrysler, recognizing and remembering that the engine plant appears to be going to oblivion, there is no way it can support that number of jobs. Yet I find a real element of hope in this very difficult situation.

If I were asked to put any money into Chrysler, if I were to look at its past track record and the way in which it operated from, I suppose, the early 1950s through the 1960s, there would be nothing in any of its corporate judgements which would lead me to invest a plugged nickel in that company.

I want to set that aside. I hold no brief for the change in the top management or direction of Chrysler Corporation, but I am pre-

pared to set it aside because the price is so high and the target is so high, namely, the protection of those 15,000 jobs. It is very interesting that the Minister of Industry and Tourism has set out these five-year goals for the balance in trade in the automotive industry between Canada and the US and the 100 per cent Canadian content equal to Canadian sales to be achieved over a short period of time.

I hope he understands the implication that that means that part of the commitment for 15,000 jobs is a significant commitment to the restructuring in Ontario, in Canada, of the Chrysler operation. That means a commitment with respect to what can be done about that engine plant and what can be done in a number of other areas as well.

When the second-string negotiators went home for the weekend they went home, not just to plead, if there was any pleading going to take place about the jobs, but to consider what are the implications of the demand made by this government which, in my judgement, would not have been made but for this party. The implications for Chrysler Canada, as they are worked out, and the commitment achieved and the plans made about the nature of Chrysler five years down the pipe, are a kind of model of the restructuring that is going to have to take place with the other auto makers in Canada. That is very clear.

12:10 p.m.

It is interesting that in the minister's address yesterday he recognized something this government is always reluctant to, that it has to talk to the owners of the companies. Another thing is that it is about time we got some public information tabled in a public form that you and I can understand, Mr. Speaker, about whatever they call it, the Canadian value-added content, or as I prefer to say, the Canadian content of the cars that are manufactured, as we start to demand that they move at least from 65 per cent to 100 per cent.

The implications of the request for job guarantees do not involve a reluctant person on one side and somebody asking something on the other side. If one keeps asking long enough, and if they want the money long enough, they will agree. The implications are fundamental to the automotive industry as it must and will and should develop.

When I was trying to think of some of the things I might want to say about the Chrysler situation in this debate, and when I spoke the other night and used up part of my time on another matter, I was quite pessimistic

about it. I see some element of understanding, hope and possibility in the statement made by the minister and the two goals he has set out.

It certainly is a far cry from the day a question was asked in this House of the Honourable Stan Randall, when he was Minister of Economics and most everything else in that government. Ten or more years ago—I suppose it is 10 or 15 years ago—we asked him specifically in this House if he was taking part in any discussions in Ottawa with respect to the auto pact, because 30 per cent of the industry then was in Ontario. He said, "Oh no, that is a federal matter. They do all that negotiation and discussion."

At least we have come to the point where the government of Ontario is participating, and I use the term in its more positive sense. I hope the spanner they have thrown into the works sticks until we get the restructuring commitment of Chrysler with the co-operation of Chrysler US, which runs the organization, and with the co-operation of the government of the United States. We should stop this nonsense that somehow or other, in the strange process of negotiation, we begin to get the sense that the United States has set aside its plans to assist Chrysler US because we are all waiting on Canada.

It is a funny day when that kind of decision is suddenly reversed and we are the ones responsible for how it works. I do not mind that; we will take the credit if we can protect those jobs. I do not mind sharing the credit a little bit with the government, but I will share damned little elsewhere. It is the reiteration by my colleagues, the member for Windsor-Riverside (Mr. Cooke) and the member for Windsor-Sandwich (Mr. Boun-sall), that over a period of some 18 months has established their credentials and brought into focus in this Legislature the nature of the kinds of problems posed in a symbolic way, if I can use the term, by the Chrysler question.

I suppose at this point in time I have said enough, but I always have a postscript or an afterthought in situations such as this.

I think the government of Ontario has to be in a position, either alone or by agreement in concert with the government of Canada, that if the terms and conditions are not adhered to by Chrysler, in the restructured sense I have forecast will have to take place to support the 15,000 jobs, which is a small participation by us, but essential to us, where it is clear about what it will get and what it will do with the Chrysler operation as a whole in

Canada if the events occur that mean the government has to take it over.

Therefore, they must be damned certain that the plants of Chrysler Corporation as a whole in Canada represent a going concern, a viable operation, so that we won't be getting buildings, sheds and equipment that can be sold off or be of no value except for scrap. The government has to foresee the day it may have to interpose a receiver and manager on the Chrysler operation in Canada. If they do or if they take a pledge of the shares and realize on the pledge of the shares that they own the Chrysler operation, they will want a viable and going concern. I am not so certain the government has envisaged that as a possibility in this area.

We are not in any way speaking otherwise than in a positive sense. So long as the goals and objectives are clear they are worth the game and worth the candle and worth the cost it will be if we can establish it, whatever its ultimate future, as a symbolic way in which the smallest of the Big Three in Canada will provide a model to which General Motors and Ford will also have to adhere if the future of the automotive industry in an international world is to have our fair share. I hope it will not be a particular model for other industries, but I think in the automotive industry it has to be that way.

I recognize and I guess everyone in the House recognizes that the time has also come—and the minister has been saying this, so I am not suggesting it is novel to us in any way—where market access for the other off-shore manufacturers, the European manufacturers and the Japanese manufacturers, must now give way to manufacturing and investment in Canada if those companies, the Big Five that make up the Big Eight, are to continue to have import access to Canada. They have to come in here and have to make a planned commitment by way of investment and future in Canada if they are going to be allowed to have the benefits of access to the Canadian market. That is in no way a threat. I think it is part of the reality under which we live. I welcome the fact that the government seems to be aware of that.

The auto pact is called the US-Canada auto pact. So far as Canada is concerned, I think in a sense it could open the door to models with other countries about access to Canada and the terms and conditions by which they will participate here in Ontario or elsewhere in Canada in the automotive field.

One other aspect of this I did want to touch upon very briefly is the energy con-

servation aspect. We mustn't forget that area in this multifaceted problem. My understanding is—and my figures are accurate because it was the government itself which covers them. They were certainly accurate as of September 6, because they had to raise some money in the United States for Hydro at that time.

12:20 p.m.

They filed a prospectus which obviously was gone over with a fine-tooth comb with respect to the statements which were made in it. But in 1978, Ontario's allocation of primary energy consumption was: petroleum, 40 per cent; natural gas, 23 per cent; hydro-generated electricity, 13 per cent; coal-generated electricity, about 15 per cent; nuclear-generated electricity, about 10 per cent. The average rate of growth of energy consumption from 1974 to 1978 was 2.5 per cent.

"Most natural gas and crude oil requirements are obtained from western Canada. About 4.5 per cent of Ontario's total energy consumption was derived from foreign crude oil in 1978," which is a rather interesting comparison with the previous prospectus of the government, dated November 15, 1978. That one, about a year earlier, said, "About 0.5 per cent of Ontario's total energy consumption was derived from foreign crude oil in 1976." Those are probably significant figures. In 1976, 0.5 per cent of our total energy consumption was derived from foreign crude oil, and by 1978, despite all the problems, about 4.5 per cent of Ontario's total energy consumption was derived from foreign crude oil.

Let me talk for a moment about the 40 per cent of crude oil consumption in the province. Our best estimate is that about 30 per cent of that 40 per cent, 30 per cent of all the crude oil used in Ontario, is in private automotive transportation. I am sure there can be arguments give or take a few percentage points on that, but a significant part of the energy consumption and our dependence on crude oil relates to the use of the private automobile. In this province, as a conservation measure, we need to have a total commitment to the down-sizing of automobiles and the energy-per-mile standards.

I am not worrying about constitutional jurisdiction. Surely at this time in Canada, if there could be agreement anywhere on any topic it would be on that topic by all levels of government. The enforcement of miles per litre—I guess that is the modern terminology—is an essential ingredient of the nature of the kinds of cars that we are to

have in Canada. Ontario has a profound role to play if we are to get a handle at all upon the dependence of this province on energy or crude oil consumption.

As usual, I have half a dozen other matters that are important to me, but their urgency seems to have been dispelled somewhat and I don't think I will take up any further time in the House about that area.

I want to complete my remarks of last week when I spoke about the tragic death in my riding of Dolly Gallant, as a result of the sniffing of Pam. Some of my colleagues will be interested in my closing remarks, but I am most anxious that the House be acquainted with the work which has been done on my behalf in connection with this matter, in an attempt to be helpful about what this assembly should in due course do about it.

It was drawn to my attention that in this morning's paper, the *Globe and Mail*, dated Sault Ste. Marie, was the heading: "Take Cooking Sprays from Store Shelves, Inquest Recommends." The story says, "A 16-year-old Sault youth died shortly after inhaling a cooking spray, a coroner's jury was told last night." I am not going to read the whole of the story except to say that the director of the poison control centre of the Hospital for Sick Children in Toronto told the jury that it was the third time this year, 1980, that he was asked to testify at an inquest of a youth who had died after inhaling fumes from similar products. So it is a current, topical and urgent matter of protection of young people in this particular area and I am not underestimating, and I think my comments will bear out that I was not in any way underestimating the difficulty of how we accomplish this goal.

Let me continue with these comments which do not allow themselves to extemporaneous comment or, indeed, my particular or peculiar form of Legislative Assembly rhetoric.

The topic of aerosols has received much less attention than other drugs such as tobacco, alcohol and marijuana. There is a definite tendency to steer away from the hard drugs such as LSD, speed, other street drugs and, of course, solvents and aerosols. The material available to the teachers covering alcohol and tobacco are much more abundant. The Addiction Research Foundation's recently published lesson plans covered alcohol for grades nine and 10. Soon after, the Ministry of Health also produced alcohol lesson plans which virtually served the same purpose. This would seem to be an unneces-

sary duplication of material and prevented the publication of lesson plans on other drugs which are desperately needed.

Dr. Goodstadt expressed this viewpoint and was at a loss to explain why the Ministry of Health failed to co-ordinate its efforts with those of the Addiction Research Foundation. An important factor in drug education should be the particular group to which attention should be directed. It was previously mentioned that there are certain high-risk groups of children. Efforts should be made to identify these groups and to aim the material in the right direction.

It is also apparent that drug education should begin at an early age. At present, the highest concentration is aimed at grades seven to 10 for alcohol, grades four to eight for tobacco and grades seven to eight for other drugs. If the education is to have any preventive effects, the facts concerning the dangers of drugs to the body should be presented to the child before he or she begins to indulge in drugs.

As one youth worker stated: "To tell kids to stop doing it is pretty useless. After a while, it becomes part of their lifestyle and then you are asking them to give up a big part of themselves." If children are old enough to use drugs then they are old enough to know what harm they are doing to their bodies and minds.

The objectives of drug education, and I put these as possible objectives: If it is decided that the present level of drug education in Ontario is not adequate and that this situation is in need of improvement, then some viable, substantive objectives must be identified. In order to identify desired objectives it is worthwhile to consider the present objectives behind drug education. The existing objectives fall into two categories, cognitive and effective. The cognitive objective attempts to impart some knowledge and understanding regarding drugs, various aspects of drug use; the effective objective places an emphasis on issues dealing with feelings and values.

A third traditional set of objectives are the behavioural, but these are rarely stated in programs or curriculum guidelines. Behavioural objectives are related to more fundamental human behaviour and are considered to depend on what the individual does with what he is given or experiences as part of the course. In terms of drug education, behavioural objectives might include decrease in the use of drugs, less harmful use of drugs, not starting to use drugs and stopping the use of drugs.

12:30 p.m.

Michael Goodstadt claims that no one has the courage actually to state these objectives in any curriculum and, having stated them, to try to build them into the development of a curriculum. Maybe these are an example of the objectives, or at least the direction, those involved in the field of education should begin to consider. It must be stressed that at the present time there is an inherent obligation on the part of individuals in the education field to inform potential abusers and current abusers of drugs of the hazards that exist in drug abuse, even if this entails only a lesson in actual physical effects.

Certainly the case of Dolly Gallant illustrates this point. It has been reported as having been discovered during the inquest into the death of Dolly Gallant that she sniffed Pam cooking spray after being informed by a friend that it was safer than glue. What would have been the outcome if Dolly Gallant had, in fact, known this information was false, we will now not know.

What are the recommendations, therefore, that I would like to make to the assembly for consideration? They are

1. To urge the federal government to ban the use of fluorocarbons; that is, the propellants used in these particular kinds of sprays for the reasons which I have given earlier in my remarks;

2. To promote action to limit the sale of products such as solvents in aerosols to those under the age of 18, either through legislation or through increased community awareness or on both fronts;

3. To promote strong action on the part of the various community resources—and I have set out the way in which that kind of community resource can be mobilized—in order to bring a maximum effort to bear in the particular community in which interested persons reside;

4. The following two recommendations which were contained in the Addiction Research Foundation's study on the status of drug education, and I direct them to the Ministry of Education.

The Ministry of Education health education guidelines should be examined:

- (a) To determine the most appropriate groups to receive alcohol and other drug education. At the present time, recommendations refer only to grade differences. Guidelines should take into account the influence of other target group characteristics, including sex, academic standing, drug use, geographic location.

- (b) To make explicit the basis for the recommendations concerning groups to which drug

education will be directed, since at the present time the basis for these recommendations are not immediately obvious.

(c) To make explicit the drugs, other than alcohol and tobacco, to be included in drug education curricula and the class times to be allocated in the teaching of drug education at each level.

(d) The second major recommendation of the Addiction Research Foundation, namely, careful experimental studies of the impact of current tobacco and cannabis education should be undertaken to determine the effectiveness of these programs for students, especially those in junior grades.

Such studies should include a longitudinal analysis of the relationship between various changes in various aspects of drug use, attitudes, knowledge and awareness regarding these drugs and a longitudinal examination of the possible preventive, ameliorating and facilitating effects of drug education.

I hope to be able on occasion to pursue that topic, but I did want to have a somewhat extended statement on the record so that we would all, as members of the assembly, have a reference point which we could use as a departure for improvement in the circumstances in the hope and anticipation that no other member of the assembly will be faced with this kind of tragic death of young people, not necessarily that these events can be prevented in total, but so that we can at least see that we reduce to the absolute minimum the tragic results which come from the use of what are considered to be normal products purchased in the stores in the province.

I have gone on at sufficient length, and I therefore thank the members for the attention they have given to me, making these remarks in the budget debate.

Hon. Mr. Gregory: Mr. Speaker, before I make my minor contribution to the budget debate I would like to take the opportunity—I know it is unusual, to congratulate the member for York North (Mr. Hodgson) on his victory last night. I am sure most members know what I am referring to. We are very happy and it certainly is a great personal victory for that honourable member.

There is a certain amount of excitement in speaking after the member for Riverdale, the excitement being that one wonders whether one is ever going to get on and whether he is going to finish. I listened very attentively. I wanted to go out to the washroom, but I was afraid to, so I might have to cut my speech short.

Then, of course, when one knows one is going to be followed by the member for

Brant-Oxford-Norfolk (Mr. Nixon), one feels a little like a ham sandwich with the bread in the middle and the two hams on the outside. I know my remarks will not be nearly as important as those made by those two distinguished members.

As always, I welcome the opportunity to speak to the honourable members in regard to the budget, and naturally to speak in support of the budget. I have been following the budget debate very closely and I must confess I am somewhat perplexed. The member for London Centre (Mr. Peterson), who is the opposition Treasury and Economics critic, stated that his response was a realistic assessment of the province's realities. I know the constituents in Mississauga disagree. They contend he is preaching doom and gloom, which we know is wrong and ultimately self-defeating.

I do not like to address remarks to a member when he is not here, which brings up another subject. What happens to the crazies of Thursday night on a bright Friday morning? Where do they all go to get out of the sunlight?

Mr. Nixon: Are you talking about the Minister of Consumer and Commercial Relations (Mr. Drea)?

Hon. Mr. Gregory: No, I am talking about the crazies who were here last night. We got into the glue-sniffing bit. I sometimes wonder whether we get some of that around here Thursday nights.

Mr. MacDonald: Mr. Speaker, is that an appropriate way to refer to the honourable members of the Legislature?

Mr. Acting Speaker: It was going through my mind. I do not think it is appropriate to refer to members as crazies. He did not refer to any particular member. I wonder if you could modify that in some way so that it would not cast aspersions on all members of the House.

Hon. Mr. Gregory: Mr. Speaker, I retract what I said. I'll say that some of the members of the House are not crazy part of the time, but most of them are crazy all of the time. Does that help?

Mr. Acting Speaker: I think, under the circumstances, we all understand.

Hon. Mr. Gregory: Thank you, Mr. Speaker. I hope nobody will take that personally. A certain amount of paranoia goes around.

For the last four years, the member for London Centre has played the same tune. Just five days ago, he predicted that when the next budget is introduced in 1981, he

will be sitting on this side. I do not know whether he was predicting a Liberal victory, or whether he is going to cross the floor. If it is the former, I think it is wishful thinking; if it is the latter, I think it is somewhat presumptuous to think we would accept him. Either way, it is a ridiculous remark.

Despite the carping and criticism from the opposition, the Treasurer (Mr. F. S. Miller) is to be congratulated on a very intelligent budget. By my count, every proposal in the budget was designed to better our lives in Ontario. I was delighted to see all the proposals and I know the voters of Mississauga East were too.

Mississauga East is, as the honourable members know, quite a distance from being a depressed area. We have the good fortune to share an enormous number of amenities in my community, and we are happy to see the government taking steps to ensure the good fortune we enjoy in Mississauga will be shared throughout the province.

12.40 p.m.

At this point, when we're talking in terms of slow growth, some remarks I made in replying to the throne speech might bear repeating. I would like to repeat what I said.

"... industrial development in Mississauga continued to grow in 1979. It was up some \$28 million over 1978. It is predicted that it will continue to grow at the same rate and that it will continue to lead Metro Toronto and surrounding regions in attracting new industries this year.

"Recent statistics released in Mississauga show that the total value of all building last year increased by \$39 million over the \$250 million recorded in 1978. Although commercial building was off slightly, down \$4 million from the \$36-million value in 1978, industrial building was up \$28 million to \$88 million, and residential construction was up \$23 million to \$160 million. It is worthwhile noting that a report indicates that 45 per cent of all new industry in the Metro area is located in Mississauga.

"While it can be argued that the depressed economy and high interest rates may keep Mississauga from matching the 1979 industrial totals, I am certain that the city's programs to encourage new industry will continue to pay off in 1980."

It speaks well for the advancement of the economy at least in one segment of Ontario. I think it is much the same right across the entire province.

It's very easy to take the opposition remarks with a grain of salt because they make the same comments year after year. It is the

Treasurer's job to forecast the economic outlook for the Ontario economy. Last year, many opposition members thought he was too optimistic. I recall the Treasurer forecast that we would create 127,000 jobs in the province and have an unemployment rate of 7.1 per cent for the year. It was contended that such a forecast would create the wrong impression about our economy, especially when we remember that 133,000 jobs were created in 1978.

This government created 161,000 jobs in Ontario in 1979, and our unemployment rate for the year averaged 6.5 per cent. I'm proud of this government, and I'm very proud that 68,000 of those jobs were in manufacturing, following the 36,000 jobs we created in 1978 in that sector.

There is no doubt about it, in Ontario we are strong. Relative to the United States we have our costs under control, and the depreciated Canadian dollar is making us more competitive in foreign markets and here at home. As the Treasurer has stated on many occasions, we can't relax; we must watch our comparative cost performance with the United States. That's the barometer.

I believe the Americans are struggling with an inflation rate in the neighbourhood of 18 per cent. My secretary recently returned from England, where she was on a visit. She tells me mortgage interest rates there are approaching 28 per cent.

Mr. MacDonald: What do you expect under a Tory government?

Mr. Nixon: They got in trouble under Labour.

Hon. Mr. Gregory: That's where they got into trouble, all right. As usual, the Tory government is having to clean up the mess left by a previous Labour government.

Our rate is high, as well, and some forecasts we have seen are pessimistic about the prospects for further inflation. We all know that inflation is linked to high interest rates. I think that even the member for London Centre understands that. High interest rates have been especially hard on small businesses, farmers, and people who have to re-finance their homes. We won't have low interest rates until we beat inflation. Inflation is a national issue, and I'm certain that it's of great concern to everyone in this Legislature.

Ontario is a province open to foreign competition, so it is imperative that we continue to press our opinions on the federal government. It is also imperative that we avoid panic, as has been ably demonstrated by a chap named Viv Woolford, in Mississauga,

who is a man interested in mortgage rates. He started Proposition 89. Generating excessive inflationary expectation does no one any good. It becomes a self-fulfilling prophecy. I think this is exactly what happened.

Mr. Woolford perhaps panicked. He became hysterical, as many members did. Even the Leader of the Opposition (Mr. S. Smith) came out to Mississauga and added to the inflammatory remarks. As with some television involving Mr. Shulman, I think those things have come home to roost. So what we have is a rather panic-stricken young man, rightfully so perhaps, because he was in danger of losing his home. I think this has spawned many groups around Ontario that are charging off in the wrong direction to solve a problem. Mr. Woolford unfortunately lost not only his credibility but much of his support.

In 1980 in Ontario our costs are in line, and we have the basic resources for an investment boom. The province has been getting positive signals from businessmen and investors about the state of our economy. They are increasing their investment dollars in new plants and upgraded equipment. They have confidence in our economy and in our ability to expand.

Ontario business investment will total about \$13 billion in 1980, close to 16 per cent more than in 1979, and some two per cent higher than that expected for all of Canada. Further, the Treasurer has stated that the spending plans of large Ontario manufacturing firms provide an additional basis for optimism. Large manufacturing firms in this province are expected to increase their investment spending by more than 72 per cent compared with spending increases of about 19 per cent in the rest of Canada.

The 1980s will also witness large investment spending in energy projects—pipelines, tar sands, heavy oil upgrader plants and coal developments. Mining projects should also flourish. It is, therefore, mandatory that we harness this demand to make certain that all Canadians benefit. I know all members are aware that we are now pushing this with the federal government.

The opportunity for the recycling of petrodollars throughout this country and for import replacement is enormous. It has been stated, and I must agree, that one of the real bottlenecks to growth will be in the availability of skilled labour. Traditionally, we have relied on imported skilled labour, but circumstances have changed. Not only have working conditions improved

somewhat in Europe, but Canada's immigration laws have been tightened.

That is precisely the reason our government established the employer-sponsored training program in June 1978, to fill these critical skill shortages and to promote innovative approaches to training in industry. That is also the reason my colleague, the Minister of Education and Minister of Colleges and Universities (Miss Stephenson), announced earlier this year that we will be spending an additional \$5.3 million on employer-sponsored training.

Local employers determine what skills should be taught under the program, and the federal government helps by paying a wage subsidy. The provincial funds are used to provide administrative and training support for employers.

I am delighted to report that good progress is being made in providing machinists, tool and die makers and other metal workers. Our employer- and community-oriented approach to training has been so successful that it is the model for the federal government's critical skills' training program. It is a pity that government does not follow us in other areas.

As the representative of a riding that has a great many small businesses within its borders, I was most happy to see the budget proposals, which will encourage the growth of such business. Small business is the source of employment for half the province's private sector employees and 60 per cent of its new jobs. Our very innovative 1979 legislation encouraging investment in Canadian small business through the Small Business Development Corporations has led to some \$8 million invested to date with \$12 million more planned. I believe that some 50 small business development corporations have been formed, which is truly an admirable program.

The budget will broaden business eligibility for SBDC investment. Minimum capital requirements for an SBDC will be reduced to \$100,000 from \$250,000. Small businesses that grow from fewer than 100 employees to between 100 and 200 employees will continue to qualify for SBDC investment for up to five years. Further, the definition of an eligible small business will now include book publishing and research and development activities.

In addition, pension funds and credit unions will be eligible to receive grants when they invest in SBDCs. This will certainly expand the supply of funds for equity investment in small business.

12:50 p.m.

The Treasurer also announced a reduction of the small business capital tax. Small businesses with taxable capital of up to \$1 million will now see a capital tax of \$100. Corporations with taxable capital up to \$100,000 will continue to pay a flat tax of \$50, as will family fishing corporations. This measure by the Treasurer means that 150,000 Ontario corporations will pay capital tax of \$100 or less and only about 8,000 large corporations will bear the full amount of this tax.

The Treasurer's budget stimulates reinvestments in their own operations by small businesses with a new investment tax credit for Canadian-controlled private corporations which qualify for the federal small business deduction. This credit will be equal to 20 per cent of the purchase cost of depreciable assets for use in Ontario. The maximum credit in any one year for any individual small business will be \$3,000. It is expected that this tax credit, along with the capital reduction, will give \$50 million back to Ontario's small businesses and will stimulate job creation and economic growth.

Also related to small business, the Treasurer announced that annual compensation paid to retail sales tax collectors will be increased from \$700 to \$1,000 and compensation paid to those remitting only small amounts of tax will be increased. These measures will provide \$8 million to Ontario's small businesses in this fiscal year alone. I should add that Robert Duddy, president of the Ontario Chamber of Commerce, said his group is pleased with the easing of capital taxes and the proposal for a new corporate income tax incentive. He is also pleased that more financial assistance will go to employer-sponsored training programs.

As I stated in the beginning, I applaud the efforts of the government in stimulating the economy. It is often a difficult task when so many factors are under national and international control. I appreciate this opportunity to express my thoughts about Ontario's economy. Certainly there are going to be problems, but I am confident any problem can be solved and every opportunity will be grasped.

Thank you very much, Mr. Speaker, for allowing me to express some thoughts on this particular subject. I look forward to the remarks by my esteemed colleague from Brant-Oxford-Norfolk.

Mr. Nixon: Mr. Speaker, I realize there is just five minutes before the regular adjournment. If you will permit me a couple of minutes, I want to bring to your attention a matter of some importance in my constituency which is very much affected by a decision an-

nounced by the Ontario Divisional Court yesterday.

The court has dismissed an application to quash two Mississauga bylaws which prevent the burning of polychlorinated biphenyls in the municipality of Mississauga. This is particularly important since the Ministry of the Environment has announced a \$5-million storage facility in my constituency in the municipality of Onondaga. Naturally, the people in my community do not want the PCBs brought in. They have valid reasons which I will have an opportunity to describe to you, Mr. Speaker, at a later date.

I am concerned, however, that the ministry is considering appealing the decision of the divisional court. PCBs have been burned experimentally in Mississauga in the high-temperature cement kilns operated by the St. Lawrence Cement Company. The burning was quite effective, but further experiments are required. The municipality in its wisdom passed bylaws prohibiting the burning.

The government of Ontario indicated to the court that it felt this was beyond the jurisdiction of the municipality and infringed on the responsibility of the province. The court, however, has found that Mississauga acted correctly in this connection. Obviously, it means that other municipalities, such as the one in my own constituency, would have the same remedy open to them. They may very well pass bylaws prohibiting, for example, the transportation of PCBs through to the storage site that is envisaged.

I am glad to tell you, Mr. Speaker, that there is an alternative to the situation we face and that I have just described; that is, the research which has been carried out at the Royal Military College in Kingston with federal funds. It is based on a high-temperature electric arc developed in the United States. It is called a plasma arc because of its physical properties. It develops high enough temperatures so that PCBs and 2,4,5-Ts—and we already have several hundred thousand gallons of those that we must destroy—can be burned in this high-temperature furnace.

It would mean a considerable advantage to us all, particularly a saving of money, if this alternative were accepted by the Ministry of the Environment, rather than the one that is now precluded from it, that is, burning the PCBs in the cement kilns at Mississauga, or—the one I am particularly interested in and opposed to—storing them in Brant county. The decision made by the courts really means the Ministry of the Environment has suffered a substantial set-

back, even though they may appeal it. Their chances of success in that connection, in my view, are rather tenuous.

It would be much wiser to abandon the program of trying to burn the PCBs in Mississauga or store them in Brant, and to move in the direction which, I feel and have felt all along, is the only reasonable solution, that is, to take the development of the high-temperature plasma arc—and the experimentation has been completed, according to the minister—and apply some of the funds that would otherwise have been spent in the project, to develop a facility that would be portable. It can be taken around the province to wherever the PCBs are, so they do not have to be transported into one central location and can be destroyed where they are.

If there is a time delay of a year or 18 months, I believe the Legislature should provide funds for special inspection so that the PCBs, where they are at present located, are not going to cause any short-term damage nor endanger any people in any way.

I am glad to have an opportunity to put that to the House today, since the court decision has just been made public.

On motion by Mr. Nixon, the debate was adjourned.

DISCHARGE OF RESOLUTION

Mr. Renwick: On a point of order, Mr. Speaker: I would ask for the consent of the House to discharge the resolution standing in my name as a private member's motion in view of the resolution which appears on the Order Paper in the name of the Premier (Mr. Davis), dealing with the Confederation matters. It incorporates in the body of it the appointment of a select committee of the Legislature on constitutional matters, which was the substance of the resolution standing in my name.

Mr. Acting Speaker: I understand there is no difficulty in that, and it will be done.

The House adjourned at 12:58 p.m.

APPENDIX

(See page 1405)

ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS ON NOTICE PAPER

USE OF ASBESTOS IN SCHOOLS

130. Mr. Cassidy: Will the ministry table its calculations of the costs to school boards of dealing with hazardous asbestos, indicating the relative cost of various interim measures, such as encapsulation and enclosure, outlined in the report *Inspecting Buildings for Asbestos* (December 1979)? Will the ministry further table its calculations of the costs to school boards of complete removal of hazardous asbestos, as compared to the costs of interim measures? Will the ministry also table comparable calculations with respect to the cost to colleges and universities? (Tabled April 18, 1980.)

Hon. Miss Stephenson: To eliminate hazardous asbestos by means of encapsulation, enclosure or removal, the Ministry of Education estimates it will cost:

School boards—1980	\$ 750,000
Boards' share (average)	243,750
School boards—1981	\$5,000,000
Boards' share (average)	1,625,000
Colleges and universities—1980	\$ 500,000
Colleges and universities —1981 and beyond	3,200,000

It is anticipated that, from the above-noted estimates, 75 per cent of the funds will

be spent on interim measures (encapsulation and enclosure) and 25 per cent on permanent measures (removal).

131. Mr. Cassidy: Will the ministry table a complete list of school boards which have submitted samples of friable material thought to contain hazardous asbestos, as directed in January 1980? Will the ministry provide: (a) the number of samples submitted; (b) the number of: i. primary and, ii. secondary schools for which samples were submitted; (c) the dates on which the samples for each were submitted to the laboratory; and (d) the dates on which the analysis of samples for each school was supplied to the board? (Tabled April 18, 1980.)

See sessional paper 87.

132. Mr. Cassidy: 1. Will the ministry provide, for each of the school boards noted in the reply to question 93, tabled April 3, the date on which it received a report, or the dates on which it received multiple reports, on the results of the visual inspection for possible hazardous asbestos as directed in July 1979? (Tabled April 18, 1980.)

Hon. Miss Stephenson: We require additional time to prepare our response to the above question. The answer will be ready for tabling on or about Friday, May 9, 1980.

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Cunningham, E. (Wentworth North L)
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Wells, Hon. T. L.; Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs (Scarborough North PC)



Legislature of Ontario Debates

Official Report (Hansard)

Fourth Session, 31st Parliament

Monday, May 5, 1980

Afternoon Sitting

Speaker: Honourable John E. Stokes

Clerk: Roderick Lewis, QC



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Hansard subscription price is \$15.00 per session, from: Sessional Subscription Service, Printing Services Branch, Ministry of Government Services, 9th Floor, Ferguson Block, Parliament Buildings, Toronto M7A 1N3. Phone 965-2238.

Published by the Legislature of the Province of Ontario.
Editor of Debates: Peter Brannan.

LEGISLATURE OF ONTARIO

MONDAY, MAY 5, 1980

The House met at 2 p.m.

Prayers.

ASBESTOS MONITORING IN LEGISLATURE

Mr. Martel: Mr. Speaker, I am somewhat surprised as to what is going on with respect to the building. Apparently on Friday last very late in the morning representatives of our negotiating team were called to a meeting on the testing that will go on in the building with respect to asbestos fibres. Apparently the government decided on April 3, through the Ministry of Government Services in conjunction with the Ministry of Labour that testing for asbestos would go on in this building.

A month went by in which the members of the Legislature or the other political parties or the staffs of the other parties, as I understand it, were not advised that testing was going to go on and in fact it has commenced this morning. I find it strange that the members would not be advised as to the concern. I find it strange that only one group of us would ask if there is not forthcoming some sort of explanation as to what is going on and why these people have been left out in the cold with respect to a decision which could adversely affect a lot of people.

I would ask you, Mr. Speaker, if you could look into this matter and report just why the actions that were taken were taken in the manner that was done without informing this Legislature.

Mr. Speaker: I wasn't aware that any such initiative was being taken until early this morning. I saw no reason to object to a monitoring to assure us that everything was safe. With regard to the other matters you speak of, I will look into it and report back to the House.

Mr. S. Smith: If I may just speak on this point, Mr. Speaker, I received a note from one of the people on our staff saying, "Please be advised monitoring is going on today." Certainly I take no offence at that. It seems quite reasonable. I have no objection whatever. If there is some aspect of this that perhaps I don't know about, then of course I

would like to hear it. In general, if they wish to monitor the air why shouldn't they?

[Later]

Hon. Mr. Wiseman: Mr. Speaker, I understand the member for Sudbury East rose on a point of personal privilege earlier today wondering why the caucuses were not notified of the testing for asbestos in these buildings. I must apologize. I gave a directive to my staff that each caucus was to be notified. When I knew this question had been asked, I called my deputy and he, in turn, checked and found it had not been carried out. I gave strict orders that, if this ever happens again, that employee will not be in that position. All I can do at this time is apologize and say it will not happen again.

TELEVISION COVERAGE

Mr. Nixon: On a point of privilege, Mr. Speaker: The Toronto Sun today refers to you as "acting like a tin-pot tyrant" in putting forward the regulations which will govern the debate taking place on the special motion. For anybody who is interested in this, I feel I should make it clear that all three House leaders participated in the regulations, and perhaps those from other parties would want to verify this. Whether it is tyranny or not, it is modelled on the procedures in other Houses and is on an experimental basis.

In this connection, we were advised that the television coverage would be made more complete, particularly since many speakers address you, Mr. Speaker, if there were a camera in the press gallery. As you know, although we requested the right to put it there, that was refused by the press gallery.

Mr. Martel: Mr. Speaker, I too want to join with the Liberal House leader. In fact, if I had had my way, I would have put a camera up there anyway. I say that to the press because what we were trying to do was provide the best coverage we could, and I thought it was rather small that the press would say we could not put a camera up there. We were advised that it would give better coverage of those of us at this end who will face the Speaker on this occasion more directly than we would if it were an ongoing debate across the floor as we are wont to do

occasionally. I find offensive some of the comments in the article, and I would hope that it does not reflect the attitude of the rest of the press gallery.

Mr. Speaker: I would like to confirm what the member for Brant-Oxford-Norfolk has said. When the House leaders approached the Speaker and asked that a full electronic Hansard be provided for the special motion that we are debating this week, they asked us to get together guidelines that would be appropriate for the proper coverage.

We immediately contacted Ottawa, which has had considerable experience in this field, and the guidelines referred to in the article were the guidelines that were provided to us by our counterparts in Ottawa. They were agreed upon by the Ontario Educational Communications Authority. When that was done, they were submitted to the House leaders, and they became the guidelines that OECA wanted and they were quite happy with them.

I think that is sufficient explanation for anybody who is concerned about the nature and the flavour of the article.

ORAL QUESTIONS

ENERGY SUPPLIES

Mr. S. Smith: Mr. Speaker, I have a question for the Minister of Labour (Mr. Elgie), and I am advised informally that he will be here. Perhaps I will address my first question to the Minister of Energy, but if one of the assistants would be so kind as to try to rouse the Minister of Labour, I would be grateful.

In view of the meeting which the Minister of Energy held with the federal Minister of Energy, Mines and Resources, in which both ministers were all smiles, can the minister say whether they discussed the matter of Petrosar and the attempts by the Alberta Petroleum Marketing Commission to take control of more oil in such a way as possibly to be prejudicial to the interests of Ontario-based refiners and users of crude oil? Can the minister report whether progress was made on Petrosar, and can he say exactly what the plan will be for dealing with the threat which seems to be perceived as coming from Alberta?

Hon. Mr. Welch: Mr. Speaker, I had a very full discussion with the federal minister on Friday morning; a number of items were discussed, and the one to which the Leader of the Opposition makes reference was one of them.

I think we are both prepared to accept for the moment the fact that Petrosar would appear to have its supply situation in hand, and we are taking at face value the statements that are being made by officials in Alberta in this regard.

However, we did go on to talk about the advantages of heavy fuel oil upgrading and were encouraged by reports which we both have received from Petrosar and other interested companies with respect to the interest that they are taking in order to look after this particular operation, which will result in more efficient use of the feedstock from Alberta.

Mr. S. Smith: Agreeing that haste should be made as rapidly as possible in the upgrading of the feedstock, could the minister tell us what statements he is referring to when he says he is satisfied to take certain statements by Alberta officials at face value in terms of the security of supply for Petrosar? There may well be such statements which may have escaped my attention, but I think the House would like to know what these statements are so that we too can monitor them and determine for ourselves whether they are statements upon which we should rely or whether further action is required.

Hon. Mr. Welch: I am referring particularly to statements made on at least two occasions by my colleague the Minister of Energy and Natural Resources for Alberta.

Mr. Cassidy: Mr. Speaker, has the minister held any discussions with Petrosar regarding its proposals to upgrade heavy oil in order to produce gasoline or other types of fuels used in Ontario industry and transportation? Has the government considered having that as part of Ontario's policy to move towards greater self-sufficiency, because if the heavy oil can be turned into gasoline in this province, we will need less gasoline or lighter oil from western Canada or from abroad?

2:10 p.m.

Hon. Mr. Welch: Mr. Speaker, quite simply, the answer to both those questions is yes. I have met on two or three occasions with Petrosar and was joined by the Premier (Mr. Davis) at one of those meetings. I am encouraged by the work that has gone on so far to try to put this particular project in place. I don't want to mislead the House. Obviously, there are still some details yet to be considered, and the whole question of the economics is being weighed quite carefully by those who are giving some consideration to this project.

I repeat that the answer to both those is yes. I have had the opportunity on two or three occasions now to mention this in chatting about this whole question of self-sufficiency as we seriously reflect upon it and to include in speeches the point, with which I am sure we are in solid agreement with our friends in Alberta, that we have to move to the more efficient use of this particular resource.

Mr. S. Smith: I could save a supplementary by just asking the minister, if I might, to send me the statements by the Alberta Minister of Energy and Natural Resources.

JOHNS-MANVILLE

Mr. S. Smith: Mr. Speaker, I have a question for the Minister of Labour. Has the minister investigated suggestions that were made to him by union officials more than two weeks ago that Johns-Manville Canada Inc. might have the intention of closing its Scarborough plant due to increasing compensation costs resulting from a poor health and safety record? Has the minister looked into these suggestions which were recently reported in the press? Does he have anything to tell this House with regard to the attitude which the firm is taking and the attitude which his ministry is taking vis-à-vis these reports?

Hon. Mr. Elgie: Mr. Speaker, it is true I did have a meeting with two representatives of the particular union involved and on a subsequent occasion with representatives of the company. That wasn't the particular issue, but naturally it was mentioned. There was no suggestion made to me that the company had any present intentions of closing the plant.

Mr. S. Smith: By way of a supplementary: The minister doesn't explain whether he specifically asked about this precise matter. Would the minister agree, therefore, that the system by which we operate, wherein a company with a very poor health and safety record indeed is punished only to the extent that its premium is raised for the Workmen's Compensation Board payments, a system which is designed to encourage companies to clean up, might in certain instances like this one, if the record is bad enough and the premium high enough, serve only to convince the company it ought to leave?

In this instance, although one might see them go without much sorrow, the people of Ontario will be left picking up the bill and people will be left without employment. What is the minister prepared to do

to make sure the company cleans up its act, instead of attempting to leave Ontario and dump the bill on the people of Ontario?

Hon. Mr. Elgie: Mr. Speaker, I don't want to get into discussions about who is cleaning and who is not. As a matter of fact, the fibre counts done last November at Johns-Manville were all well below even one fibre and, to my recollection, the majority of them were well below 0.7 fibres per cubic centimetre. In terms of the capacity of the company at the moment to comply with present or even improved standards, it is more than in compliance. It is not a matter of a company at the present time flagrantly disregarding any of the occupational health and safety standards which, I might say, are reviewed very frequently. The Minister of the Environment (Mr. Parrott) reviewed the external aspects of it from a pollution point of view.

As to whether I have asked for meetings specifically to ask whether they are or are not leaving, I haven't. But in the course of a conversation a few weeks ago, the subject came up tangentially and there was no indication, to my knowledge, of any suggestion the company intends to leave.

Mr. Cassidy: Supplementary, Mr. Speaker: So that Ontario won't have to try to lock the stable door after the horse has bolted, that is, after Johns-Manville may have left the province, is the minister prepared to bring legislation into this Legislature in order to ensure that any costs of occupational disease or retraining which are incurred by workers after a plant shutdown are borne by the corporation, rather than being left to be picked up by the taxpayers of Ontario?

Hon. Mr. Elgie: Mr. Speaker, as the leader of the third party knows, the whole question of the workmen's compensation is at present under review by Professor Weiler and, as the honourable member well knows, under the present act costs that are incurred as a result of occupational illness, should a company close for one reason or another, are covered under that act. If there is to be another approach to it, then that is something I will be pleased to discuss with Professor Weiler and get his views on.

Mr. S. Smith: By way of a supplementary, Mr. Speaker: Could the minister tell us exactly the amount of the premiums that Johns-Manville Canada of Scarborough now has to pay? Is it true, as reported in the press, that, whereas the average for the industry is some \$2.50 per \$100 of payroll, their record is so

bad they are now paying a premium somewhere in the line of \$40 or \$50 per \$100 of payroll? If in fact that is roughly the range, does the minister not see that the present system could in some ways be an incentive to a company like that, especially in a multinational situation, simply to walk away from its responsibilities?

What is the minister now doing to make sure that doesn't happen, apart from noting that a threat to walk away did not happen to come his way tangentially in a previous conversation? What is he doing now to make sure that the system works in such a way (a) to recover the funds from a company like that, and (b) not to be an incentive for them to walk away from their responsibilities?

Hon. Mr. Elgie: Mr. Speaker, first of all, as I understand it, the rating for that particular industry last year was something like \$4.70 per \$100 of salary, and in 1980 it is to be about \$4. I am advised that in 1979 Johns-Manville did pay a differential for experience rating. I don't have the exact figure at my fingertips, but if the honourable member wishes it I would be pleased to get it for him.

Again, the member well knows, as I do, from reviewing the Workmen's Compensation Act that there is nothing in the act at this time that allows any recovery of money from individual corporations in the way that he notes. He and I have talked about this before and I have already put that question to Professor Weiler to have him consider it in his review.

Mr. Mackenzie: Mr. Speaker, a supplementary: Is the minister aware that in the current negotiations the company is insisting on only a one-year contract and refusing to deal with severance pay in any manner whatsoever as a corporate decision? Does this not underline the fear people have that this company may cut and run?

Hon. Mr. Elgie: Mr. Speaker, I know negotiations are still going on. I don't know the exact details of them. I know the major issue between the parties is a monetary one and I know that mediators today are in touch with both parties to arrange further meetings this week.

HEALTH AND SAFETY LAWS IN URANIUM MINES

Mr. Cassidy: Mr. Speaker, I have a question to the Minister of Labour surrounding the continuing delays in bringing uranium miners in Elliot Lake under the protection of Ontario's Bill 70, which requires federal action. What action has the minister taken in order

to set the federal Deputy Minister of Labour straight when he suggests the federal provisions on mandatory committees are equivalent to those in Ontario or when he suggests the right to refuse granted under the former Ontario law would be equivalent to what will come when those workers are brought under Bill 70?

Hon. Mr. Elgie: Mr. Speaker, the member will recall a few months ago I read into the record a letter I had written to the federal Deputy Minister of Labour outlining our position very clearly and outlining the need to clarify the whole matter. I also indicated that telephone conversations had been taking place between my deputy and the Deputy Minister of Labour in Ottawa and as recently as last Friday further conversations took place. I still have reason to believe the matter will be resolved this month.

Mr. Cassidy: A supplementary, Mr. Speaker: Has the minister taken issue with the federal authority's statement that it may in fact bring in new regulations over the heads of the union and not in consultation with them? What action will this minister take to ensure the new health and safety provisions for uranium miners in Elliot Lake are, in fact, taken with the co-operation of the union rather than trying to ignore it?

Hon. Mr. Elgie: Mr. Speaker, the latest information I have following a conversation last week is that that is not the nature of the conversations taking place. I have every reason to hope the regulations and the bill will apply.

Mr. Cassidy: Mr. Speaker, can the minister say when we can expect the provisions of Bill 70 to apply to uranium miners in Elliot Lake, bearing in mind the impasse which appears to exist right now, and bearing in mind the fact that in Saskatchewan the union estimates it took about six years before the federal government finally came up with an adequate and acceptable set of working regulations for miners in uranium there?

Hon. Mr. Elgie: Mr. Speaker, I have never suggested there was an impasse. I suggested the word we had from the Ministry of Labour in Ottawa was the matter would be resolved this month and that is still the information I have.

2:20 p.m.

ELDORADO NUCLEAR LIMITED

Mr. Cassidy: Mr. Speaker, I have a new question to the Minister of the Environment surrounding the conflict between federal and

provincial regulations with regard to the nuclear industry. Does the minister intend to appeal the decision in provincial court last Friday which effectively exempts Eldorado Nuclear Limited from any environmental regulation in Ontario?

Hon. Mr. Parrott: Sorry, Mr. Speaker, I cannot give the honourable member a full response to that question. I haven't had a chance yet to discuss it with staff. It is of significant importance to us and I would like to take that question as notice and respond on it, I hope, tomorrow; if not, it will have to be next week.

Mr. Cassidy: Supplementary: Since this question has been at issue for some months now and since Eldorado Nuclear has been running roughshod over Ontario's environmental regulations in such matters as the spills of radioactive material from tailings in Port Hope and its air pollution emissions in Port Hope, is the minister saying right now that he has no position? Can he tell the House how Ontario citizens can be ensured that our stronger environmental regulations will be applied to Eldorado Nuclear rather than the weaker federal standards?

Hon. Mr. Parrott: I am more than pleased to acknowledge that ours are stronger. But no, there were two court decisions last week that are of great importance to us: one in Mississauga, as the honourable member probably also knows, and the Eldorado one. I think both of those deserve very careful consideration because, from our point of view, those court decisions are extremely important. It is not a matter of not having a position; it's a matter that we must give great consideration to because of the long-term significance of both the one in Mississauga and the Eldorado one, and we will.

I don't wish to deal in a superficial way with the question, which is, I think, extremely important. I would like to have the time necessary to look into it very carefully.

Mr. Wildman: Supplementary, Mr. Speaker: When the minister is reporting to the House, would he be careful to explain to us what implications the court decision may have for Eldorado's new uranium hexafluoride refinery which is now being set to be gone ahead with in Blind River?

Hon. Mr. Parrott: I will be pleased to make that a part of the response.

Mr. Cassidy: Given the difficulties that are so clearly evident in the protection of uranium miners in Elliot Lake because of the conflict between federal and provincial regulatory powers, and given that the protection of the environment from Eldorado Nuclear is also

in question because of the conflict between the two levels of government, will Ontario undertake to seek from the federal authorities full authority for the environmental protection of the people of this province and for the protection of workers of this province when they are affected by the nuclear industry or working in the nuclear industry, so that this charade does not continue?

Hon. Mr. Parrott: Mr. Speaker, fortunately on Thursday and Friday of this week the council of Ministers of Resources will be meeting in Halifax. I will be glad to raise that and a couple of other issues as well. But certainly that is one I will be glad to speak about to my colleagues there on Thursday and raise the issue as the member would have me do.

DISCHARGE OF PATIENTS

Mr. Ruston: Mr. Speaker, I have a question of the Minister of Health. Does the Minister of Health approve of the system now where hospitals discharge patients who have had their extended-care application approved and yet the hospitals are allowed to send them out either to a rest home or to a private home and in that way they do not get proper care?

Hon. Mr. Timbrell: Mr. Speaker, the decision to discharge any patient is a decision of the attending physician. We don't, as a ministry, get involved with approving or not approving discharge planning procedures of a particular hospital. I am confident though that no doctor would knowingly discharge anyone to any situation that would result in the deterioration of the patient's condition or inappropriate care.

If the member has a particular individual about whom he is concerned, or a particular hospital, I would hope he would first have taken it up with the hospital or the physician in question. If he would like to pass it on to me, I will take it up with them, if he has a particular concern, but those are the facts.

Mr. Ruston: Supplementary, Mr. Speaker: I do not think those people would appreciate having the three or four names brought out. I am wondering, when the pressure is so great on the hospitals to get more beds, if the doctor feels he hasn't much choice. Those at the hospital, and the administration as well, are putting so much pressure on the doctor to get the patient out. In effect, they have no alternative, they claim, but to put him out because he needs extended-care coverage.

Hon. Mr. Timbrell: Mr. Speaker, again we are talking in general terms, because I do not

know the hospital about which the member is concerned or the physician or whatever. I agree, I do not like to bandy people's names around either. I would be glad to follow up on it if the member likes, but I think every physician is well aware of not only his or her ethical responsibility but his or her legal responsibility, and I know of no physician who would knowingly discharge anyone into a situation where he or she would be at risk.

CARE OF PHYSICALLY HANDICAPPED

Mr. McClellan: Mr. Speaker, I have a question for the Minister of Community and Social Services regarding community-based housing for physically handicapped people who are currently in chronic-care hospitals. I would like to ask the minister if he is aware that since March 12 there have been 12 independent community living places in the Three Trilliums Community Place within the Dufferin-Gwynne housing development which have been standing vacant because of the jurisdictional wrangle about funding between the province and Metro? I want to ask him further whether he is aware that today is the deadline for coming up with a solution that will preserve that housing for physically handicapped people who are in chronic-care hospitals, and whether he has a solution to the impasse that has existed now for about six months?

Hon. Mr. Norton: Mr. Speaker, I am aware of the situation the honourable member describes. It has been a source of great disturbance for me that our largest municipality in this province has remained intransigent in the face of opportunities that do exist for physically handicapped persons to live in the community, and that they have continually refused to participate in the cost-sharing of the support services for those programs.

As the member knows, when they took that position last year, the understanding was there would be a period of review of cost-share programs between the province and municipalities. At the conclusion of what we thought was the intent of that exercise, the municipality of Metropolitan Toronto then maintained that they thought that was just the beginning. They wanted a complete rationalization of the number of cost-shared programs before they would embark on sharing with us in the cost of services to the physically handicapped.

I had made a commitment to get the two projects at present under way in Metro started by agreeing to pay 100 per cent of the sup-

port costs to the end of the last fiscal year, on the understanding that at that point Metro would be in a position to agree, I hope, to cost-share from that point onwards.

Since they have refused, I obviously was not going to see that terminated for those persons who are already in community living with the support services, so I have again continued to fund those particular units at 100 per cent. But I am not prepared at this point, and I regret very much having to say this, to allow Metro's intransigence to whip-lash us into a situation where, by virtue of being forced into paying 100 per cent of the costs to appease Metro, we would thereby be depriving handicapped persons in other parts of the province of the opportunity when their municipalities are prepared, as a number have indicated, to cost-share on an 80-20 basis.

I would implore the honourable member and anyone else who might have any influence upon the members of the social services committee of Metropolitan Toronto or the regional chairman, or anyone else who is in a decision-making position, to bring whatever pressure they can to bear upon them to shoulder what I think is their appropriate responsibility in meeting the needs, in co-operation with us, of the physically handicapped.

We have advised the persons involved with the Three Trilliums and others who are interested and supportive of the program, that we stand by ready with our 80 per cent to go ahead immediately.

2:30 p.m.

The problem is not us, and it's not really a question of our creating any unexpected hurdles for Metro. It really is a question of Metro trying to establish what I think they perceive to be a new approach to support services for certain groups of people, while other municipalities, and even Metro, have in the past provided these kinds of services on a cost-shared basis.

If the member for Bellwoods can assist me, or if he can assist the handicapped persons, along with me, to bring any pressure to bear to move the Metropolitan Toronto council to alter its decision, I would be ready to start tomorrow.

Mr. McClellan: By way of supplementary—and I wish the minister would please not ask me to try to deal with the government puppet, Godfrey—in view of the fact that the ministry itself estimated in 1978 that there were 700 disabled people who are currently in chronic-care hospitals but who could, if places were available in the community, live in independ-

ent living facilities, such as the Three Triliums Community Place; in view of the fact that the province is probably paying between \$17 million and \$25 million a year in chronic-care hospital payments, at 100 per cent, surely it makes sense to the Minister of Community and Social Services, not simply on compassionate grounds but on financial grounds as well, to provide these facilities at 100 per cent funding and get on with the job of building community-based housing instead of squabbling.

How can the government build 700 places if it can't even build 12?

Hon. Mr. Norton: Mr. Speaker, the logic of the honourable member once again is escaping me. I think he understands, as well as I do, the problems that exist in terms of trying to extricate that kind of money from one program and put it into another. It just doesn't work that way—and he knows it doesn't work that simply. One has to move into a new program area like this on the basis of new resources.

It's true that if the individuals were to leave the chronic-care facilities and move into a community setting, beds would be freed up, at least temporarily. But I'm sure the member knows there are other persons who are in need of chronic-care services in a hospital setting and who would move in immediately, therefore there would be no cost saving involved.

I would point out to the member that I suspect this very dilemma I'm faced with at the moment is indicative of the fact that Mr. Godfrey is certainly not any more my puppet than Mr. Cressey is the member's, and he happens to be chairman of the committee.

ENVIRONMENTAL HEARINGS

Mr. McGuigan: Mr. Speaker, my question is to the Minister of the Environment. I have just sent him a copy of a letter from the Canadian Environmental Law Association regarding funding groups that are opposed to various undertakings.

I wonder if the minister would respond to the first three of the questions; there are some six in number, but I feel the first three are quite important. They are: Who decides if experts are needed, and who would choose the experts? Whose witnesses would these experts be? Would there be a right to full cross-examination of these experts by all parties?

Hon. Mr. Parrott: Mr. Speaker, I think the answer to all three questions is yes.

I'm sorry; that's hardly fair. To the last question, the answer is yes. I got carried away, Mr. Speaker.

Mr. Speaker: The minister can answer in any way he pleases but I'm sure, on reflection, that wouldn't be an appropriate answer to the first two questions.

Hon. Mr. Parrott: That's right. Who decides if the experts are needed and who would choose the experts? The Environmental Assessment Board would.

Whose witnesses would these experts be? Those experts would be the witnesses of the public, in the truest sense of the word. We would want those witnesses there so all of the information that is available on any given question could be given. We have opened up the process a great deal to public participation, and this is an extension.

The answer to the third question is yes.

Mr. Gaunt: Supplementary, Mr. Speaker: Would the lawyers for the citizens' groups under the conditions we have been talking about have the responsibility of leading their own witnesses, rather than the board doing that process?

Hon. Mr. Parrott: I would like to think there would be some of both. I suspect the major thrust might come from the solicitor for those in opposition. At the same time, I think the board fully knows it is our policy that we want all of the information looked at. That is why we have encouraged them to support bringing in witnesses or experts on any area where they think their knowledge is deficient. It would be up to the board to make a final decision, not only through the witnesses, but as to whether they were satisfied with the testimony that had been presented.

Ms. Bryden: Supplementary, Mr. Speaker: I would like to ask the minister whether, if the board decides that a request for a particular witness should not be granted, there would be any right of appeal either to the minister or to any other body against that decision of the board.

Hon. Mr. Parrott: No, I do not think so. I think the board should make that decision. The decision of the board is appealable to cabinet if the hearing is held under the Environmental Assessment Act, or to the appeal board and then to myself if it is under the Environmental Protection Act. I think a decision of this matter would not be appealable *per se*. The total decision would be, yes, but not on whether or not an expert witness was or was not qualified or whether the board had been given enough testimony.

ROLPH-CLARK-STONE DISPUTE

Mr. Mackenzie: I have a question of the Minister of Labour. Would the minister explain why a company which insisted on joint negotiations with the Graphic Arts International Union, namely, Rolph-Clark-Stone Limited of Brampton, can reach agreement with the other shops involved, including its own Montreal plant, and then, apparently with impunity, refuse to settle at the Brampton plant with clear evidence of bad-faith bargaining, including advertising the jobs of the employees on a legal strike? Will the minister now involve himself in an effort to end, with some justice to the workers, the longest strike in the history of the riding of his colleague the Premier (Mr. Davis)—over one year now?

Hon. Mr. Elgie: Mr. Speaker, I must apologize because I do not have the immediate details of that particular strike at my fingertips, but I will be glad to look into it and report to the member.

Mr. Mackenzie: As a supplementary, would the minister also consider the merits of legislation which would impose an agreement where bad-faith bargaining charges are upheld and require those who insist on joint negotiations to be bound by the settlement?

Hon. Mr. Elgie: I think the member will agree that in the Radio Shack case the Ontario Labour Relations Board showed that in the face of bad-faith bargaining it has a variety of remedies open to it which can and did, as in Radio Shack, result in a settlement.

The member knows my feelings and this government's feelings about first-contract arbitration. I don't think there is any need to repeat them.

DISCRIMINATION IN HIRING

Mr. Peterson: In the absence of the Premier, I have a question of the Minister of Labour, Mr. Speaker. The minister is no doubt aware of the discriminatory legislation introduced in the legislatures of both Newfoundland and Nova Scotia with respect to hiring practices in the oil and gas exploration business there. What is this government's view of this kind of legislation? Has the minister undertaken any entreaties, either formal or informal, with those governments about that legislation?

Hon. Mr. Elgie: I am aware of that particular legislation which limits the mobility of people across this country. It is indeed disturbing. We were having discussions about it the other day and it is an issue I intend to look into.

Mr. Peterson: Supplementary: Could I ask the minister to come back to this House with a full and complete statement about Ontario's position, which I think is important at this time? Has he ever contemplated referring this to the Supreme Court on a reference for some determination of this kind of legislation which, in our judgement, is in no one's best interest across this country?

Hon. Mr. Elgie: No. The Minister of Labour of this province has not contemplated such an application before the Supreme Court because we don't have a direct involvement in it. Yes, I will be prepared to give consideration to the suggestion the member has made.

2:40 p.m.

WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION

Mr. Di Santo: Mr. Speaker, I have a question for the Minister of Labour. One of my constituents, Bianca Polsinelli, who is an injured worker, received a decision from the Workmen's Compensation Board one year ago with no explanation. After the minister's intervention, the board sent her to a specialist for a second opinion. Despite the fact she was examined on January 2 by Dr. Vanderlinden, and despite the fact that my office has been writing the Workmen's Compensation Board repeatedly, today, one year after the decision, she doesn't yet know the board's final decision. Doesn't the Minister of Labour think, not only as a minister or a lawyer, but simply as a human being, that delaying for one year such a decision is a total denial of any human justice?

Hon. Mr. Elgie: Mr. Speaker, the member for Downsview and I did talk about this lady's problem last fall, I believe it was, and, not from my intervention but from my suggestion, a further referee was selected and a further examination obtained. That is the last I heard of the case until I saw that the honourable member had written me the other day. I will be pleased to look into it and report.

Mr. Di Santo: Supplementary, Mr. Speaker: Does the Minister of Labour realize it is the common practice of the Workmen's Compensation Board to neglect to answer letters? If the minister wishes, I can show him numerous letters which go back to February 2, putting us, the members, in a position so we cannot represent our constituents.

Is the minister also aware of the fact the board used to send out slips with payments, like the ones I showed to the minister? A payment for February 26 to March 26, 1979,

for \$29.92 was sent with no explanation to an injured worker whose decision was rendered on March 21, and his claim was accepted by the board. Does the minister think this is the way the board should deal, not only with us, but with injured workers? What is he going to do about it?

Hon. Mr. Elgie: Mr. Speaker, if the member has further information about any undue delays which substantiate what he says, I would be pleased to have it. I have regular meetings with the board to discuss matters such as this.

ASSISTANCE TO AUTO WORKERS

Mr. Bradley: Mr. Speaker, I have a question for the Minister of Labour, recognizing that it would be equally appropriate to ask this question of the Minister of Industry and Tourism (Mr. Grossman). Would the minister comment upon the possibility of his intervention, or the intervention of the Minister of Industry and Tourism, with General Motors of Canada Limited to give favourable consideration to a suggestion by Local 199 of the United Auto Workers that the plant in St. Catharines be allowed to go on a four-day work week with all employees working for four days and supplementary benefits being paid to compensate for the fifth day when the workers didn't work? Does the minister feel this is a reasonable suggestion, and if he does, will he be prepared to use his good offices to persuade General Motors to give favourable consideration to that suggestion?

Hon. Mr. Elgie: Mr. Speaker, I think the question of flexible work arrangements is one that we are going to see more and more of as the years go by. I would be pleased to discuss the matter with my colleague and get back to the honourable member.

Mr. Bradley: As a supplementary, Mr. Speaker: I would ask the minister, recognizing that the General Motors supplementary benefits are probably in better shape than, perhaps, those of Ford and certainly Chrysler, would he be prepared to extend that to other auto-making firms in Ontario, specifically Ford and Chrysler, as one of the considerations in certain other specific cases where it would be applicable and reasonable?

Hon. Mr. Elgie: Mr. Speaker, we must remember that collective bargaining remains in the hands of the parties and I don't think we really want to change that. What the honourable member has asked me is whether I would have discussions with my colleague

about that as a possibility that one might make suggestions with regard to. I would be pleased to have those discussions, but I don't intend to do away with the collective bargaining process.

INCO EMISSIONS

Ms. Bryden: Mr. Speaker, I have a question of the Minister of the Environment with regard to the proposed new control order on Inco. We all know that under the present legislation Inco has the right to appeal a notice of intent when it is issued on this subject. Will the minister extend this right to appeal the proposed order to the people of Ontario, whose environment will be degraded by the failure of the ministry to impose tough standards on Inco to meet the growing threat of acid rain?

Hon. Mr. Parrott: Mr. Speaker, I would have thought the member would have understood the Environmental Protection Act better than that. I am sure she knows that would require an amendment to the act. If she wants us to go through all those procedures, then the exact opposite will happen to what she claims will happen. We will not have the control order and its accompanying benefits to the people of Ontario but a dragged-out process which would harm the people—just the contrary to what she suggests. I am sure it would require an amendment to the act, and we are not considering it.

Ms. Bryden: Will the minister give the Legislature a commitment that the appeal procedure will be opened to the people who may lose their entire forest industry and tourist industry if acid rain is not stopped?

Hon. Mr. Parrott: I do not think any change in the act should be considered on one aspect only. We talked about amendments to the act last year when we did a small bill on the pesticides matter. Those considerations are still under consideration.

Mr. S. Smith: Mr. Speaker, is the minister aware that despite the laudatory comments by the federal minister, all of which were intended primarily for American consumption so as to start negotiations with the Americans, even now it is still the opinion of the federal minister and all his officials that Inco is capable of a 60 per cent cleanup to something less than 1,000 tons a day within four years without paying a severe economic penalty?

Hon. Mr. Parrott: Mr. Speaker, having discussed this matter at some length with the federal minister, both present and past, we agree that what is needed now—and this pro-

cess was started some time ago—is a very definitive study on what is and what is not possible. That is one of the significant things we put forward last Thursday, that the task force will take into consideration not just a study of the hit-and-miss, random-selection variety but of all the information now available and that which might be put forward because of the federal-provincial arrangements that have been made to study acid rain.

Indeed, I think we have progressed a long way in co-ordinating our abatement procedures, our technical knowledge, and more particularly our studies, and the task force will do that very job. We should not underestimate the extreme value and importance that task force—representative of federal, provincial, and the public at large—can render to the people of this and other provinces.

Mr. S. Smith: I asked whether you know whether he disagrees with you.

Hon. Mr. Parrott: No, that is not so.

DISPOSAL OF PCBs

Mr. Nixon: Mr. Speaker, I have a question of the Minister of the Environment having to do with the decision of the divisional court upholding the Mississauga bylaw prohibiting the burning of PCBs in that municipality. Is the ministry going to appeal it? If not, what might the ministry do if other municipalities pass similar bylaws having to do with either the transportation, the burning, or the storage of PCBs?

Hon. Mr. Parrott: Mr. Speaker, it was certainly a very significant court decision that was rendered on the Mississauga bylaw, upholding the Supreme Court of Ontario. We have not decided yet whether the better approach is to appeal or not. Certainly it is one of the things we are contemplating right now. I cannot tell the member how significant we consider that court decisions. It has a profound effect and we will have to certainly address this very carefully. We will certainly be doing one of two things—either appealing or amending legislation. But which is the better of those ways at the minute and which in the short term and long term would give us the better solution, I am not sure. We will be making that decision well within the appeal period granted to us.

2:50 p.m.

Mr. Nixon: Mr. Speaker, would the minister not consider alternative 2(a), which would be to make a commitment to the development of the plasma arc furnace, which could be used, to convince the municipalities that the burning on site, rather than the

transportation and storage, would be cheaper, effective and safe?

Hon. Mr. Parrott: Yes, Mr. Speaker. We will do as much as we can in that regard, and it is something that I personally hope to spend a little more time on during this next week to 10 days. I think it deserves that kind of attention, and I will make every effort to sort out some of the problems that have surrounded it because, from what I know about it, it is an exciting possibility and would alleviate the PCB problem for communities. I do not think it would deal with the other, and I guess greater, issues that flow from that court decision, as well.

Mr. Kennedy: Mr. Speaker, the minister mentioned the possible appeal. Perhaps this is a legal point, but could he clarify my understanding that an appeal would be based on new information or at least more likely be successful on new information rather than just appealing for the sake of appealing?

Hon. Mr. Parrott: Mr. Speaker, I do not think I can add much to my previous response. I am aware of the significance of the decision. We have not fully investigated the court decision. Personally, I have not read it yet, I have only seen excerpts from it and so it will be some time before we finalize a decision. I am not going to argue with what the member has said. It is just that I am sure we all realize that has a very significant impact, not only for my own ministry, but also for other ministries, when that kind of bylaw is upheld.

CARTIER SQUARE DEVELOPMENT

Mr. Cassidy: Mr. Speaker, a new question to the Minister of Government Services: Now that the United States has decided to accept an alternative site for its new embassy in Ottawa and to move the proposed embassy from the Cartier Square area, would the minister be prepared to accept the city of Ottawa's offer of a comprehensive planning study for Cartier Square which would be undertaken within the next 90 days and which would be similar to what the ministry's own architects say they would need before they could proceed to detailed design plans of the new courthouse?

Hon. Mr. Wiseman: Mr. Speaker, earlier today I tried to get hold of the Hon. Paul Cosgrove to see if the American embassy had decided to move to another location; I have heard rumours of that. I hope to have a call back from him later today or tomorrow morning. At that time I will know, and I will have a chance to discuss the matter further with

him. If the honourable member were to ask me the question on Thursday, perhaps I would be able to give him a more detailed answer.

Mr. Cassidy: Since the Minister of Housing (Mr. Bennett), the member for Ottawa South, has suggested an alternative provincial use for the teachers' college, which is next door to the proposed courthouse, does that mean the government now is prepared to review other possible alternative uses for the teachers' college? Specifically, is the province prepared to sit down and talk seriously with the municipality of Ottawa about its proposal to make a civic museum in the teachers' college rather than cutting it completely off from any public use by leaving it as an officers' mess?

Hon. Mr. Wiseman: I have had discussions with Mr. Cosgrove in the past about the possibilities for the teachers' college and for the American embassy when we thought it was going there, and I have not been told officially whether it will be moving from there. We were going to present the full picture to the National Capital Commission at that time. We told Mr. Cosgrove, as he had promised the citizens' committee, that they would have a chance to review it along with his advisory committee for the capital commission. I would imagine I would have a more detailed answer on Thursday after I had a chance to discuss it with him.

Mr. Roy: Mr. Speaker, I would like to ask the minister whether he would give this House his undertaking that, if he does accede to any request for further studies as to the location of a courthouse in Ottawa, such study will not delay for one minute the construction of a new courthouse in Ottawa which, as he knows, we fought for so long and is so badly needed.

Hon. Mr. Wiseman: Mr. Speaker, to answer that question, to the best of my ability I will try to hurry that project along, because I come from that area and I know how badly needed that courthouse is.

DEATH OF STEVEN YUZ

Mr. O'Neil: Mr. Speaker, I rise with a question for the Minister of Health. It concerns the recent inquest held concerning the death of young Steven Yuz at the Hospital for Sick Children in Toronto. I wonder if I could ask if the minister has anything further to report concerning the part of the inquest which states that it was also revealed that 68 pages from a hospital ward blood

specimen book, two entire books, and several doctor's order sheets are missing? Has he anything he can report to the House concerning this part of the inquest?

Hon. Mr. Timbrell: No, Mr. Speaker. I regret that I cannot. I understand at the time that portions of the book were found to be missing, it was reported to the police. I am afraid I have nothing more I can report to the member at this time. As I learn more about it, though, I will be glad to report that to him.

Mr. O'Neil: Could I ask whether the Minister of Health has consulted with the Attorney General (Mr. McMurtry) and whether he will look further into this matter and report to the House?

Hon. Mr. Timbrell: I will report back. The officials of my ministry are in touch with the Hospital for Sick Children today to discuss with them what plans they have to follow up on the recommendations of the coroner's jury and on specific items like this. To the best of my knowledge though, at this point it is in the hands of the police, but I will report back on that aspect.

Mr. McClellan: Mr. Speaker, I have a question on the Order Paper. I guess it is not printed yet. I would ask the Minister of Health whether he himself or the Solicitor General (Mr. McMurtry) could provide each of the opposition parties with a transcript from the inquest into the death of Steven Yuz so that we will have the same material that the minister has at the time he makes his report back to us.

Hon. Mr. Timbrell: Mr. Speaker, we in the Ministry of Health, to the best of my recollection and knowledge, do not receive copies of the transcripts. We receive the reports of the coroners' juries with their comments and recommendations. If we want copies of the full transcript, we have to pay for it, which either party opposite could do from their research funds.

WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION

Mr. Wildman: I have a question for the Minister of Labour, Mr. Speaker. Is the minister aware that the Workmen's Compensation Board, Ontario, in concert with the Algoma Steel Corporation Limited, is apparently backing out of the agreed procedures worked out for filing accident reports and claims for scarfers' back injuries there to bring them in line with the approach used at Stelco Inc.?

Hon. Mr. Elgie: Mr. Speaker, I was not aware of the matter the member raised.

Mr. Wildman: If the minister is not aware, is he prepared to investigate the claim of a Mr. Miskew of Local 2251, United Steelworkers of America, who filed an accident claim in November 1979, but whose claim was treated by the WCB as a recurrence of a previous claim and thus he was denied any benefits?

Hon. Mr. Elgie: I would be pleased to ask the board for information about that.

CHILDREN WITH LEARNING DISABILITIES

Mr. Stong: I have a question for the Minister of Health, Mr. Speaker. Now that it is becoming more evident and more accepted that learning disabilities are a physiological disorder and hence a medical problem and that special education programs can, at best, teach students to cope with their disability rather than remedy it, would the minister consider initiating remedial programs such as are in existence at the Tomatis Centre and include those programs under the Ontario Health Insurance Plan provisions to make them more accessible to everyone?

3 p.m.

Mr. Laughren: There is no end to Liberal restraint.

Hon. Mr. Timbrell: Mr. Speaker—yes, I am reminded of the speech the leader of the member's party gave in Kingston last year about no new programs, not five cents or something to that effect.

Any new programs that are added under OHIP are added on the basis of their proven clinical merit. In that case I have to tell the member there is considerable dispute in the professional communities about that process. At this point there are no plans to include it under OHIP.

THIRD-LANGUAGE CREDITS

Mr. Duksza: Mr. Speaker, I have a question for the Minister of Colleges and Universities.

I am certain the minister is aware that there has been a proposal at York University to allow one of our other languages to be used as a credit for obtaining a degree. If an individual goes to a university with a good facility in one of the other languages, would the minister consider this and push the universities to consider it as part of a credit for obtaining a bachelor's degree?

Hon. Miss Stephenson: Mr. Speaker, because of the existence of the heritage language

program in the province for the past several years, we have a growing number of students entering secondary schools with facility in a third language. Because of our concern about the maintenance of that facility and the use to which it may be put, this is an item which the secondary school education review project will be looking at very carefully during their year's study of secondary school education.

NIAGARA ESCARPMENT HEARINGS

Mr. Bradley: Mr. Speaker, I have a question for the Minister of Housing. The present Ontario Municipal Board hearings in Niagara north are costing municipalities, land owners and public interest groups hundreds of thousands of dollars. Considering that and the fact that the Ontario Legal Aid Plan saw fit to provide assistance of up to \$40,000 for the Preservation of Agriculture Land Society to assist in its participation in the hearings, does the minister feel it is legally feasible to terminate these hearings and settle this problem by getting the groups together on an informal basis and save all of this money being spent? If it is possible, does the minister feel it advisable to handle the situation in that way?

Hon. Mr. Bennett: Mr. Speaker, I am sure the member is aware that before we refer anything to the OMB we try to find some degree of understanding or compromise between the various parties, those for the zoning or those against the zoning or whatever it happens to be.

We spent considerable time with the member for Brock (Mr. Welch), with the mayors of the various municipalities and with some of the other groups which have been involved as well as with their legal counsel, trying to find some solution to the problem before it went to the Ontario Municipal Board. Even after it was referred there, we continued to meet with the various groups to try to find a solution. After numerous hours of discussion we could not find a compromise that was acceptable to the various parties involved. I think the member is aware that the minister is not in a position to withdraw from the Ontario Municipal Board unless he gets the concurrence of the two parties recommending that it go to the board for hearing.

As far as the cost is concerned, I am aware of the decision that was made by the Legal Aid Council of Ontario, and I am having it reviewed to make sure it was within the terms of reference of assisting organizations in appeals.

Mr. Bradley: If my understanding is correct, that ultimately the final decision will be made by cabinet, would the minister inform the House the degree of emphasis he would place on recommendations of the OMB in ultimately reporting to cabinet and coming up with a final decision on this matter?

Hon. Mr. Bennett: The only reason it would get to cabinet would be if one of the two parties did not accept the Ontario Municipal Board recommendation at that time. I am not about to make any predetermination of the OMB recommendation or whether they would even find a compromise that would be acceptable to the two parties. At the time it is referred there, the OMB's suggestions and recommendations will be reviewed and a decision of cabinet will come forth.

Mr. Swart: Mr. Speaker, I would like to pursue this further with the Minister of Housing. Is he looking at any new systems as an alternative to these kinds of Ontario Municipal Board hearings which the member for St. Catharines (Mr. Bradley) has said are costing fantastic amounts of money—in this particular case somewhere between \$1 million and \$2 million—and which ultimately almost all comes from the taxpayers, either through the municipalities or the provincial government? Is he looking at any other systems, such as public advocacy, or perhaps more leadership from the government itself in these matters by setting some serious guidelines about land use in this province?

Hon. Mr. Bennett: Mr. Speaker, the member is fully aware that guidelines have been established for land use in this province. Indeed, at the moment we have under review a new Planning Act, which indicates—

Mr. Swart: Is your government there supporting them?

Hon. Mr. Bennett: Does the member want to listen to the answer, or does he want to continue to ask a question?

Frankly, with the food land guidelines that were issued, as in any regulation, there will be two different sides taken in relation to those guidelines.

I have been in this ministry for a little more than two years, and I have listened to arguments from PALS and from other groups relating to the land use, and on two different days you can have two different opinions. Some groups have used the food land guidelines and, indeed, this Ontario Municipal Board hearing in the St. Catharines area, as a whipping boy to get their positions put forward very clearly, use some very interesting appeal procedures. They really do not want

to appeal the zoning on certain lands, but they find it a great whipping boy.

I agree with the member; if there is one area that does upset the government and, indeed, should upset the taxpayers at every level, it is the fact that certain groups will use certain appeal procedures to bring their case forward to the public regardless of how much it costs. We are in the process of reviewing the Planning Act, and one thing for which we have had strong support all across this province from public organizations—

Mr. Cassidy: You lined up with the developers 10 years ago, and you have never changed.

Hon. Mr. Bennett: The member for Ottawa Centre is again yakking when he should be listening.

Mr. Speaker, the fact is that the Ontario Municipal Board is the one body that was fully accepted by all outside parties as being one that should be retained. We realize the cost that is incurred in going to a municipal board hearing, but let's not get the idea that it is only the private sector that requests municipal board hearings; they involve the public sector as well, that public sector being the municipal level and sometimes the provincial level, requesting a review of the zoning, the official plan and so on. The costs are there. They are part of the cost of governing.

If we were to change the guidelines or to find another process, I could guarantee that there would be groups who would appeal that decision and they would eventually get back to the Ontario Municipal Board. With the new Planning Act, we hope we will find a procedure that is more in keeping with the costs incurred in trying to give the public the opportunity to present their case, the elected people their opportunity and, indeed, to reach a decision that meets the food land guidelines of this province.

INTRODUCTION OF BILL

TOWN OF GRIMSBY ACT

Mr. Hall moved first reading of Bill Pr29, An Act respecting the Town of Grimsby.

Motion agreed to.

3:10 p.m.

ANSWER TO QUESTION ON NOTICE PAPER AND GOVERNMENT MOTION

Hon. Mr. Wells: Mr. Speaker, I am tabling the answer to question 133 standing on the Notice Paper. (See appendix, page 1462.) I am also tabling government motion 11.

WRITTEN QUESTIONS

Mr. Wildman: Mr. Speaker, you will recall that on Thursday, April 24, I rose on a question of privilege, asking about an answer to a written question that had been tabled on April 10 and that should have been introduced on April 24. At that time you indicated you would have your table officers investigate.

Subsequent to that, I received a response from the Minister of Health (Mr. Timbrell) to question 110 which was tabled on April 25. The question had been directed to the Ministry of Health and to the Ministry of Northern Affairs. I have as yet not received any answer, nor has it been tabled in the House, from the Ministry of Northern Affairs.

Mr. Speaker: I will take another look to see whether or not there has been any infringement of the standing order.

ORDERS OF THE DAY

DEBATE ON CONFEDERATION

Hon. Mr. Wells, in the absence of Hon. Mr. Davis, seconded by Mr. S. Smith and Mr. Cassidy, moved resolution 11:

That we the Legislative Assembly of Ontario commit ourselves, as our highest priority, to support full negotiation of a new constitution to satisfy the diverse aspirations of all Canadians and to replace the status quo which is clearly unacceptable; and, further, we affirm our opposition to the negotiation of sovereignty-association; and, therefore, we appeal to all Quebecers to join with other Canadians in building this national constitution; and, further, we hereby appoint a select committee of the Legislative Assembly of Ontario on constitutional reform to consider and report with dispatch on ways to achieve this objective.

L'honorable M. Wells, en l'absence de l'honorable M. Davis, appuyé par M. S. Smith et M. Cassidy, a proposé:

Qu'il soit résolu que, nous de l'Assemblée Législative de l'Ontario nous engageons, en priorité de première instance, à appuyer la négociation complète d'une nouvelle constitution pouvant satisfaire les diverses aspirations de tous les canadiens et pour remplacer le statu quo qui est clairement inacceptable; de plus, nous affirmons notre opposition à la négociation de la souveraineté-association; en conséquence, nous lançons un appel aux québécois pour qu'ils se joignent aux autres canadiens dans l'élaboration de cette nouvelle constitution nationale; de plus, nous nommons par la présente un comité spécial de

l'Assemblée Législative de l'Ontario sur la réforme constitutionnelle pour qu'il prenne en considération les moyens d'atteindre cet objectif et qu'il nous fasse un rapport dans les plus brefs délais.

Hon. Mr. Wells: Mr. Speaker, before I get into my remarks on the motion, first let me say that the Premier (Mr. Davis), who was speaking in London today, had hoped to be here, but unlike usual days with statements and points of order, et cetera, we're starting a good 15 minutes earlier than perhaps we would normally have started the debate. He will be here in a very few minutes.

Further, I would like to apologise to you, Mr. Speaker, for not being in the House at two o'clock when the point of order was raised concerning the column in the Toronto Sun this morning. I understand the House leaders for the other two parties commented on it. I would like to add my words of support to what they said. The arrangements for TV that were outlined in the memo to all members were agreed to by all House leaders. There is no way you should bear any particular vendetta or campaign against yourself for having sent the memo out on those particular recommendations.

I think we all agreed that this was a good debate upon which to try this type of television coverage of the House. The arrangements which were detailed in the memo that the members received very much parallel those which are practised in the House of Commons. I wanted to add my support to the other House leaders and say that I thought the column in the Sun was out of place and not called for.

The resolution we have heard, moved by the Premier and the Leader of the Opposition and the leader of the third party, represents very clearly and very simply the position of this party, the government party in this province, and I'm sure the other two parties and all the members of this assembly. It's a message we want to send today and this week from this historic place, in this historic debate, to the people of Quebec. It's a message from the people of Ontario. The message that is phrased in this resolution is a message from 124 members of this assembly who represent 8.5 million Ontarians. It's the message we want to transmit to all those people who live in the great province of Quebec.

It's not often this House has the opportunity to address itself to a resolution such as this, the significance of which I think extends well beyond our accustomed mandate

and the familiar boundaries and extents that we usually talk about. It extends well beyond this province to all parts of Canada. It is not often that the elected representatives of the province and the people of Ontario have before them a resolution with the implications of this one, the implications of such fundamental concern, a very basic fundamental concern—the preservation of Canada itself. This is a rare and unusual moment for all of us, and the future may say it was a historic one.

The last time this House dealt with a significant resolution such as this was on May 18, 1967, when this House supported on a vote of 70 to 1, the proposal that the government convene a Confederation of Tomorrow conference. That conference was held six months later, in November 1967.

There are many members here today who were present when that motion was debated and voted upon in this House.

If this resolution passes—and I believe it will—and if we then take up our task, as indicated in it, and if we apply our best efforts and energy; and if we inspire and encourage the goodwill and co-operation of others; if we remain throughout dedicated and determined—as I believe we will—this will be a historic moment in the history of the Ontario Legislature, since it well could represent the turning point in that prolonged and protracted, and very often frustrating, long period during which we've been seeking to renew and strengthen our Confederation.

This could be part of the turning point. Only history will be able to record that for sure, but I have a feeling that we are embarking here today, and in this week, upon a historic debate which will have great ramifications for this country of ours—Canada.

What is said here is as important in this present circumstance as what we're setting out to do. We're setting out to pass a resolution, and I believe we will do so. Equally important is what is said. It's no less important than the spirit of our intent, as we express to those who speak, and to those to whom we are speaking, what this resolution means to us.

We would do ourselves a great disservice if we don't very forcefully, and in very unequivocal terms, put forward to those to whom we are speaking, not only to our fellow members of this House but to the people of Quebec, our sincere belief in the motion we are being asked to vote on—which we will pass—and which we say is our message to them at this very important time.

3:20 p.m.

There is really only one issue before us in this great debate: What actions are we prepared to take to keep Canada together? We will be known by our deeds, not our words. Our words are important at this time but, ultimately, it will be by our deeds we shall be known as a people and as a government that have put down a new foundation for national understanding. I think that is very important. What actions are we prepared to take? It is those deeds we do from here on in that will count, not just what we say, although at this time in this debate what we say is important as our message flows through to the people of Quebec.

It is important since there are some who do not share our commitment to Canada and who look rather hopefully towards Ontario for some sign of resignation, some sign of wariness and some sign of uncertainty on this issue. There are those also, as I found in a recent visit I made to Quebec, who believe, or would like to believe, that Ontario is reluctant to explore fully and willingly the possibility of significant constitutional change, much less champion it. I found there are those who really do not believe us when we say we are prepared to follow through on significant constitutional change. They have to be shown that all of us here in Ontario will not only say that but will champion it.

They don't quite believe us because they see us as the principal beneficiaries of the status quo. The view that we in this province are likely, if not certain, to be selfish and self-seeking in the search for a new constitution and a renewed federalism would come very naturally to those people who do not see themselves first and foremost as Canadians and who do not see their future in a united Canada because the present arrangements within Confederation, it can be said, have served Ontario well in the past. The argument proceeds from there to the conclusion by some of these people, therefore, that Ontario simply now wants to keep things as they are.

That opinion is more useful to those who express it than it is really factual. For as long as I can remember, Ontario has been a province and a people in the vanguard of reform. We have pioneered social reform in this country. We have supported it. We have supported many constructive initiatives in constitutional change from many sources.

What other province in Canada in the last dozen years or so has given so much of its time and attention and has spent so much of its resources on the subject of a renewed

Confederation as has Ontario? When I look around my office and the offices in the Ministry of Intergovernmental Affairs, there are mountains and mountains of reports and papers representing weeks and months of work, of deliberate thought, of study, all directed towards constitutional change and reform.

Anybody who looks at those reports and studies these reports and our positions would be deprived of the thought that we are reluctant to abandon the status quo. Surely, to any reasonable mind, it would suggest just the opposite. We are not for the status quo. I think that message must be very thoroughly said. We in this province are personally and, I say, collectively committed to refashioning this country in such a way as to heal our major historical wounds. I would say we will not cease in pursuing this number one national priority until that task is successfully completed.

The status quo is as unacceptable to Ontario as is sovereignty-association. That, I think, must be said very clearly and in a very straightforward manner to everyone at this time. The resolution of this House does that.

Our commitment to constitutional reform is real and determined. We recognize and support the clear call for change that is coming from all across Canada. We are determined to advance that cause because we want to strengthen all parts of Canada. I believe a strong argument could be made that in prior discussions to advance the cause of Quebec within Confederation, Ontario has probably been one of Quebec's greatest allies.

Much has been said recently by the proponents of sovereignty-association about the struggle Quebec has had to wage within Canadian federalism. We have not been reminded, however, that Quebec has rarely been alone in its fight. It has rarely been alone in its fight within Canadian federalism as it struggled to get a better deal. If you make even the most cursory survey of the evolution and development of Canadian federalism, Mr. Speaker, you will see that Ontario and Quebec have, more often than not, been partners in shaping Canada.

From 1867 to the present our two provinces together have resisted repeated efforts by the federal power to undermine provincial competence in fields of jurisdiction which the Fathers of Confederation clearly assigned to the provinces. On some occasions Quebec led the fight and Ontario weighed in with its whole-hearted support, while at other times Ontario led the way and Quebec offered its solidarity in the cause. The result over time

I believe has been a stronger, total country with governments better suited to respond effectively and efficiently to the needs of the people.

This debate on Confederation gives us the opportunity, I believe, to review our rich and fascinating history as a people. Our growth from perilous beginnings to enviable prosperity, our growth from perilous beginnings to the peace that we enjoy today, comes alive for us once again as we think of our history.

Our development should not be viewed only in the abstract and dry vocabulary of constitutional discussion, or of economics and so forth. Instead, I think we should look at our past and see it come alive in the flesh and blood of the powerful builders of this country. I think of the great champions of Quebec such as Mercier, Lesage and Johnson. Their strength and dedication shaped Quebec and it shaped Canada.

Ontario too is proud of the contribution of its leaders, such as Mowat, Ferguson, Drew, Frost, Robarts and, today, Bill Davis. If these leaders of both Ontario and Quebec had not shown the capacity to work together, would Canada have attained the quality of life that is the envy of much of the world today? It is this co-operation between our two provinces and the benefit that this has brought that I would like to examine a little more closely.

Our relationship goes back years, of course, before Confederation. Whether it was Mackenzie and Papineau, or the Ontarian Baldwin who was elected in Quebec while the Quebecker Lafontaine was elected in Ontario, the history and peoples of the two provinces have long been joined together.

When the Fathers of Confederation created this country in 1867, they wrote a constitution that reflected this history, taking into account both the duality of its two cultures and the economic and social diversity that existed in the four original provinces. Sir John A. Macdonald threw himself into the task of nation-building by creating a national economy, and binding together the various regions of this country by a network of railroads and canals. But Sir John A., Mr. Speaker, sometimes overstepped the bounds of the Confederation agreement itself, and when he did, when he overstepped the bounds of that agreement, Oliver Mowat of Ontario was always quick to point out his lapse.

Mowat was Premier of Ontario from 1872 to 1896, and I would say to you, Mr. Speaker, he is considered the father of provincial

rights in Canada. But Mowat's resistance to federal encroachment was not based on parochialism and it was not based on want of vision. No, he believed that the best way to develop a new nation and a new national spirit was by encouraging its growth out of the older, deeper loyalties that were embodied in the provinces which constituted Canada. He asserted provincial control over natural resources and carried through to victory in the courts many constitutional challenges.

3:30 p.m.

When Premier Mercier of Quebec called the first interprovincial conference in 1887, Mowat backed him up. Together they fought to preserve the right of the provinces to legislate in areas assigned to them by the British North America Act and to collect the revenues necessary to accomplish these ends. Canada in the late 19th century was as much shaped by these two tough-minded Premiers, Mercier and Mowat, as by their better-known federal counterparts.

Let me read a quote from part one of the book, *The Canadians*. It says: "The exuberance that prevailed on the purely provincial scene in Ontario was given increased emphasis by the success of the contest over Dominion and provincial powers that Mowat waged with Macdonald. The great Conservative chieftain, largely by the judicial exercise of Ottawa's powers of patronage, had been able to keep the smaller provinces in accord with the policies of the federal government. But Ontario proved her bigness by an ability to fight Ottawa. Mowat was the first of a long line of Canadian provincial Premiers to acquire great repute by boldly and successfully challenging the government in Ottawa. He was joined at the time and joined well together by Premier Mercier of Quebec."

The spirit of co-operation and solidarity which these men created between Ontario and Quebec has passed on to succeeding generations of leaders in both our provinces. In the 1920s Premier Taschereau of Quebec and Premier Ferguson of Ontario united in urging the development of hydro projects on the Ottawa River and in scuttling the federal government's plans to amend the constitution unilaterally.

The Depression and the Second World War prompted the federal government to move aggressively into social welfare and tax fields that were really within the jurisdiction of the provinces. In the reconstruction period following the war, and

throughout the 1950s, it was Maurice Duplessis of Quebec and George Drew and Leslie Frost of Ontario who sought to redress the imbalance in Canadian federalism that had been caused by economic calamity and war.

Mr. Nixon: We must correct that record.

Hon. Mr. Wells: I think it is a very enviable and good record.

Mr. Nixon: Duplessis and Hepburn were the ones who stopped King.

Hon. Mr. Wells: The member is right and there is another example Mr. Speaker, that I could add to my list.

The provinces were faced with growing demands for education, health care, pensions and other social assistance programs. But the federal government had appropriated the tax fields which should have provided the revenues for these services. Throughout the late 1940s and the 1950s, Ontario and Quebec demanded a greater tax share that would enable them to fulfil their responsibilities for their citizens. It was through their joint efforts that some fiscal relief was finally provided.

With the election of Jean Lesage in 1960 began a decade of intense debate on difficult federal-provincial issues. But again, Ontario and Quebec were united, I say to members, in common cause. Premier Lesage resumed the long-dormant practice of holding interprovincial conferences and all the provinces were able to come together and were more clearly able to see the problems they all shared.

Premier Robarts also recognized the danger inherent in the increasingly difficult relations between Quebec and the federal government. Calling on the long tradition of mutual support between Ontario and Quebec, he refused to see that province, Quebec, isolated in its demands for tax reform and control over social programs, both of which were properly within provincial jurisdiction. As well as these problems, Ontario also recognized the challenge posed by Canada's cultural duality and the need for fundamental constitutional renewal.

Therefore, I mentioned the Confederation of Tomorrow conference. In convening the conference in 1967, Premier Robarts gave concrete expression to Ontario's and Quebec's shared concern about this country's future. That conference was a bold move and one whose ramifications continue through to today.

As Premier Daniel Johnson said about the conference: "I am confident that this con-

ference will be a starting point for a new Canada in which linguistic and cultural duality will no longer be a source of misunderstanding and conflict but a factor for co-operation, mutual enrichment and assertion of our Canadian identity."

Perhaps at times it has looked as if the Confederation of Tomorrow conference and all that came out of it was not really successful, but I say to the House, as we come through the present times, the conference will be seen as one of the starting points of this total process that I believe will successfully build a greater and better Canada.

The shared perception of our two provinces was further reinforced in June 1969, when John Roberts and Jean-Jacques Bertrand, then Premier of Quebec, signed the Ontario-Quebec agreement for co-operation and exchange, and the Ontario-Quebec permanent commission was set up at that time. This body has carried on many joint activities between our provinces in a cultural and educational sense, and that group still exists today.

Now we move on to the 1970s, a decade marked by serious efforts to achieve constitutional change. From the Confederation of Tomorrow conference, we moved to a period of real concerted attempt to bring about constitutional change. A variety of new and different economic issues emerged in our federation, which issues also became large in the 1970s.

The decade began, I remind you again, with the nearly successful talks at Victoria. Ontario's delegation at that very significant meeting was led by the present Premier of this province, William Davis, who patiently and skilfully worked with the Prime Minister and the other provincial Premiers to produce the most comprehensive constitutional document in a century. I think the member for Brant-Oxford-Norfolk was there, as also was I in my role as Minister of Social and Family Services. Perhaps other members of this House were present.

Mr. Renwick: And the member for York South (Mr. MacDonald).

Hon. Mr. Wells: And the member for York South. I remember the former leader of your party was there, was he not, and the member for York South also.

Mr. Martel: The member for York South was the leader.

Hon. Mr. Wells: Was the member for York South the leader then? Excuse me.

Those of us who were there I think will attest to what I have said of that conference. It, and the work that preceded it, made up

one of the most concentrated efforts at constitutional reform, and we came so very close to an agreement on a new constitution. Perhaps in retrospect today what we had agreed to may not look as good as it did then. The fact remains, and the Premier will remember because he led the Ontario delegation in an excellent manner, that those people believed when they left Victoria that they had achieved what many said could not be achieved and that a new Canadian constitution had been arrived at. The work was intense and the work was significant.

Unfortunately, the event was not to come about. For reasons known only to itself, Quebec decided not to ratify that new constitution, but I would say it was not for want of effort on the part of this province or any other province that that effort failed. We all worked hard on it, and I guess many of us wish that had been a success in the early 1970s. Perhaps the course of events through the late 1970s and now the 1980s would have been changed.

In spite of that disappointing setback, we did not cease in our efforts to maintain a close working relationship with our sister province of Quebec. Although it did not agree with the new constitution that came out of Victoria, we still carried on through the 1970s in our close working relationship with Quebec as a province within Canada.

3:40 p.m.

My purpose today in sketching this quick review of part of our history is to remind us of our shared heritage. I think there is a real danger today, and it is being practised by some people today, in highlighting only the difficulties that Quebec has experienced within Confederation and only its differences with the rest of Canada. Those who do so have their own motives and they are certainly free to highlight only these difficulties and differences. But I want to appeal to Quebecers to recall not those difficulties and differences but a more positive tradition, namely the close co-operation that Ontario and Quebec have traditionally enjoyed as a part of Canada.

The roots of our shared experience lie very deep in the past, as I hope I have shown the House. Our respect for each other has grown through shared adversity and shared good fortune. It is a tradition that must continue to nourish us in this country of ours, Canada. But this is a tradition that can only be shared by Canadians and it would not continue between a province of Ontario and a sovereign Quebec.

Ontarians will not calmly accept the dismemberment of their country. The people

of this province would not be and are not of that nature. They wouldn't accept the dismemberment of their country and then sit down willingly and work out economic and other arrangements with the very government that caused the rupture in the first place.

As I have noted, Ontarians have worked closely with Quebecers, as have their governments, on many matters of common concern to us all as Canadians over the years. Even though we would continue to be geographic neighbours, it would be very naive to expect the same spirit of co-operation would automatically continue. I think that must be emphasized. I think that's a very important point today.

I believe I speak for the vast majority of Ontario residents when I say that no kind of separation from Quebec would be amicable. The Parti Quebecois is fooling itself if it believes that life would be business as usual after such a dramatic event as separation from Canada. Ontarians are not unemotional when challenged on matters over which they deeply care about; and the people of Ontario deeply care about their country, Canada.

This absolute rejection of sovereignty-association means it is of the utmost importance that Ontario respond clearly and positively to the calls for change to our federal system which have been coming from Quebecers for years and are now coming from all over this country, from many other provinces. We must not be just negative. We must also be positive and we are positive because we say that we are now for changes to our constitution.

I want to use this occasion to reiterate in clear and simple terms to the people of Quebec that Ontario is prepared to go to the negotiating table at any time and at any place to achieve constitutional reform within a united Canada, and we are prepared to go in a sincere and determined manner. Ontario is prepared to negotiate and bargain on any constitutional matters. It is prepared to give ground, as others must do, and it will negotiate in good faith.

But Ontario will not give ground on Canada or the preservation of a nation from sea to sea, a Canada with a common citizenship and the free movement of people and the free movement of goods and the products of the people's creative energies across this country among all provinces and all jurisdictions. We will not give ground on Canada.

I know we have a good base to negotiate a new constitution. We have a base that is buttressed by studies done by our task

force on Canadian unity, our advisory committee on Canadian unity headed by Ian MacDonald. We have the report of the Pepin-Robarts task force on Canadian unity. We have the Quebec Liberal Party beige paper. We have other excellent studies that give us a good base. Buttressed by these and other studies we will do, I believe we can arrive at a fundamental restructuring of our constitution.

There must be no doubt left in any mind as to this question. While there is no item that would be excluded from the agenda under the heading of constitutional change, I again emphasize to you we would not be negotiating sovereignty-association. Ontarians would simply not negotiate anything which would bring about the destruction or fragmentation of their country.

Out of this experience it is absolutely clear to me that if there had been any support for the status quo in our evolving federation it has certainly vanished. This government and all governments in Canada, with the possible exception of the Parti Quebecois government, are now solidly committed to devising a new constitution for Canada.

Our message is no to sovereignty-association, no to the status quo and an emphatic yes to a new constitution for Canada strongly supportive of all parts of Canada. That is what our resolution says—no to sovereignty-association, no to the status quo and an emphatic yes to a new constitution for Canada supporting all the parts and regions of Canada.

We want all the governments of Canada to sit down as soon as possible to negotiate that constitution, perhaps within four to six weeks after May 20. We want a government to be there from Quebec negotiating a new federal constitution because we believe we can do a better job if that government is there. Whether that happens or not will depend on the vote on May 20.

We are not here in this House today to tell the people of Quebec how to vote on May 20; that is for each resident of that province to decide for himself and herself. But I think, based on our long-standing friendship, our long-standing co-operation, we want them to know how deeply we feel about this matter, and what we do feel.

They have a very important decision to make on May 20. I would like to say to them, and it is a small but important semantic anomaly, that those who vote yes in the referendum will negate the thrust of constitutional change, while those who vote no will all but guarantee its success. In other words, there is no better way of en-

sure the certain preservation of the status quo in this country for years to come than a yes vote in the referendum.

That, of course, is the reality of our opposition to sovereignty-association as expressed in this resolution today, a term which the Premier of Ontario has properly described as separatism by stealth.

For myself, and I expect others agree, I would like to say, after having given it great thought, I would not remain as member of any government in this province or be a supporter of any political party which would negotiate what would amount to the destruction of Canada as a nation. I say that because I do not think there is any other of the 124 members of this House who would say anything different. I think that is the ultimate practicality on this matter.

The possibility of this or any other government of Ontario agreeing to negotiate the dismemberment of Canada does not exist within the reality of Ontario politics. That is the bottom line, and I think that is the message we want to give to our friends in Quebec.

3:50 p.m.

The resolution before us today appeals to our fellow citizens in Quebec not to be negative but to join with us in the task of creating this new Canadian constitution, and that is there in the words of this resolution. It is going to be a long and a difficult process, but it will be not as long as the alternative proposed in the referendum, nor is it so impossible of achievement as the alternative of sovereignty-association.

Ponder those thoughts. Creating a new Canadian constitution will be a difficult thing, but it will not take as long as will the establishment of sovereignty-association, nor is it as impossible of achievement. I really believe that. So far as we are concerned as one party to the deliberations, as one party in this House, it will represent our highest priority. That also is in our resolution, because it asks all of us to affirm that this is our highest priority.

As I said a few minutes ago, I hope that when we sit down at that negotiating table very soon we will be sitting down with a government representing the province of Quebec together with the other provinces and the federal government, because we need the goodwill and encouragement of the people of Quebec which we traditionally have had over 113 years. I hope that, speaking as a Canadian, we will be able to give that encouragement from this debate to the people of Quebec.

As a citizen of Ontario and as a member of this Legislature, I look upon this period of

history as one of challenge and one of opportunity in which each one of us has a very clear role and a very clear responsibility. I would not want to look back upon these times, some time in the future, and find that we had lacked the will and the spirit to respond and that, as a result, we had in reality failed our country. I would not want to look back and find that.

All the members of this House, I am sure, have had the same experience as I have. I entered politics in the belief that there was some service I might render, first to my constituents and then to my province as a whole, that there would be policies which I could advance and support that would improve the lot and the lives of those I represented. I think all of us have felt that way, and I think all of us have been able to live up to that very high hope. I believed that, when there was a worthy cause, I would champion it and I believe that all of us have championed worthy causes in this House. If there was one cause that was not worthy, I could oppose it, and I believe that all of us have opposed causes which we felt were not right.

In speaking in support of this resolution and very mindful of the tensions and the uncertainties abroad in our country, one can only conclude that what we do in the weeks and months ahead will be as vital in its consequence to Ontario and Canada as anything that most of us have so far experienced. It is, therefore, important that Ontario speak and act in singular accord of mind, spirit and heart as a signal to all Canadians of our united resolve to help find a more harmonious and a more creative partnership here in a renewed and united Canada.

Mr. Roy: Mr. Speaker, Monsieur le Président, I am extremely proud to lead off on behalf of the Liberal Party in Ontario in our full and unanimous support of this resolution.

I have listened to the address by the member for Scarborough North, the Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs (Mr. Wells), and it is obvious some thought has gone into his address. He expressed himself with compassion and sincerity and as one who has understood the national perspective of what Ontario's place is within Confederation.

I think he will be well received because through the years, and especially as Minister of Education, he has acquired a reputation as one who truly understands the national perspective, not only of the minorities within Ontario, but also of the country.

It is fitting as well that I congratulate all members, and especially our colleague the member for York South (Mr. MacDonald),

who participated with the minister and myself, along with our respective House leaders, in drafting this resolution. Undoubtedly, it should be put on the record that this resolution, by and large, has the support and input of many members from all sides of the House. That should be emphasized.

It is important, and I am extremely proud of the fact, that we are taking the time and making the effort in Ontario. After all, as one of the original partners in the agreement, it is only fitting that Ontario have a say, that the wishes, the intentions and the motivations of Ontario of the past and for the future be given and be told to people in Quebec so that one partner, at least, can express its views at the same time as another partner is in the process of questioning the whole partnership.

I am extremely proud to participate in the debate and to lead off on behalf of my party. I do not want to say this to the exclusion of the other parties. I am sure my colleagues will take advantage at some time or other to mention the accomplishments of their respective parties. However, on behalf of my colleagues, I say that the Liberal Party of Ontario, by and large, has had a national perspective.

I am pleased to say I have served here since 1971 under two leaders, and both of these leaders have had what I consider to be this overview. They have had a perception of what this country is about. I am extremely proud to be a member of a party which at times has taken the leadership and at times has taken positions which were not always the more politically attractive.

Some will say that the debate is too little and too late. Some will say that possibly we should mind our own business here, that this is a Quebec question, that the decision will be made in Quebec and that the referendum is being held in that province. First of all, let me say I do not think that when one is fighting for Canada and fighting for this country that it is ever too late, or it is ever too little.

I think personally the timing could not be better. More than a year ago, when we discussed having this type of resolution, I said to my colleague the Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs that we should try to have it at a time when it would have impact. Considering the multitude of verbiage that has taken place since last year, possibly the position of Ontario and the feeling of all parliamentarians in this Legislature would be long forgotten had the debate taken place a year or two years ago. This is the right time because this is the time that many

things are being said about Ontario's position, about the motivation of Ontario and about Ontario's place within Confederation. It is important that the major partner within the system have a say and have a say at a time when it will have, in my opinion, maximum impact.

Building and sustaining a country are not a matter of one event or the actions of one individual, but a combination of the actions of many individuals and of many events. I think this is an important time.

4 p.m.

I've listened to the Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs talk a bit about history and how historians will look at this event, and possibly, how some of us will. I don't know how this is going to turn out. But looking at the scheme of things, I'm extremely proud to say that in Ontario in May 1980 we put aside a week to allow all members to participate in an important debate. We felt that all people in Ontario, represented by the members present from all sides, had the right and would be given the opportunity to say how they felt, and to make some contribution to the debate that is taking place in Quebec.

I'm extremely proud to say that in Ontario in May 1980 it was not business as usual. We put aside the ordinary business of this House and we took the time necessary to give this rare opportunity, not only to the leaders and the front-benchers and the ministers, but to all members of the Legislature.

All of us will be able to look back on this occasion, and when people ask us where we were and what we were doing at the time when an important debate was taking place concerning the future of this country, we can say, in the tradition of our ancestors, that when a crisis arose, when there was a challenge before us, at least we attempted to rise to meet the crisis, to meet the challenge, and we participated. We were not silent in Ontario. For that reason, I think it is important.

We are told that we should not meddle in the affairs of Quebec. I say that doesn't make sense. If the question in Quebec was simply, "Do you want independence?"—that doesn't talk about association—it might be one thing for Ontario to say Quebec should do this and it should do that. Maybe at that point people in Quebec, and elsewhere in Canada, should tell us to mind our business. But the fact remains the question is one of souveraineté-association. When we're talking about association, we're talking about association with us.

When Quebecers are given a message about how we shall react, or why they should vote a certain way because Ontario, along

with the other provinces, will take a particular position, it is important that message from this House be clear, unequivocal and unanimous as to what is our position on all this. For this reason, I am proud to be one of the people supporting this resolution. I think the resolution is simple, I think it's direct and I think it's to the point.

Possibly one of the major contributions that I can make is to address my colleagues in Quebec in their language. I can address the majority of the people of Quebec and tell them that I have had the opportunity and the privilege to represent the only urban riding in Ontario with a French-speaking majority. Since 1971 there have been many battles in this place and there have been many issues discussed. I think it is important that I address my colleagues in Quebec about how I perceive the situation.

I'm extremely grateful for this opportunity. I think it was very wise of the House leaders, and of you, Mr. Speaker, to provide translation facilities. I think it was very wise to give the public of Ontario, and I hope the public of Quebec, an opportunity to see what we have to say in this House through the medium of television. I want to address my confrères in the province of Quebec.

Monsieur le Président, j'ai eu l'honneur depuis 1971 de représenter le comté Ottawa-est, et je peux dire à mes collègues au Québec que j'ai eu l'occasion de vivre l'expérience canadienne.

Etant francophone, né en Saskatchewan, j'ai fait mon éducation au Québec et maintenant j'ai eu l'opportunité de compléter mon droit à l'université d'Ottawa, et maintenant représenter un comté, un comté important, un comté qui a une grande tradition ici en Ontario depuis 1971.

Certainement, les Franco-Ontariens, je suis sûr plusieurs Québécois, savent très bien que j'ai lutté souvent pour les revendications de la minorité dans cette province et à maintes occasions j'ai eu l'occasion de même critiquer le gouvernement et je suis convaincu que c'est pas fini, cette critique, que ça va continuer, mais tout de même, Monsieur le Président, je crois que c'est important que le Québec sache que mes concitoyens au Québec sachent quelle est la position des Ontariens, quelle est la position même des Canadiens-Français ici en Ontario, vis-à-vis le débat qui a lieu présentement au Québec. Et je dois leur dire que, d'après moi, cette résolution qu'on supporte d'une façon unanime ici représente la majorité, non simplement des Ontariens anglophones, mais des Canadiens-Français ici en Ontario.

Vous savez, Monsieur le Président, si les Québécois, si on demande aux Québécois aujourd'hui de choisir soit pour le oui, soit pour le non, je crois qu'il est important que les Québécois au moins fassent un choix judicieux, un choix qui est basé sur des informations qui ressortent en Ontario, qui sont correctes, des informations qui sont justes, et alors je crois qu'il est important par ce débat, et par cette résolution, que les informations, que les intentions de cette province soient claires et je crois que la résolution le fait. Et je crois que c'est tout à fait normal qu'un des partenaires importants et un des partenaires originaux à toute cette confédération, qui est cette grande province de l'Ontario, ait la chance d'exprimer sa volonté en même temps qu'une autre des provinces importantes, à grande tradition: la province de Québec, encore est offerte un nouveau choix pour changer la fédération qui existe présentement.

Et alors, Monsieur l'Orateur, Monsieur le Président, certains au Québec et même au Canada vont nous dire, écoutez, mêlez-vous de vos affaires, c'est pas de vos affaires, ce qui se passe, la situation, la décision va être prise au Québec, mais je leur dis tout simplement—ce n'est pas le cas. Ça l'est de nos affaires. Si la question est pure et simple, tout simplement "Êtes-vous en faveur de l'indépendance?", je dirais, "Vous avez raison. C'est votre décision, vous êtes chez vous, c'est votre décision à prendre." Mais ce n'est pas la question, la question est clairement basée sur un principe qu'on appelle "souveraineté-association." Et cette association, Monsieur le Président, va avoir lieu avec une des provinces, la province principale, je crois que, unanimement, les Québécois seraient d'accord que l'Ontario va être une des provinces, un des partenaires principaux dans cette association. Et alors, c'est pour cette raison qu'on a notre mot à dire.

Vous savez, on fait la campagne au Québec, et la campagne référendaire, vous savez, Monsieur l'Orateur, est basée sur deux grands principes. Le Parti Québécois dit aux Québécois deux choses. Premièrement, il faut voter "oui," parce que si vous votez "non," vous votez pour garder le statu quo. Premier principe. En d'autres mots, ici en Ontario, vous savez, ils veulent garder le statu quo.

D'ailleurs, si je regarde, Monsieur le Président, les débats de l'Assemblée nationale, du 4 mars, 1980, je regarde ces débats, et je regarde la page 49-66, par le discours du premier ministre du Québec, qu'il donnait à l'ouverture du débat sur la question

référendaire. Il disait à ce moment-là, qu'une réponse négative, elle, consacrerait à nouveau et pour longtemps le lien de dépendance du Québec par rapport à la majorité anglo-canadienne. Elle consacrerait de nouveau et pour longtemps le statu d'inégalité du peuple québécois, et puis encore une situation de plus en plus minoritaire au sein de l'ensemble fédéral.

4:10 p.m.

Ce serait la continuation sinon la perpétuation des conflits interminables, des cul-de-sacs fédéraux-provinciaux, des chevauchements innombrables dans lesquels se dilue la responsabilité, et dans une stérilité sans cesse croissante se gaspillent tant d'énergie, de ressources et de temps. En d'autres mots, le premier ministre du Québec dit fermement aux Québécois "Votez oui, parce que si vous votez non, vous consacrerez le statu quo, et dans tout ça, l'Ontario est en tête de toute cette question-là.

Alors j'ai l'intention de dire à mes concitoyens québécois notre position, et d'ailleurs on le dit dans notre résolution ce qu'on pense du statu quo. En plus de ça, le premier ministre du Québec dit à ces concitoyens au Québec, il dit écoutez, si vous votez oui à souveraineté-association, cette association va se faire.

Parce qu'il y a beaucoup de Québécois, Monsieur le Président, qui disaient que, pour une association, ça prend l'appui, ça prend l'approbation des autres provinces, ça prend l'approbation de l'Ontario, mais, même si tous les premiers ministres des autres provinces—que ça soit le premier ministre Davis ici, que ça soit les premiers ministres Lougheed, Blakeney, et autres—on dit, même si l'on dit, "non, on ne négociera pas souveraineté-association," ce qu'on dit au Québec, c'est qu'ils vont négocier quand même. En d'autres mots, on donne des informations qui sont fausses. Et chacun dit en Ontario, Monsieur le Président, et tout simplement, écoutez, il y a 200,000 emplois qui reposent sur cette fameuse question-là. Alors, ils vont rester associés, ils vont négocier association, ils veulent pas en Ontario perdre 200,000 emplois.

Et, c'est seulement dire, Monsieur le Président, ce que le premier ministre du Québec disait, ce qu'il disait durant le débat, encore le débat qui a eu lieu le 4 mars 1980, à la page 49-68, le débat de l'Assemblée nationale, où il disait, "Or, nous proposons justement le maintien de l'espace économique canadien, qui a été le fondement de cette réalité, et

nous maintenons le maintien à peu près, tel qu'il existe."

En d'autres mots, on ne change rien du marché commun canadien dont il parle. Nous voulons conserver intact l'actuel marché commun. Il nous apparaît évident qu'une telle proposition correspond à l'avantage de tous les Québécois, mais aussi des Canadiens des autres provinces, et sérieusement, il dit, je continue, en Ontario il y a 200,000 emplois, et davantage qui dépendent du marché québécois. Alors, voici la proposition, les informations qu'on répand au Québec. Monsieur le Président, premièrement, ceux qui préconisent que l'Ontario veuille garder le statu quo, donnent la fausse information aux Québécois. Je n'ai pas l'intention, Monsieur le Président, de rentrer dans tous les détails. Le ministre des Affaires intergouvernementales vient de nous donner un tracé détaillé des initiatives prises par l'Ontario depuis maintes années, surtout depuis 1967, depuis la conférence proposée par l'ancien premier ministre M. John Robarts.

Alors, Monsieur le Président, ceux qui disent que l'Ontario est pour le statu quo, et d'ailleurs durant tout ce débat-là, quand j'écoutais le débat à l'Assemblée nationale, vous savez, on disait toujours, c'est certain que l'Ontario veut garder le statu quo. L'Ontario, c'est la province qui bénéficie le plus de la Confédération. Et comme de raison, ils ne veulent rien changer. Je leur dis tout simplement, si vous regardez le record, si vous regardez les initiatives que l'Ontario a prises surtout depuis 1967, vous allez voir que l'Ontario, à différentes reprises, et même à maintes reprises, a supporté les aspirations constitutionnelles du Québec.

Et alors, Monsieur le Président, on l'a dit aussi, tous les partis politiques ici étaient unanimes à dire que la proposition du parti libéral du Québec (le papier beige) représentait encore une proposition dont l'Ontario et tous les partis politiques pouvaient se servir comme une base raisonnable pour commencer les négociations.

Je ne veux pas dire qu'on est d'accord avec tous les détails du livre, mais tout de même nous trouvons que c'était un document important tel que le document proposé par Pepin-Robarts, tel que d'autres documents proposés par cette province-ci. On a donné notre appui. Alors ceux qui disent qu'on est pour le statu quo, qu'on ne veut pas changer la constitution, faussent un peu la vérité.

Deuxièmement, Monsieur le Président, même si on ne nous croit pas, au Québec, même si on dit écoutez, vous parlez fort et

tout ça, mais quand vient le temps des actions, vous ne faites rien, je dirais tout simplement ceci: même si on voulait en Ontario, même si on voulait garder le statu quo, il est maintenant impossible de garder le statu quo, la pression se fait sentir non seulement du Québec, mais aussi de l'Ouest.

Je vous dis, Monsieur le Président, dernièrement on était au Québec avec une commission parlementaire, certains de mes collègues étaient avec moi, et on parlait à certains de nos collègues en Colombie; il est très clair que les députés de la Colombie, qu'ils soient Crédit Social ou qu'ils soient NDP, ils ne sont pas satisfaits de l'arrangement constitutionnel. Ceux de l'Alberta ne sont pas satisfaits. Presque d'une façon unanime, toutes les provinces veulent des changements à l'arrangement constitutionnel qui existe. Et alors ceux qui prétendent que l'Ontario est pour le statu quo, je vous dis tout simplement, l'Ontario risquerait de tout perdre, si on essayait de lutter pour s'acharner au statu quo. Alors c'est fausser la vérité. Alors comme on le dit dans la résolution, et on le dit dès le tout début, nous de l'Assemblée législative de l'Ontario nous engageons en priorité et en première instance à appuyer la négociation complète d'une nouvelle constitution pouvant satisfaire les diverses aspirations de tous les Canadiens et pour remplacer le statu quo qui est clairement inacceptable.

Et alors, Monsieur le Président, c'est la position de tous les partis politiques; alors ceux qui disent : Si vous votez NON, vous allez donner appui au statu quo, moi je dis qu'ils ne disent pas la vérité aux Québécois et acceptez-le de nous, ici, d'une façon unanime, nous sommes en faveur d'une nouvelle constitution.

Deuxièmement, Monsieur le Président, on dit que les autres provinces vont négocier une association—ceux qui ont écouté les paroles de mon collègue le ministre des Affaires intergouvernementales ne sont pas sans réaliser le sentiment que les Ontariens ont pour le Canada. Pur, clair et simple, il s'agit tout simplement de dire, vous ne pouvez pas vous attendre que si un jour vous votez pour abolir à toute fin pratique le Canada, vous ne pouvez pas vous attendre à ce que le lendemain les Ontariens viennent s'asseoir à la même table que vous et négocier une nouvelle association. L'amour, l'acharnement que les Canadiens, non seulement les anglophones, mais tous les Canadiens à l'extérieur du Québec et beaucoup au Québec ont pour le Canada, n'est pas tel qu'un jour vous allez séparer le pays et le lendemain on va s'asseoir pour avoir d'autres négociations. C'est pour

cette raison que non simplement l'Ontario, mais toutes les autres provinces sont contre cette souveraineté-association.

Quand le premier ministre dit qu'en Ontario ils vont négocier parce qu'ils ont deux cent mille emplois, le lendemain du référendum, que ce soit une réponse ou l'autre, il n'y aura pas de garde ou d'arbitres postés aux frontières des provinces.

Mais demandez aux Ontariens, demandez au gouvernement, demandez aux parlementaires s'ils votent OUI, parce que nous, et je comprends que plusieurs Québécois, et je l'entends chaque jour, disent: On va voter OUI parce qu'on va envoyer un message au Canada. On veut leur donner un message. Je ne suis pas pour l'indépendance, je ne suis pas pour cette souveraineté mais je veux envoyer un message. Vous savez, le parti Québécois a été fin là-dessus. Il a organisé son affaire de telle façon que c'est presque comme des syndicats, comme si on donne un mandat aux syndicats, le droit de grève, ils diraient, on n'envoie pas nos officiers négociers pour avoir le droit de grève.

4:20 p.m.

Alors ils ont fait une comparaison avec ces choses-là. Je comprends que plusieurs Québécois interprètent la question de différentes façons. Il y en a qui disent que c'est pour réveiller les Canadiens, il y en a d'autres qui vont dire que c'est pour changer le statu quo, puis il y en a d'autres pour qui la question oui est pour l'indépendance.

Malheureusement, nous préconisons, nous ici en Ontario, qu'un oui serait clairement interprété par le parti québécois comme étant pour l'indépendance. Et pour cette raison-là, Monsieur le Président, comme a dit le ministre des Affaires intergouvernementales, un oui créerait le statu quo, et c'est pour cette raison, et c'est pour ces raisons, Monsieur le Président, qu'unaniment nous rejetons en même temps le statu quo, mais nous rejetons aussi la souveraineté-association.

Monsieur le Président, l'autre chose que ne tient pas debout dans cette formule-là, c'est que le Québec dit qu'il veut négocier d'égal à égal avec le Canada anglais. Premièrement, le Canada anglais, ce n'est pas homogène. On a eu plus de chicanes, je pense, dernièrement, ici en Ontario, avec l'Alberta qu'on a eu entre l'Ontario et le Québec. Alors, si on dit que soudainement tous les anglophones vont être homogènes, qu'ils vont s'asseoir à la même table, pour négocier avec le Québec, ça tient pas debout. L'autre chose qui ne tient pas debout, c'est de demander à l'Ontario de se fusionner avec le Canada anglais, une province qui a plus de population, qui a plus

d'économie que le Québec, puis leur demander de s'asseoir avec les autres provinces, puis leur dire que, bien, le Québec va négocier comme un égal avec tout le restant du Canada.

Cette formule, Monsieur le Président, ne tient pas debout. Alors, pour toutes ces raisons, ce qui est très clair, c'est qu'encore, d'un façon unanime, on rejette à l'Assemblée nationale la proposition de souveraineté-association.

Monsieur le Président, je voudrais parler à mes collègues au Québec et leur dire tout simplement, vous savez, comme Canadiens-Français ici en Ontario, il y a longtemps qu'on regarde cette situation au Québec, vous savez nos racines, non seulement les Canadiens-Français en Ontario, mais aussi ceux qui sont d'autres provinces, Manitoba, Saskatchewan et d'ailleurs, nos racines sont aussi au Canada. Ce n'est pas d'hier que nos racines sont d'ici. Certains de nos ancêtres, on peut commencer avec Champlain, on peut commencer avec les missionnaires jésuites, Monsieur le Président, depuis deux siècles, ont leurs racines en Ontario. Même en 1885, il y avait au delà de 100,000 Canadiens-Français qui demeuraient en Ontario.

Alors, notre histoire est rattachée au Canada. Elle est aussi rattachée à cette province et souvent le cheminement, Monsieur le Président était pénible. Dieu sait qu'il y eut des moments parfois où on se demandait, la lutte était difficile. Je pense tout simplement qu'on peut retourner à Louis Riel, on peut retourner à la proposition 17 dans cette province et dans d'autres. Mais le fait demeure que l'épanouissement est fait, on a fait du chemin. Nos revendications ont été acceptées, pas d'une façon unanime, pas sans lutte, et pas même au complet. Mais le fait demeure qu'on a fait du progrès. Et pour nous, Monsieur le Président, le Québec, un Québec fort était un atout. C'était important pour nous d'avoir un allié au Québec.

Mais vous savez, il était important que nos amis au Québec sachent le progrès qu'on a fait. Parce qu'on ne veut pas le perdre, on ne veut pas perdre ces services-là, ces garanties. Alors, quand je regarde le progrès qu'on a fait surtout durant les années soixante, en éducation, combien de jeunes francophones fréquentent nos écoles—près de 100,000—mais le fait demeure, qu'on entend surtout parler des problèmes d'Essex, de Sturgeon Falls, de Cornwall et de Penetanguishene, et on ne réalise pas que tout de même on a près de 100,000 étudiants. C'est important ça.

On ne veut pas perdre ce pour lequel on a lutté si fort et qu'on a acquis. Je regarde même au niveau universitaire, les cours qui se donnent à l'université d'Ottawa dans mon comté, je regarde à travers cette province, je suis convaincu que pas beaucoup de Québécois ne sont au courant. Des mille et des mille d'anglophones sont dans nos cours et apprennent le français, ce qu'on appelle total immersion. Combien en avons-nous de nos jeunes, des anglophones, qui veulent que leurs enfants aient cette opportunité-là d'avoir les deux langues.

Je regarde non simplement dans des secteurs importants comme Ottawa, mais je regarde, je parlais à un de mes collègues de London, Ontario qui disait qu'il essayait de faire entrer ses jeunes dans une école pour apprendre le français, il va avoir énormément de difficultés, il n'y a pas de place. On ne parle pas d'Ottawa, maintenant. Ce ne sont pas des jeunes qui veulent avoir des positions de fonctionnaires, il s'agit de quelqu'un qui vient de Londres en Ontario.

Et alors je regarde encore, il y a beaucoup de bruit qui s'est fait durant le procès de M. Filion si vous vous rappelez, Monsieur le Président, quand celui-ci ne pouvait pas avoir un procès en français. Mais combien de Québécois sont au courant que maintenant en Ontario, on peut avoir un procès au criminel du début jusqu'à la fin avec jury en français.

Encore c'est un principe, c'est un droit qu'on ne veut pas perdre, et je peux continuer, Monsieur le Président, à énumérer tous les services qui sont offerts dans cette province, parce que souvent, j'ai critiqué le gouvernement pour son manque d'initiative et comme c'est normal, d'après la presse, ce qui arrive c'est que souvent on donne énormément de publicité quand on refuse mais on ne donne pas tellement de publicité quand il y a accord.

Alors on a une situation où souvent au Québec on est sous l'impression qu'ici en Ontario on n'a pas grand chose et que c'est toujours des situations comme Penetanguishene. Alors je voudrais souligner qu'on a fait des progrès et pour nous, un Québec fort, un Québec qui a accepté le défi de l'avenir depuis les années soixante, a été un atout pour nous les minorités à l'extérieur du Québec. Cela a été important pour nous. Et alors, pour nous, Monsieur le Président, un Québec fort est indispensable à nos revendications. C'est indispensable à la continuité de notre survivance.

Mais d'un autre côté, Monsieur le Président, je dirais qu'un Québec indépendant serait le début de la fin pour les minorités

au Québec. Et je dis à mes collègues au Québec, on n'oubliera pas on ne veut pas perdre ce qu'on a acquis depuis tant d'années après tant de luttes. Et je vous dis tout simplement, mes collègues au Québec, un Québec fort est un atout important pour nous. Mais comme une personne qui a vécu ici en Ontario et qui vit au Canada, qui connaît le Canada, je dois vous dire qu'un Québec indépendant malheureusement cela serait le début de la fin et tranquillement l'assimilation serait totale pour les minorités à l'extérieur du Québec.

Je dis tout simplement ça à mes collègues du Québec, Monsieur le Président, le Parti Québécois qui a eu son origine, le nationalisme qui se passe au Québec présentement, pour sauvegarder la langue et la culture, je comprends mal qu'un parti qui soit basé et qui ait eu ses origines là-dessus et qui veut sauvegarder la langue et la culture en Amérique du Nord soit prêt avec la séparation à perdre au delà d'un million de francophones à l'extérieur du Québec.

Cela me fait penser, Monsieur le Président ce qui est arrivé après les plaines d'Abraham, quand la France a totalement abandonné les soixante mille Canadiens-Français qui sont restés au Québec. Ils les ont abandonnés presque jusqu'à de Gaulle, qui s'est aperçu qu'il y avait des choses importantes qui se passaient au Québec.

Alors, Monsieur le Président, je demande à mes collègues au Québec, ensemble, on peut renouveler, on peut refaire ce Canada, mais séparés, vous le savez, je crois que ce sera non simplement la fin de nous, mais ce sera peut être la fin de vous, en ce qui concerne la langue et la culture.

4:30 p.m.

Monsieur le Président, certains de nos amis au Québec vont dire, on vote oui, non pas parce qu'on veut la séparation. J'entends cela à maintes reprises de la part des Québécois, on va voter oui parce qu'on veut réveiller la Canada anglais. Malheureusement, ce ne sera pas interprété de cette façon là par les péquistes. Parce qu'il est très clair, et je le dis sincèrement, que les péquistes trouvent surtout important la réponse au lieu de la question. Ils veulent le oui à tout prix. D'ailleurs, c'est pour cela qu'on va poser une question si équivoque qu'elle veut dire différentes choses pour différentes personnes.

Je suis d'accord avec M. Trudeau, si vraiment ils veulent se mettre à cheval sur leurs principes, la question serait simple. Elle serait, êtes-vous en faveur de l'indépendance? Ou même, on demanderait une ques-

tion simple, on dirait, êtes-vous en faveur de la souveraineté-association? Non pas une question qui dit êtes-vous en faveur de nous donner un mandat de négocier. De toute façon, je vous dis tout simplement, restez avec nous, on a besoin, nous les Franco-ontariens d'un Québec fort.

Je dois vous dire, qu'en écoutant les débats, pendant trois semaines chez moi grâce à Radio-Québec à Ottawa, on capte Radio-Ontario, TV-Ontario, et Radio-Québec aussi, durant ces trois semaines, j'ai entendu discours après discours et les orateurs étaient fantastiques. Il y avait des discours bien composés, on voyait qu'il y avait un synchronisme de la part du Parti Québécois. Mais souvent, Monsieur le Président, assis là à écouter discours après discours qui disaient pourquoi le fédéralisme avait ralenti le Québec, qu'on avait rien de bon du Québec, du début jusqu'à la fin, qui disaient que l'Ontario était la seule province qui avait bénéficié de la Confédération et on donnait des choses qui ont été soulevées par Jean Chrétien qui disait qu'on a moins de chemins de fer au Québec qu'en Ontario, sans mentionner que 35% des travailleurs des chemins de fer sont au Québec. On faussait la vérité.

Le ministre des Finances du Québec par exemple, disait pourquoi en finance, le Québec se faisait jouer. Puis le ministre de l'Agriculture disait que le gouvernement fédéral avait toujours favorisé l'Ouest et qu'on vendait beaucoup plus de blé que de lait, etc, et c'est avec énormément de frustrations que j'écoutais ça, parce que je me disais que les Québécois n'étaient pas si dupes que ça.

Alors je crois, Monsieur le Président, que par moments, on faussait la vérité, et en tant que Canadien-Français qui ai vécu l'expérience canadienne, je suis fier d'être Ontarien, je suis fier de voir qu'au Québec on est fier d'être Québécois et je dois vous dire que si vous aviez été avec nous lors de notre voyage au Québec, vous auriez constaté qu'ils ont raison d'être fiers au Québec. Ils ont une province. Il n'y a aucun doute que cette province a un potentiel d'avenir extraordinaire. Mais un avenir et un potentiel extraordinaire au Canada aussi.

Je considère qu'en tant que Canadien, je dois dire que je me sens aussi à l'aise quand je vais en Colombie, ce sont nos montagnes, le Pacifique nous appartient, le Grand Nord fait partie de notre grand pays, l'Alberta et toutes ses ressources, le blé de Saskatchewan, toutes ces ressources font partie de notre pays. Pourquoi, je ne comprends pas pourquoi dans

un pays qui offre autant de chances d'épanouissement, et qui est prêt à refaire une constitution, on doit fausser la vérité. Et je dois dire aux Québécois qu'ils ont le droit d'être fiers non seulement du Québec, mais aussi du Canada.

In closing, I have expressed as clearly, as I can to my colleagues in the province of Quebec the way I feel and the way I think many of us feel at this time in our history. One thing is clear, we support the government and we, on this side, say that we will not negotiate the breakup of our country. That is clear, that is simple, that is the message that we are trying to send to Quebec.

On the other hand, we are open and sincere in our approach to the opportunities for renewal of our Canadian federation. By this unprecedented debate and by our unanimity in this Legislature, we are sending a ringing message to our fellow Canadians in Quebec: "We want to continue to work with you in building a renewed and revitalized Canada. We share your vision of a new Canada, a new partnership."

This is our firm and unshakable commitment to our fellow citizens in Quebec as well as to all Canadians. We are proud to be Canadians. We are prepared to prove it by working with our countrymen to adopt a practical, imaginative, workable, acceptable constitutional reform that will answer the needs and aspirations of all of us—francophones, anglophones, easterners, westerners, all together, all the minority groups who form a part of this great country, each of us benefiting immeasurably from the enrichment of our linguistic duality and cultural diversity.

Let there be reaffirmation of what we believe as Canadians. The Pequistes maintain that within Confederation francophones and anglophones are plagued by conflict, crises and tensions. Only in a sovereign and independent Quebec can there be an enriching dialogue, they say, and an equal footing between partners. Our commitment, our actions, both now and in the immediate future, must show them to be wrong.

Let there be no doubt about it, the Parti Québécois used the public opinion polls often enough and are wise enough and are smart enough to try to ask the question they have—and that is something that I have had some difficulty with, I must say, in understanding this whole process. That question, which is so vague and which can mean so many things to so many people, how they can get away with asking that sort of question?

The fact remains that if the Parti Québécois felt most Quebecers were in favour of independence, that is the question they would be asking. If they felt they were even for sovereignty-association, do you think, Mr. Speaker, that the second question in their referendum would be asking something like, "Do you wish to give us a mandate to negotiate?" They wouldn't be asking that question if they thought they could ask a direct question, but the question is purposely vague so that it means different things to many people.

That is why the message coming out of this House must be clear and must be unequivocal, because as you speak to Quebecers you get a different interpretation from different people and that is the beauty of the question according to the Parti Québécois. I hear so many of my colleagues in Quebec saying, "No, I am not for independence; no, I am not for sovereignty, but I am going to send a message and I understand collective bargaining, and I never send my people to that table to start negotiating without the threat of strike." That's the way they have equated this provision in the referendum. So, to some people the yes will mean sending a message, "We are not for independence but we want to shake them up, we want to change the status quo."

To some others, it means renewed federalism. Even some people from the Parti Québécois camp are using renewed federalism when it is obvious if that was on the ballot, it would win overwhelmingly. Of course, to the nationalist it means independence and that is a fear we have; that is the reason that the resolution we are supporting here today must be clear and unequivocal. It must be clear because a yes will be used by the Parti Québécois for their own purposes.

4:40 p.m.

In other words, they are far more interested in the answer than they are in the question. They want that yes, and that's part of the process that we call "étapiste." And so, if you don't achieve independence, if you don't achieve it today, you will achieve it at a later time, you will achieve it in due time, but it will be step by step, and this yes is important to the Parti Québécois. It is important that we in Ontario send a clear message to our colleagues in Quebec.

I have already noted that in this debate an entire week will be devoted to discussion of Canada's future and that is unprecedented in the history of this Legislature. I'm very proud to participate in this. We in the Liberal Party have decided to use this unique oppor-

tunity to co-ordinate our individual contribution to the debate in order to make a comprehensive presentation of our hopes for Canada, our concern for its future, and our commitment to renewed federalism with our fellow Canadians.

This evening and tomorrow several of our members will discuss various opportunities for renewing federalism. Following them, we will review some of the progress that Ontario has made in the provision of French-language services. Starting tomorrow evening, throughout Wednesday and most of Thursday, our members will present some of the main reasons for maintaining and strengthening the close and fruitful link that Ontario and Quebec have historically enjoyed.

Finally, before our leaders wind up and the Liberal contribution on Friday morning, some of our members will issue personal appeals to specific groups in Quebec to stay in Canada.

We hope this serious and co-ordinated approach to debate adds to the message of concern and sincerity that we are all trying to convey to the people of Quebec and to the rest of Canada.

Mr. MacDonald: Mr. Speaker, already one fascinating aspect of this debate has emerged. As I listened very intently to the Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs (Mr. Wells) and to the leadoff speaker for the Liberal Party, the member for Ottawa East (Mr. Roy), there were inevitable nuances in interpretation of the experience that Canada has had and the problems that we face today. There were nuances of difference in terms of emphasis and interpretation with regard to the resolution, and I suppose by the time I'm finished, the perceptive will think that they see nuances of difference in what I am saying from the other two leadoff speakers.

I think it is well that those nuances should be there. I think it is going to enrich the debate. Nobody has any illusions that we all are totally of one mind with regard to Canada today and the future of Canada, but let nobody have any doubt that in the central thrust of the resolution that is before the House—a resolution that has been drafted by a lot of blood, sweat and tears, by people involved from all parties and people within their caucuses back of them—there is agreement within this House as we speak at this historic moment.

I was interested in the comment of the Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs that the last time we had a debate of this nature was back when the resolution was brought in by the government to authorize the hold-

ing of the Confederation of Tomorrow conference back in 1967. I think I'm correct in saying, however, that never before, even during the war years, has this Legislature set apart a whole week to debate a matter of urgent national importance.

This is not only a historic debate, this is an extraordinary debate, a debate in which this Legislature is going to devote some 25 hours to the issue of the referendum and the related matters in reference to constitutional reform in Canada. This is almost as many hours as were devoted by the Quebec National Assembly when it debated the issue not very many weeks ago.

It is well, therefore, that we members of this Legislature should realize fully what we are about and the potential importance of this exercise. In my view, this debate is the first public step, with the whole Legislature taking the lead—not just the government, with all parties in support—in working out Ontario's blueprint for a renewed effort at nation-building in this country.

One hundred and fifteen years ago, as we all know from our history lessons, the elected representatives of the united Canadas engaged in what have come to be known as the famous Confederation Debates. They initiated a process of discussion, and that discussion was followed by negotiation, which was carried on not only in Ottawa, but in Charlottetown, in Quebec City, in Westminster, across the ocean and in every town and village across the land.

Political foes sat down together. Regional and religious and linguistic differences were set aside in favour of achieving the overall well-being of the nation. As a result, a new nation was born, a nation that extended quickly from sea to sea. With all the faults in its creation, faults which have emerged and which we can perceive now with the benefit of hindsight, the Fathers of Confederation wrought well.

Our task, 115 years later, as the elected representatives of the wealthiest and the most populous province in this federation, is to launch our contribution to the same process of discussion. Beyond the debate we are launching here, picking up on what has gone on behind the scenes in intergovernmental discussions, as the minister has pointed out to us, there will be negotiations beginning as soon as possible after the vote has taken place on May 20 in Quebec.

At the end of those negotiations, the fathers of recon federation—whoever they may be—will sit down and sign, on our behalf, a new constitution, made in Canada, amendable

in Canada, I hope providing new means for resolving the grievances of all the regions of Canada and providing the prospect of fulfilling the diverse aspirations of all Canadians.

Let me pause for a moment for a very personal comment. I come to this debate with profoundly mixed emotions. I was born in British Columbia. I was raised in Quebec. I taught school for five years in Quebec and worked for a couple of years as a journalist in Quebec. I had my university education in Ontario, and I have lived and worked in this province for the last 35 to 40 years. I have had the extreme good fortune, in all of that work in various fields, of being able to move and to have contacts with fellow-Canadians in every province, in the Northwest Territories and in the Yukon.

In addition to all of that, family associations have broadened and strengthened what I would like to describe as my Canadianism. My father was the grandson of a Scotsman who came out and carved a farm out of the bush, some 35 to 40 miles south of Montreal. He, like many young men, went west and homesteaded on the prairies, and subsequently moved to British Columbia. My mother was the daughter of an English miner, and came out to the coal mines of southeastern BC, and I was born in BC. My wife is French, born in Montreal. I have two daughters, one of whom is married to a Jew, the other of whom is married to a native Indian, a member of the Six Nations reserve.

4:50 p.m.

The House will understand, therefore, why I love this country. I love it in all its richness and diversity. Having said all that, I have to confess that Ontario is home. All parts of Canada to me are an inspiration: Cape Breton, where most people think I must have come from but did not, all the rest of the maritime provinces, the vast expanse of the prairies, the even greater unlimitedness of the Northwest Territories, the majesty of the Rockies, all the excitement of Quebec. I can get inspiration from all of that, but Ontario is home. I am proud to have been a member of this Legislature for some 25 years.

I am fascinated with the work in my own riding, a riding which originally was basically Anglo-Saxon, but by the process of redistribution and of the ever-moving of peoples in this great metropolitan area today has an added mix of Italians, Polish, Ukrainians, Maltese, Portuguese, Latin-American, Caribbean, East Indians, Pakistanis and now Vietnamese. It is a microcosm of the world.

You will understand, therefore, for very personal and political reasons in my political work, Mr. Speaker, why my vision of this nation is a little broader than Ontario, but it is centred in Ontario.

We are all painfully aware that there are some very difficult problems within the Canadian family we have to resolve. The popular perception is that these problems are centred primarily in Quebec where they have reached a point of aggravation to a point where the province is considering wanting to separate from Canada, or in the Atlantic provinces which have been economically disadvantaged for the last 100 years in their whole experience with Confederation, or in the western provinces, short-changed by Confederation, alienated and now, with a growing economic strength, determined to redress the historic imbalance. All of that is true. All of that sort of sums up the problems within the Canadian family. But dare I suggest for our consideration in this Legislature that our major problem, if not the major problem, in restructuring Confederation today lies here in Ontario and not elsewhere.

Traditionally, we have been satisfied with the status quo. If others wanted change we were willing to listen but, basically, we were quite satisfied and content with what we had. That was Ontario's posture in the 1960s, and it carried on into the 1970s. Only recently has it changed. As the Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs has stressed and as the spokesman for the Liberal Party has underlined, only recently has it changed, so recently that the rest of Canada has difficulty in believing there really has been a change. They wonder whether it is just rhetorical rather than substantive. Suspensions die slowly. If we want a rather painful reminder of how slowly they die, read William Johnson's article in this morning's *Globe and Mail* about the impact of our Premier's visit to Quebec this past week.

Let me quote John Robarts in an article by Duart Farquharson of the *Southam News*, as reported in the *Brantford Expositor*: "I said years ago that Ontario could function with the British North America Act but it was prepared to change it if other provinces wanted," former Premier Robarts recalled recently. "That's not my attitude now. We have to make some fundamental constitutional changes in a way that can be seen to be done."

That is the kind of 180-degree turn that has been made by one of the leading spokesmen for Ontario in the last decade or so in

terms of our relationship with the rest of Canada. The time has come, and this is going to be a little painful for us in Ontario, for us to step down off what is perceived to be our smug pedestal as the major beneficiary of Confederation and face the grim realities of a rapidly changing Canada. With economic developments in the west and the prospect of economic developments in the east, Ontario has become a have-not province, dropping below the national average in terms of per capita revenue. Eighty per cent of our energy requirements are from other provinces or other lands.

Ontario traditionally has been the accepted leader of English-speaking Canada. As Ontario led, particularly its relationships with Quebec, the other provinces were willing to follow. Not so today. Ontario today is odd man out at federal-provincial conferences. That is driven home in an editorial comment in the London Free Press on March 21—put rather brutally, but not inaccurately. It said, "It is unrealistic to expect a country to survive and prosper when the main unifying force seems to be, as Newfoundland's Premier Brian Peckford has observed, everyone's hatred of Ontario."

It kind of stops one in his tracks as a member of the Legislature to realize that a paper and another provincial Premier say that one of the unifying forces of today has become the hatred of Ontario.

There is no point in Ontario sulking or being hurt or protesting this new kind of situation it has to face. I was interested in listening to the Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs this afternoon repeating essentially the same thing he said to the Glendon seminar on constitutional change just a few weeks ago. He said, "I am therefore somewhat surprised and more than a little perturbed by the number of references I have seen in the media and elsewhere to Ontario being in favour of the status quo. This is just not correct."

It may not be correct, but I repeat, the change has taken place so recently that an awful lot of Canadians wonder whether it is rhetoric or whether it is substance. Their suspicions are going to die very slowly. Canada is faced with a very difficult period of readjustment to new circumstances. My point is that no part of Canada is faced with greater difficulties in this connection than is Ontario.

I want to focus for a moment on Ontario-Quebec relations. I do so because it has long been my conviction, which I think can be documented from history, that Ontario-

Quebec relations are the key to English-French relations in Canada as a whole.

C'est en effet, Monsieur le Président, le rapport entre l'Ontario et le Québec qui est la clef même des relations entre le Canada français et le Canada anglais. Que le Québec et l'Ontario se mettent à résoudre leurs différends historiques—voilà l'issue qu'acceptera volontiers le reste du Canada. Voilà le moyen qui a réussi par le passé et qui peut réussir encore, même à l'heure du renouveau nationaliste de nos compatriotes franco-canadiens.

C'est une solution qui ne devrait pas nous étonner. Les relations entre l'Ontario et le Québec sont géographiquement et historiquement uniques. Elles se distinguent de toutes les autres provinces. Nous sommes nés des voisins. Nos deux provinces se sont faites de la même histoire. C'est par un parlement commun que nous nous sommes gouvernés, comme les Canadas Unis entre 1841 et 1867.

5 p.m.

Cette collaboration entre l'Ontario et le Québec est devenue la base même de la Confédération—base à laquelle se sont ajoutées les provinces de l'est, puis celles de l'ouest. La sensibilité de John Robarts à l'essence unique des relations entre le Québec et l'Ontario l'amenait à jouer un rôle particulièrement important à faciliter leur progrès. C'est ainsi qu'il pouvait heurter de front les préjugés anti-québécois qui menaçaient dans quelques régions du Canada.

Malheureusement, pendant les années récentes, l'Ontario a cessé de poursuivre cet exemple. Il est temps de reprendre notre ancien rôle. C'est même la condition essentielle de l'élaboration d'une nouvelle confédération.

Applause.

Mr. MacDonald: I appreciate my colleagues' applauding the deficiencies rather than the fluency.

Let me emphasize the point I have been making by going back to a conference or seminar, a rather elitist little group that my friend from Ottawa East and myself—I think the only two members from the Legislature—were invited to, along with some 50 Canadians, at Queen's University a few weeks ago. It was called by Dr. Corry, who is the principal emeritus. It involved many other Ontarians from the industrial world, people like John Robarts and people from the media. The thing that was fascinating in that conference or seminar was the message that Quebec has not been persuaded that English Canada, and notably Ontario, is committed to meaningful reform.

I hope it does not pain the Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs for me to repeat this, because he has said so emphatically this afternoon we are committed. But the message came through clearly in many ways, by people with contacts from Quebec, that they are not yet persuaded. While my leader was speaking in the throne speech debate a few weeks ago, he made the point that last year the throne speech had envisaged a debate in this House on a resolution presumably something like the resolution we are debating today, but that was not held. He was expressing his concern and his regrets that the debate was delayed. The Premier (Mr. Davis) intervened, "I think the timing is going to be very good." I was interested to hear the Liberal spokesman this afternoon say he thought the timing was very good.

With respect to both the Premier and my colleague from Ottawa East, the timing is tragically late. I agree that holding a debate now, in the middle of the referendum, is going to capture attention, and that is fine. But I note with commendation that the Legislature in Saskatchewan has debated a motion of this nature in each of the last three years. We could have done it in earlier years. If we had done it in earlier years, it is just possible we would have got through to the people of Quebec with regard to where we stand.

This debate, I fear, is too late to significantly affect the referendum vote in Quebec. There are going to be thousands, as the Liberal member for Ottawa East has pointed out, even tens of thousands of federalist yes votes in Quebec. People are going to be voting yes not because they are in favour of independence, not because they want their province to separate, but because they think it is necessary to jolt the rest of Canada into a belief and acceptance of the need for meaningful, fundamental constitutional reform. That point has not even got across yet, as William Johnson of the Globe and Mail pointed out this morning.

We know, as has already been pointed out in the debates this afternoon, that Ontario has done many things of which we can be proud. We know, for example, that we have developed the opportunity for an education in French which now is being availed of by some 100,000 students in Ontario. We know that, while two or three years ago the Attorney General (Mr. McMurtry) said it was impossible to provide court sessions in French, today it is a reality. While sometimes we protested that we could not get services to minority groups, even though they

were a significant minority or even a majority in certain parts of the province, we know that we now have done so. All that has been done but, tragically, all of that has been lost in the last few months in the message to Quebec, because one thing and one thing only has been heard: Penetanguishene.

Thank God we have resolved Penetanguishene. But why did we do it so late? Why did we blow, as it were, all of the political advantages of a relationship and the convincing of the people of Quebec with regard to our determination to establish a linguistic educational right by doing it so late? Why, after we have done it on Penetanguishene, do we now have opposition, for example, to full-time kindergarten classes in French?

For years I have engaged in debates in this province, ever since the bilingual and bicultural commission back in the middle of the 1960s, as to how we can get an effective bilingual program in this province. We have anguished over the proposition that older people cannot pick up another language, that it is a painful process, but if it is done with the children they will pick it up as part of the whole natural process of acquiring even their initial language. It is just a natural development.

I thought everybody agreed this was the way in which we would achieve bilingualism. In Ontario, we have 8,000 children in bilingual kindergarten classes, including 3,000 of them in Ottawa. Why is the government on this, as with Penetanguishene, so slow in facing up to the common sense of funding that? Not only does it merit funding in itself, but also it is the most symbolic, convincing proof of our determination to provide these opportunities and to cement these relationships.

The rhetoric of constitutional reform is not enough. The minister said earlier we have to follow with action. He is dead right. We have had an awful lot of rhetoric. We have had some action. Unfortunately, some of our action has been contradictory, and that is the only part that gets reported; so the public image is not the kind of image we would like it to have been.

I come back to focus on the resolution. Let me read from the resolution:

"That, we the Legislative Assembly of Ontario commit ourselves, as our highest priority, to support full negotiation of a new constitution to satisfy the diverse aspirations of all Canadians, and to replace the 'status quo' which is clearly unacceptable, . . . and, therefore, we appeal to all Quebecers to join with other Canadians in building this national constitution; and further, we hereby

appoint a select committee of the Legislative Assembly of Ontario on constitutional reform, to consider and report with dispatch on ways to achieve this objective."

Clearly, our overall objective is that we want this Canada to remain united. We recognize that if we are going to be able to retain its unity, so it can grow and prosper in the years to come in the fashion that it has over the last century, we must have a renewed constitution. In that process, we are opposed to sovereignty-association, because sovereignty means Quebec would become a separate country and, therefore, the unity of this country would be shattered. Economic association, at least as proposed by Levesque, is not acceptable to the majority of the people and to all the provincial and federal leaders because, as the western Premiers pointed out in their recent meeting just two or three weeks ago, economic association, certainly for western Canada, simply has no meaning, no benefits.

5:10 p.m.

However, if we wish to appeal effectively to the people of Quebec, not just during this referendum debate, but after it, we must make it clear that Ontario favours pursuing with vigour and with dispatch constitutional reform after the referendum, whatever be the result. I wish that had been spelled out more unequivocally in the resolution. It is implicit there. One cannot read the resolution without coming to that conclusion. I think it could have been spelled out more unequivocally.

One thing that disturbs me more than anything else during this debate is the posture today of the federal government in Ottawa, particularly of the Prime Minister of the country. Let me put on record, just to get the feel of it, a quotation from a Canadian Press dispatch carried in the Toronto Star on April 24:

"The federal government will heed the call of the western Premiers for a constitutional conference after the May 20 referendum in Quebec, but only if sovereignty-association is rejected, Energy Minister Marc Lalonde says.

"Addressing the House of Commons yesterday on behalf of Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau, Lalonde was cool to the possibility of holding a conference if the yes forces win the referendum.

"A yes vote will lead to a complete impasse for the possibility of renewing federalism in Canada," Lalonde said."

I hope I can say without any fear of contradiction that all members in this House, irrespective of party, do not accept that

approach. I note particularly the next paragraph of that Canadian Press dispatch: "Progressive Conservative Leader Joe Clark, Roch LaSalle, the only Tory MP from Quebec, and Jake Epp, Conservative spokesman for federal-provincial relations, all urged Lalonde to call a conference regardless of the referendum results."

I would like to say with emphasis that is the approach of everybody in this House, irrespective of party. A likely scenario for the first meeting after May 20 will be something along this line: If there has been a no vote, we will move quickly. The minister said earlier "within four to six weeks." He has extended it by two weeks since his speech at Glendon College a month or so ago. He was going to have it within four weeks then. He now has a little elasticity in it—four to six weeks. Fine.

If, perchance, the vote in Quebec is a yes vote, the Premier of Quebec is going to come there with an obligation to say he has a mandate to discuss sovereignty-association. Every other spokesman at the conference will say: "We have no mandate to negotiate the dismemberment of this country. On to the next point in the agenda." That is inevitably the kind of thing that will happen.

If the government, or anybody, should have some concern about us being most emphatic in terms of a willingness and a desire and a determination to move towards this discussion and negotiation of a new constitution, I would like to remind members of the House of the polls taken by the Ministry of Intergovernmental Affairs. After a little pressuring, they have become available to all members of this House including the public.

Here is some of the evidence that emerged in those polls. Seventy-one per cent of Ontarians, or more than seven out of 10, feel that it is very important or somewhat important that we revise and reform our constitution. That gives a fair basis of operation: 71 per cent. Seventy-two per cent say they are somewhat committed to keeping Quebec in Confederation. That is a fairly massive majority opinion. Eighty-two per cent say they would care if Quebec were to move out of Confederation. That is an even more significant indication of Ontario's desire to have Quebec stay in Confederation. Sixty-eight per cent, still better than two out of every three, say that Ontario would be worse off without Quebec in Confederation.

Perhaps the most significant poll of all is not one that came out of the Goldfarb effort for the Ministry of Intergovernmental Affairs. It was a poll taken by the Canadian Broad-

casting Corporation in its so-called quarterly report released this year on April 25, in which 70 per cent of the people polled agreed that a no vote would be no less a vote for constitutional reform than a yes vote. Where and why is the hesitancy to say without one iota of equivocation that whatever be the results of the referendum on May 20 English-speaking Canada, with Ontario taking the lead, is going to be moving to start the process of constitutional reform?

We say to Quebec: "We respect your right to decide your own future, but because your decision profoundly affects the rest of Canada—therefore, us in Ontario—we state our conviction that the aspirations of Quebec can best be met within a renewed Confederation. We, therefore, express the fervent hope that you will join with all Canadians in rewriting our constitution to meet our future needs. Whatever be your choice on May 20, we intend to sit down with you to pursue that goal." We can say that with confidence and we say it without equivocation.

Que je répète, Monsieur le Président: les Québécois ont bien de droit de décider de leur propre avenir, sans contrainte. Mais c'est notre plus grand espoir qu'ils se joignent aux autres Canadiens dans l'élaboration d'un nouveau Canada—mais c'est à eux de choisir.

Richard Simeon, who is perhaps the leading spokesman today in terms of federal-provincial relations, the head of the Institute of Intergovernmental Relations at Queen's University, has put it quite poignantly. He has said we are going to have to sit down and come to the bargaining table right after the vote, regardless of the outcome, and that failure to respond effectively to Quebec's commitment to change would be a scenario for disaster. I think that is it, a scenario for disaster, because it would really confirm what many people in Quebec think, that English Canada is not willing to move and that a no vote would put it back to sleep again. In doing that, we have confidence we have the backing of the people of Ontario.

I was interested in noting the summary of the poll done for the Ministry of Intergovernmental Affairs. Let me put some of it on the record, from page nine of the document which was made available to us, on Attitudes Towards Constitutional Reform. This is a summary of all the various nuances and the various Ontario reactions to many individual aspects of constitutional reform.

"Constitutional reform is not an unimportant subject in people's minds. There is evidence of a collective feeling that some kind of constitutional adjustment has to be made to satisfy Quebec and other parts of the country as well. People are prepared to see some changes made. They see a need for some rethinking of the current constitutional arrangement as a basis of resolving conflicts and problems and strengthening unity. Although unwilling to have Ontario go on record as receptive to the concept of sovereignty-association, they are willing and anxious to see constitutional reform take place to foster unity."

5:20 p.m.

Finally I'd like to go back to Dr. Corry at whose knee, figuratively speaking, I sat as a student years ago at Queen's University before he had emerged as perhaps the leading constitutional political scientist in this country. For many years Dr. Corry believed that the task of rewriting the constitution should not be attempted; he thought the risks and frustrations were too great. But he has changed his mind, as has John Robarts, as have so many other people. Dr. Corry is now convinced that whatever the risks of acting boldly and decisively, the dangers to Canada of doing nothing are far greater.

I am confident in an expression of the feeling of everybody in this House that we are determined we should move forward into that constitutional reform just as quickly as the referendum debate is over and we can get conferences drawn together with adequate preparation to pursue the task.

To return to this debate, for years the question has been, what does Quebec want. How many times have we heard that? What does Quebec want? Now we know. Certainly we know what the Quebec government wants. We will get some clarification as to what the people of Quebec really want when the votes are counted. We also have plenty of evidence as to what the west and the Atlantic provinces want.

But there is an unresolved question, a real question. I say to the Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs it is not a question that has been clarified in spite of all the tomes that come from his offices and the offices of Queen's Park over the last many years. What does Ontario want?

Now that we have forsaken our contentment with the status quo, now that we are committed to meaningful constitutional reform, what exactly do we want? What do we want by way of changes in the constitu-

tion? How can we preserve the central benefits of Confederation while satisfying the demands of those who challenge the system, whether it be from Quebec or the Atlantic provinces or western Canada? How can we reaffirm our support for the basic duality upon which this nation has been built and yet move to acknowledge the reality of the multicultural nature of Canada? How can we rebuild our historic working relationship with Quebec so as to provide the key to English-French relationships throughout this country.

Those are the questions but we haven't got the answers. I go back to one of my earlier points: I view this debate as the first public effort with the whole of the Legislature being involved in a search for the answers to those and related questions. And the New Democratic Party accepts its role in this whole process.

Within the New Democratic Party we have a national constitutional committee, chaired by Ed Broadbent, our federal leader, which meets quite frequently to co-ordinate the efforts of all the various parts of the country. We have underpinned that national committee with a constitutional committee within our caucus here in the Ontario Legislature, a committee that I have the honour to chair.

That committee involves some 13 or 14 of the 32 members in our caucus—I exclude the Speaker who is there and yet not there. Some seven or eight members have prepared papers on various aspects of the full constitutional problem and those are now being discussed. We are attempting to clarify in our own minds what we think are the particular requirements of Ontario, faced with these very fundamental changes not only in Canada as a whole but more particularly in Ontario's position within Canada today, attempting to clarify what we think are the best means by which we can meet the needs of the nation as a whole but at the same time meet the particular needs of Ontario.

Ironically, in the past, as somebody once said, Ontarians always thought as Canadians because they presumed that they were Canada. They were the main beneficiaries of Confederation. We didn't have to go out and fight for ourselves, fight for the particular needs of Ontario, because as the main beneficiary of Confederation, we reaped many of those benefits automatically. Ontario's role historically has been a peacemaker, as the honest broker of Confederation, trying to resolve the differences between others.

I hope we can regain something of that role, but Ontario's role inevitably in the future is going to be as a vigorous protagonist

on behalf of its own interest, to be able to counter a presentation of views from Alberta and perhaps even, not too far down the road, from Newfoundland and so on. We have something of a historic role to recapture but we also have a new role. How do we do that? More important, how do we reshape a constitution so it is more reflective of the reality of the day when Ontario is an equal rather than a dominant force within the Canadian federation?

That is what we hope to do within the framework of the New Democratic Party. When the committee this Legislature has set up and instructed—when this resolution has passed—to come back with dispatch in presenting our view of what Ontario wants and needs in terms of constitutional reform, we will have made our input along with all the other members across the Legislature.

I want to move briefly into at least one aspect of the constitutional changes that need to take place. It is the one that I have been particularly interested in because of my background academically and otherwise, and because of the work we've done within our constitution committee.

The search for means of achieving more effective regional and provincial input into the central government decision-making is our real problem today. For reasons of election results such as now, we have parts of the country which feel they don't have adequate input into the decision-making process. I speak of the west in relationship to the Liberal government which has no seats in the three western provinces.

That isn't unique. In varying degrees, there has been that sense of alienation or the sense of feeling in many parts of the country that they didn't have adequate and effective means of input into that central decision-making.

Proposals have come forth for coping with this problem, both in relationship to the House of Commons and in relationship to the Senate.

There are many organizations in this country which act as ties that bind the nation together, bind a nation that is 4,000 miles in expanse, covering so many diverse, geographic conditions as well as democratic differences. One of these ties that binds a nation together is a political party, or the political parties, because it brings together people who have, if not the same ideological approach, at least the same traditional attitude in relationship to a party, and they work in partnership with people from all

across the country, within the party of their choice.

The problem today is we have no national parties in this country. The Liberal Party is blanked in the three western provinces. The Conservative Party is woefully underrepresented in the province of Quebec. The New Democratic Party has no seats in many areas, some of them where there is a fairly significant vote but yet no seats to represent that vote.

5:30 p.m.

That's a problem. It's a problem that Ed Broadbent, the leader of the New Democratic Party, addressed as far back as two year ago in the sessions of the joint Senate-Commons committee as they were taking a look at Bill C-60, the government's proposals for constitutional reform.

There was a proposal that the House of Commons should be topped off with 50 or 60—in the initial presentation, Broadbent said 100 seats—members who would be chosen from lists that would be prepared by the parties, but they would be chosen on the basis of the popular vote given to that party all across the country. Therefore, while more than half of the House of Commons would remain as a House elected by people who came from individual constituencies, with the traditional tie back to the people who had actually chosen them, the other proportion—50 or 60 or 100, I haven't heard anybody suggest it would go more than 100, in a House which has now 285 seats—would be provided as a result of the popular vote.

If that kind of thing had happened in the last election, William Irvine from the Institute of Intergovernmental Relations at Queen's University, who has prepared perhaps the most definitive document on electoral reform in Canada, pointed out that if 60 seats were made available to top up the House of Commons, on the basis of the popular vote the Liberals would have got 26, the Tories would have got 20, the New Democratic Party would have got 12 and the Social Credit Party would have got two.

What would have happened to those? Twenty of the 26 seats that the Liberals would be entitled to would have gone to the western Canadian provinces. In those three western provinces where the Liberals got 22 per cent of the vote and no seats, and, therefore, nobody from whom to draw to shape a cabinet, nobody to have representation in the House on behalf of those areas and the ruling party, 20 seats would have been from those provinces in western Canada.

The Conservatives would have got 10 seats from Quebec, so that Roch LaSalle, in his loneliness, would have had at least some colleagues in the House from the province of Quebec. The New Democratic Party would have had more seats from Ontario, to acknowledge the reality that it got significant votes in northern Ontario, for example, although it lost all its seats. The New Democratic Party would have at least three seats in the province of Quebec and one in Nova Scotia.

The Prime Minister, therefore, would have had an opportunity to choose a cabinet without having to resort to the political discards who have been cached away in the Senate. He would have had people who would have been chosen because they were active and involved in the problems of the various provinces and who could speak for them as eloquently and as meaningfully as the people who were elected from the various constituencies.

That kind of thing is not going to meet any particular need of the province of Ontario. As somebody has pointed out, one of the remaining benefits Ontario has in Confederation, as it exists today, is that it is the province which mainly makes and un-makes governments. When Ontario voted for Joe Clark last May, he was elected. When Ontario voted against Joe Clark this February, he was defeated. Ontario is not the province that is going to benefit most by that kind of situation.

Let me read something to you, Mr. Speaker, a paragraph from the Pepin-Robarts report. "Our research of experience in other federations indicates that when party membership in the central parliament becomes concentrated in regional blocks, it is an advance signal of eventual disintegration."

Perhaps we should take it as a fair warning, with the disintegration of national parties so they don't provide the normal tie assisting in binding the nation together, and with the increased tendency of blocks of various parties to be in certain areas without any reflection of the significant number of people who have voted for other parties, that in the experience of many other federations that is a step along the road to disintegration. That kind of change, which I personally, as the House will note, feel rather enthusiastic about, although others may have their reservations, is one we should take a serious look at.

When we get to the second chamber, the Senate, there is unanimity that the Senate should go, that it has outlived its usefulness.

An hon. member: It never had any.

Mr. MacDonald: Somebody interjected and said, "It never had any." Theoretically it is a reflection of the regional interests, but since Sir John A. Macdonald reminded us that the Senate was also to provide an opportunity for the minority and the most consistent minority is the rich, they are the people who have been in the Senate and whose interests, perhaps, have been most looked after, I agree that it has not served its original purpose of reflecting regional input into the decision-making of the central government.

It is interesting to note that whether it be Pepin-Robarts, the Liberal government proposals in 1978, the Quebec Liberal Party proposals or the Ontario advisory committee report, they have all suggested a restructuring of the second chamber: not its abolition, but a fundamental restructuring. It would have a limited legislative role. It would have the right to veto a decision that was taken in the House of Commons, but it would be a suspensive veto that would not be operative for more than three months, six months or until it had been passed once again in the House of Commons. There are a variety of approaches.

In virtually every instance the proposal is that the restructured Senate should be appointed by provincial governments so that the people who went there, no matter who may be in the actual delegation, would be speaking on behalf of the government and they would be committed to speak on behalf of the government. Eugene Forsey, in his inimitable fashion, has described it as the potential of provincial hatchetmen in the second chamber.

Trudeau, in his proposals in 1978, came up with an interesting alternative to that, namely, that half of the restructured second chamber should be people appointed by the House of Commons on a proportional representation basis for all parties in accordance with the popular vote in the previous federal election, and that the other half of the restructured Senate should be appointed by each of the provinces on a proportional representation basis reflecting all of the parties on the basis of the popular vote they got in the provincial election.

The Ryan proposal is an interesting one and, philosophically, a somewhat different one. Ryan said the Senate should be abolished. He then said we should invent a substitute for it. He calls it the federal council. It is not to be a legislative chamber as, at least in theory, most of the other proposals concede the restructured Senate could and should be. It should be primarily an agency for representing provincial views, the views of pro-

vincial governments under the direction of provincial governments, so that there would be that input into the decision-making of the central government.

He clearly concedes that the House of Commons is going to have certain areas of jurisdiction, and the Senate's jurisdiction is going to be limited to those areas where the House of Commons oversteps federal authority in terms of the spending authority within a provincial area, and things of that nature.

The federal council would have a dualist committee made up equally of francophones and anglophones so that one would be able to hive off, as it were, a group which would be able to deal with the vexing problems of linguistic and related matters in connection with the basic dualism of this country.

Interestingly enough, in my chats and listening to spokesmen of the Pepin-Robarts task force, I discovered that some of the leading people on that task force feel that the Ryan proposal for a federal council is an even better proposal than the one they had in their task force report, that it is an improvement over what they made. At the present time, without having come to a definitive conclusion, I too confess to thinking that this is maybe the area where we can come up with the most satisfactory kind of an answer.

5:40 p.m.

They also confess to being rather attracted to the Trudeau proposal of 1978, namely, that the personnel of the restructured Senate should be people chosen on the basis of popular vote, representative of all of the parties, half by the House of Commons on the federal vote and half by the provincial governments on the basis of the various provincial elections in each of the provinces. There, it seems to me, one would have a genuine input, reflective of all of the parties, rather than just of the governing party which may be, as in the case of the government we have in Ontario at the present time, a government which got 40 per cent of the vote. What about the other 60 per cent which is reflected in the opposition parties? Have they not a legitimate place in the impact on decision-making at the central government?

However, the point I want to make in conclusion is that I have expressed a mix of views with regard to the possible reform of political institutions. My colleagues are going to be dealing with many other aspects of constitutional reform. During the course of their presentations, you are going to hear from some of them, Mr. Speaker, views that

they may hold personally. None of those, as far as I know, is a view which has yet been adopted by the New Democratic Party.

There may be alternative, even conflicting views on issues, because we do have genuine differences in that area today. There are people today who genuinely feel that individual rights can and should be protected by ensconcing them in the constitution, while other people think that is a mistake, that individual rights are a process of legislative action and that there we can achieve the sensitivity that each jurisdiction wants to apply to the guaranteeing of individual rights.

We are going to have a variety of views, but I repeat that I view the process which we are starting this week in the Ontario Legislature as a process of discussing various aspects of constitutional reform. After we have thrashed them through at this stage and after we have set up our committee, and the members from each of the parties can sit on the committee, we can refine our views. It is to be hoped we can come out of that process with a clear picture of what Ontario wants, because nobody at the moment is

clear on exactly what Ontario wants in terms of constitutional reform or, I think we can say quite unashamedly, what Ontario needs in the new Canada in order to protect our interests.

That process is going to go on. It is a process which in this century is going to be a duplication of the process that went on in Canada from 1864 to 1867. That was a process in which the elected representatives of the united Canada sat down, political friend and political foe—George Brown and Sir John A. Macdonald, to put it bluntly, hated each other's guts—in order to achieve a new nation and a constitution that would be able effectively to reflect that nation's needs and aspirations for the future.

There were regional, linguistic and economic differences. They were set aside as they established the new Canadian constitution. That is the challenge that faces us today: to do it as well as they did. They did it for a hundred years; it needs to be redone. We now have the challenge of reconfederation.

The House recessed at 5:44 p.m.

ERRATUM

No.	Page	Col.	Line	Should read:
35	1346	2	30	on the Notice Paper. (See appendix, May 5, afternoon sitting.)

APPENDIX

(See page 1437)

ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS ON NOTICE PAPER

CHRONIC-CARE BEDS

27. Mr. Breaugh: Would the Minister of Health table a breakdown by hospital of the

additional chronic-care beds which have been approved and funded in 1979-80? How many of these beds were in use and for how long in 1979-80? (Tabled March 13, 1980.)

Hon. Mr. Timbrell: Chronic bed conversions 1979-80:

	Beds	Date
South West		
Clinton Public Hospital	8	September 21, 1979
Goderich—Alexandra Marine and General	10	July 25, 1979
Listowel Memorial Hospital	10	July 25, 1979
Newbury—Four Counties General	15	July 17, 1979
Petrolia—Charlotte Eleanor Englehart	16	July 17, 1979
St. Mary's Memorial Hospital	19	July 17, 1979
St. Thomas Elgin General Hospital	18	November 19, 1979
Sarnia General Hospital	17	July 17, 1979
Seaforth Community Hospital	7	July 17, 1979
Tillsonburg District Hospital	17	September 6, 1979
Wallaceburg—Sydenham District	5	January 21, 1980
Windsor—Metropolitan General	25	March 5, 1980
Wingham and District Hospital	7	August 31, 1979
Woodstock General Hospital	8	September 21, 1979
Sarnia—St. Joseph's Hospital	10	November 26, 1979
Central West		
Dunnville—Haldimand War Memorial	5	May 29, 1979
Fort Erie—Douglas Memorial	5	November 16, 1979
Grimsby—West Lincoln Memorial	16	November 16, 1979
Niagara Falls—Greater Niagara General	14	November 16, 1979
Simcoe—Norfolk General Hospital	9	November 16, 1979
Welland—County General Hospital	10	December 27, 1979
Central East B		
Penetanguishene General Hospital	10	October 11, 1979
Peterborough Civic Hospital	14	December 24, 1979
Eastern		
Belleville General Hospital	15	April 1, 1979
	33	September 1, 1979
Northern		
Atikokan—Atikokan General	2	April 19, 1979
Cochrane—Lady Minto Hospital	3	January 3, 1980
Englehart and District Hospital	8	November 6, 1979
Espanola General Hospital	8	October 3, 1979
Geraldton District Hospital	7	August 28, 1979
Hearst—Notre Dame Hospital	7	December 3, 1979
Iroquois Falls—Anson General Hospital	10	June 29, 1979
Kapuskasing—Sensenbrenner Hospital	12	July 18, 1979
Kirkland Lake—Kirkland and District Hospital	11	July 30, 1979
Little Current—Manitoulin Health Centre	2	December 20, 1979
Manitouowadge General	5	August 28, 1979
Matheson—Bingham Memorial	4	January 30, 1980
Mattawa General	5	October 19, 1979
Nipigon District Memorial	7	August 28, 1979
Parry Sound—St. Joseph's Hospital	16	December 21, 1980

	Beds	Date
Red Lake—Margaret Couchenour Memorial	6	June 27, 1979
Sturgeon Falls—The West Nipissing General	1	December 11, 1979
	4	January 7, 1980
Terrace Bay—McCausland Hospital	7	March 8, 1980 (Official opening of new hospital)
Timmins—Porcupine General	18	June 12, 1979
Wawa—Lady Dunn	4	November 29, 1979
	<u>470</u>	

The list above does not include an additional 82 beds converted from active care to chronic care in Windsor as part of the rationalization of services for that area: Salvation Army Grace, 25; Hotel Dieu, 57.

ASSISTIVE DEVICES

120. Mr. T. P. Reid: Will the Ministry of Health table the internal report on provisions of assistive devices for the physically handicapped, particularly prosthetics? When was the committee set up? Who is on the committee? How many people in Ontario require such devices? What would be the cost to the OHIP program to provide these devices? Will the Ministry of Health now provide these services under OHIP? (Tabled April 14, 1980.)

Hon. Mr. Timbrell: This report is under review by the Provincial Secretariat for Social Development's Committee on Assistive Devices and its contents will be released once the committee has completed its deliberations.

HAZARDOUS WASTES DISPOSAL RESEARCH

133. Mr. Gaunt: Will the Minister of the Environment list the projects by MOE relating to Annex 12 of the 1978 Great Lakes Water Quality Agreement, including the terms of reference, cost, interim or final reports, or anticipated completion date of any studies or projects undertaken by the ministry either independently or jointly with other provincial or federal agencies with respect to Annex 12? (Tabled April 21, 1980.)

Hon. Mr. Parrott: Studies or projects relating to Annex 12 of the Great Lakes Water Quality Agreement:

1. Inventory of raw materials, processes, products, byproducts, waste sources and emissions involving persistent toxic substances—

An ongoing joint federal-provincial program to develop an information base for industrial/commercial use of suspected chemicals, including their characteristics and data on environmental effects and releases to air, water and land is under way.

The program, comprising federal cost of \$237,000 per annum and provincial cost of \$100,000 per annum will result initially in an inventory of sources by 1982 of the priority list of chemicals identified by the International Joint Commission as contaminants found in each of the basins of the Great Lakes. The inventory will be kept up to date as new information becomes available.

2. Programs for control of hazardous materials, including their transportation and disposal—

(a) Hazardous waste manifest system: This project was authorized by the Canadian Council of Resource and Environment Ministers to control the transboundary movement of hazardous waste crossing provincial and international borders. The manifest system, requiring compatible documents and information exchange arrangements, is presently under discussion with other provinces and United States authorities.

(b) Location and use of waste disposal sites: The province expects to publish later this year its report describing the location and use of active and abandoned sites across the province. The overall project costing \$600,000 will be followed this year by further investigation of those sites which may require more intensive monitoring and remedial measures.

(c) Long-term liquid industrial and hazardous waste facilities: The consultant's interim report, released last fall to encourage participation by interested organizations before final determination is made of types of facilities and locations required in Ontario, has generally received favourable response. The consultant has been directed to continue

with the second phase of the assignment expected overall to cost \$295,000. The report is expected in 1980.

(d) Status of projects—

(i) Limited-term demonstration facilities: Environmental assessment documents for two liquid waste solidification proposals to be submitted in May 1980 will be followed by hearings under the Environmental Assessment Act later this year. If these projects prove to be unsuccessful, the ministry has agreed to reimburse each of the two consultants for engineering and hearing costs up to \$100,000.

(ii) Ajax liquid industrial waste treatment plant: Public hearings into the acceptability of converting an obsolete treatment plant into an 8.8-million-gallon industrial waste treatment plant are under way. Project proponent is the regional municipality of Durham with Ministry of the Environment providing initial funding of up to \$270,000.

(iii) Interim storage of PCBs: The consultant is preparing environmental assessment documents in preparation for hearings under the Environmental Assessment Act expected to proceed later this year.

(iv) Mississauga-St. Lawrence Cement: The test burn of PCB containing fuel at the St. Lawrence Cement plant has been postponed until the fall, and pending resolution of technical problems and legal obstacles.

3. Surveillance—

Surveillance is conducted jointly by the Ontario Ministry of the Environment and Environment Canada under the Canada-Ontario Agreement on the Great Lakes. The province is responsible for surveillance in the nearshore waters with the federal government responsible for the open water of the Great Lakes. Data on persistent toxic substances obtained from the waste source inventory provides guidance to those responsible for the large-scale environmental surveillance programs which incorporate contaminant surveillance.

Current costs for contaminants portion of the surveillance program amount to \$700,000 per annum for the federal government and an additional \$750,000 per annum for the provincial government.

Reports are made annually to the Canada-Ontario Agreement Board of Review and the International Joint Commission.

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Cassidy, M. (Ottawa Centre NDP)
Di Santo, O. (Downsview NDP)
Dukszta, J. (Parkdale NDP)
Elgie, Hon. R.; Minister of Labour (York East PC)
Gaunt, M. (Huron-Bruce L)
Kennedy, R. D. (Mississauga South PC)
Laughren, F. (Nickel Belt NDP)
MacDonald, D. C. (York South NDP)
Mackenzie, R. (Hamilton East NDP)
Martel, E. W. (Sudbury East NDP)
McClellan, R. (Bellwoods NDP)
McGuigan, J. (Kent-Elgin L)
Nixon, R. F. (Brant-Oxford-Norfolk L)
Norton, Hon. K.; Minister of Community and Social Services (Kingston and the Islands PC)
O'Neil, H. (Quinte L)
Parrott, Hon. H. C.; Minister of the Environment (Oxford PC)
Peterson, D. (London Centre L)
Renwick, J. A. (Riverdale NDP)
Roy, A. J. (Ottawa East L)
Ruston, R. F. (Essex North L)
Smith, S.; Leader of the Opposition (Hamilton West L)
Stephenson, Hon. B.; Minister of Education and Minister of Colleges and Universities
(York Mills PC)
Stokes, Hon. J. E.; Speaker (Lake Nipigon NDP)
Stong, A. (York Centre L)
Swart, M. (Welland-Thorold NDP)
Timbrell, Hon. D. R.; Minister of Health (Don Mills PC)
Welch, Hon. R.; Minister of Energy, Deputy Premier (Brock PC)
Wells, Hon. T. L.; Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs (Scarborough North PC)
Wildman, B. (Algoma NDP)
Wiseman, Hon. D. J.; Minister of Government Services (Lanark PC)



No. 39

Legislature of Ontario

Debates

Official Report (Hansard)

Fourth Session, 31st Parliament

Monday, May 5, 1980

Evening Sitting

Speaker: Honourable John E. Stokes

Clerk: Roderick Lewis, QC

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Published by the Legislature of the Province of Ontario.
Editor of Debates: Peter Brannan.

LEGISLATURE OF ONTARIO

MONDAY, MAY 5, 1980

The House resumed at 8 p.m.

DEBATE ON CONFEDERATION

(continued)

Resuming the debate on the constitutional resolution.

Hon. Mr. Welch: Mr. Speaker, I consider it a distinct privilege to be able to participate in this very significant debate, particularly after the wonderful contribution made by the three leadoff speakers on a matter which is of such importance to the future and the welfare of our country.

One hundred and fifteen years ago, in the speech from the throne of January, 1865, the Union Parliament in the wake of the Charlottetown and Quebec conferences of the previous autumn was called upon, and I use this phrase right from the speech, "to create a new nationality." That parliament proceeded to do just that as history has recorded in reporting the ensuing debates.

Now, as the successors of the first Fathers of Confederation of this tremendous nation of ours, we have our own roles in the period ahead of us. Our debates and our actions in the next few weeks will have to be seen not merely as an attempt to preserve that new nationality of 1865 but, even more important, to enhance it in the context of the realities of 1980.

The startling reality at the moment is that a sovereign, associated, indeed a separate Quebec, not only would take a province out of Confederation, but also it would mean the end of the Canadian nationality which we know and which we live and with which we are so proudly identified.

It is a nationality based on a very deep respect for differences. It is a nationality that takes on its own unique characteristic as the different parts come together. It takes on this new and meaningful characteristic which would not be seen as complete without all of those different parts. It is a nationality, in other words, founded on the very concept of diversity.

To be a Canadian is to have a connection, immediate or remote, to some other world culture, creed or language. To be a Canadian and to understand what it means to be

a Canadian is to appreciate differences, to be part of diversity itself, to be a strong thread in a colourful and very exciting national fabric. Diversity is Canada. It is Canadianism. To be intolerant of a fellow Canadian because of differences of any kind is to reject Canada and our own Canadianism.

Perhaps it is because we are so different, because the regions and even the provinces are so unique and the distances of this country are so great, that many Canadians feel remote from and not fully participating in the management of the affairs of their own country.

The events in Quebec and the trends in the western provinces would confirm that there would appear to be dissatisfaction and frustration with respect to our Confederation. It would indicate that many Canadians feel the nature of the system Canadians have devised for living together does not adequately serve their needs at this time.

Ontario has a particular responsibility to co-operate with sister provinces in any necessary amendment of national arrangements that could improve inter-regional and inter-provincial understanding. After all, we do represent more than a third of the population of Canada.

I hope we are sensitive, as the member for York South (Mr. MacDonald) has urged us to be during the course of his debate, to different interests and that we do respond to different desires and aspirations. I hope we do comprehend the urgency of Canadian expectations, and we are not negative to needed national accommodations. As never before, the interests of the people of Canada are best guarded by guarding their interests in a united Canada.

I am sure we all agree, by virtue of the tone of the very resolution which is before this House during this week, that to support sovereignty-association would not be compatible with anyone's commitment to Canada. It would not be compatible with my commitment to accommodate change within the one constraint of perpetuating the confederated nation which we all love.

I believe, and I am sure this belief is shared by all members of this assembly, that we should be prepared to amend as

appropriate interprovincial and inter-regional arrangements, and by those new arrangements, of course, we cannot include a breakup of our very federation. No one, including myself can support the rejection by the rest of Canada of Quebec. That is not what the "new nationality" of 1865 was all about. But, in saying that, similarly we can not support the ending of that definition of nationality which a sovereign-associated or a separated Quebec would foreshadow.

The strength of Canada and the benefit of being a Canadian, we must constantly remind ourselves, is much more than a statistical, economic or commercial consideration. Let us make that point quite clear.

As the Minister of Energy for this province, I invite all Canadians, especially those resident in Quebec, to consider the implications of the current referendum debate as it relates to our energy future.

No nation today can plan its future in the absence of well-matured plans as to the supply, costs and sources of energy that will be required in its residences, commercial establishments, industries or transportation systems. Most Canadians rely upon other regions of Canada or other countries of the world for much of the energy we require to fuel our communities. In the case of our own province and our sister province of Quebec in particular, there is very little current evidence that would lead us to anticipate that this reliance will be greatly relieved.

In spite of the uncertainties of world crude oil supply, Canada is incredibly well positioned. While we are not currently self-sufficient in crude oil—we produce about 1.4 million barrels a day of the 1.8 million barrels we now consume—our vast resources make us the envy of the industrialized world. Moreover, we are self-sufficient in other principal forms of energy: natural gas, electricity and coal.

The people of Quebec and Ontario are well aware that energy supply security and competitive pricing increasingly are of benefit in terms of attracting jobs and income to our respective provinces. Indeed, compared to most industrial countries of the world, Canada is a resource-rich nation. We are blessed with coastal and inland fisheries, forests that stretch from Atlantic to Pacific, the hydrocarbons of the western provinces, the great potash mines of Saskatchewan, the wheat fields of the great plains region, the mines and industries of Ontario and Quebec and the rich resources of British Columbia.

In addition to providing the jobs and income to those directly developing the resources or operating those particular industries, these resources have been of benefit to every resident of Canada, no matter where he or she lives.

These resources are the inheritance and entitlement of all Canadians. They are to be considered as part of the national endowment of each one of us. I, therefore, worry—and I trust this worry is shared by all of us in this House—about those who would urge our fellow citizens in another province to cut themselves off from those resources and to cut themselves off from that inheritance.

Just think about it for a moment in terms of energy alone. In its recent publication entitled *An Energy Policy for Quebec*, the government of Quebec stated: "Imported energy will for a long time to come continue to play a major though declining role in supplying Quebec's energy needs." In the same document it noted: "Of Quebec's total consumption of energy, 22 per cent is in electricity, 70 per cent in oil, six per cent in gas and two per cent in coal."

8:10 p.m.

The total consumption of crude oil in Quebec is currently about 550,000 barrels a day. In its 1978 *Canadian Oil Supply and Requirements* report, the National Energy Board projected that this would increase to some 750,000 barrels a day by 1990. Keep in mind, in thinking in terms of those figures, that this assumes increased penetration by natural gas.

In that connection, interesting questions have been raised with respect to the position of a separated, sovereign Quebec in having a claim to natural gas from the other parts of Canada or to crude oil from the Alberta oil fields now travelling through the Sarnia-Montreal pipe line at the rate of some 315,000 barrels a day for the refineries of Quebec.

A sovereign Quebec will, therefore, import 550,000 barrels a day of crude oil from the markets of the world. Assuming it were consistently available at the current price of, say, \$35 a barrel, the annual cost would be slightly in excess of \$7 billion a year. By 1990, at 750,000 barrels a day and at an assumed price of \$50 a barrel it would exceed \$13 billion annually.

The government of Quebec's *An Energy Policy for Quebec* records: "Our balance of payments, which was in equilibrium until 1973, has since shown a deficit in 1977." In that particular year, nearly \$2 billion was

spent for the purchase of hydrocarbons at the Canadian price.

It would be quite inappropriate for me to advise Quebec as to how it might best plan its energy future. It is perfectly evident, however, that saying yes in the referendum and, in effect, saying no to the energy resources within our country will launch Quebec on the very uncertain and perilous energy seas that now are being so nervously navigated by the hydrocarbon-deficit nations of the world. It may not, therefore, be inappropriate for me to say that it would distress me very much if my friends in Quebec should opt for this alternative without being fully aware of the energy uncertainty that will inescapably ensue.

Let me be quick to remind myself and members of the House, as I have already indicated, that we are speaking to an issue which cannot possibly be addressed solely on the basis of economics, resource-sharing, money supply or the many other valid and important factual considerations. There is not one of us in this House who would not agree that emotion by its very nature easily defies clear expression by virtue of the inadequacy of vocabulary.

How do you effectively express your feelings in a debate as important as this? Belief in ourselves as peoples of a nation with our roots in our common history and soil and geography has to be seen as essential. Irrespective of where one lives in this tremendous country of ours, everyone can take a quiet and emphatic pride in the mellow softness of the Niagara Peninsula, the sky-probing mountain peaks and the forest pines of British Columbia, the deep blue of a prairie sky stretched across the green and gold of the prairie wheat fields and the glories of the autumn maples of Ontario and Quebec, not to overlook the sea-washed shores of our Maritime provinces.

It all represents our national home, a home far more extensive, no matter how important, than that little piece of geography where any one of us happens to reside. Perhaps, on reflection, this could be best expressed by sharing with the members of this House and through the media with the people living in Quebec the recent experience of a very special lady, known to me and living in Ontario. The lady in question is a Montreal-born Canadian, the daughter of a Montreal-born Canadian father and a Scottish-born mother. Her paternal grandparents are English and her maternal grandparents are Scottish. This lady is mar-

ried to an Ontario-born Canadian. They, in turn, are the parents of three Ontario-born Canadian children who are fiercely proud of their citizenship and their roots.

Recent events in the province of her birth prompted this lady to reflect on the events of her childhood and adolescence lived in that province of Quebec, a province which she has continued to visit after her move to Ontario. These visits provided her with the opportunity, among others, to introduce her children to the people, the excitement, the customs, the glamour and the beauty of her home province, Quebec. To say this lady is proud of the province of her birth has to be seen as an understatement.

Following the announcement of the date for the referendum, it became evident that she wanted to do something to make this pride and her feelings known. I ask you, Mr. Speaker, what does an individual do under those circumstances? Can anyone say that one person can do anything that will make a difference? This lady, with her two daughters, travelled to Montreal this past weekend to learn firsthand something about the current campaign through conversations with friends and others with whom they would come in contact.

A visit to the committee rooms organized by the no forces in Quebec produced literature and campaign buttons and, with such buttons visibly displayed on their clothing, these three Ontarians went through the events of their weekend. Whether they were in a theatre lineup, eating at Dunn's Famous Delicatessen Restaurant, walking along St. Catherine Street or waiting for their train, they were moved by the number of strangers who came up to them to tell them they liked the messages on their buttons and commended them for their willingness to display their feelings so openly and without shame. Obviously, this brought with it the opportunity to talk about Canada and to express what our nationality is all about. It was really a people-to-people exchange.

These three ladies returned home last night tired and concerned, although quite thrilled by the experience. After all, Montreal is one of the great cities of Canada and, indeed, of the world. You have to admit it is not a very exciting story. It won't make the national news in the same way as the recent fist-fight at a referendum rally did. It won't provide any quotable quotes such as those attributed to the Prime Minister of Canada and other political leaders in the next few weeks. But here

is a lady who wanted to say to the people of Quebec: "Hey, all you people, I was born here too. I can't vote right now because I don't reside here any more, but think twice, think many times before you take away from me, before you take away from thousands of others who have moved away, as I have, the reality of our Canadian nationality, realized as a right because of our birth in the province of Quebec. Don't rob me of this essential part of my Canadian heritage."

So much for the efforts of Margaret Boston of Niagara-on-the-Lake, my wife, who with our daughters Beth and Mary-Jayne, quietly carried on that positive message and expressed their feelings during the last couple of days.

The red light is on; so I simply say, as the first victim of that light, may we all join together in recommitting ourselves to our Canadian nationality. All of us at 72 Johnson Street, Niagara-on-the-Lake, feel very deeply about this matter. There comes a time when we have to affirm our loyalties to Canada, recognizing that it is something above regional loyalty. We have to make it perfectly clear to the people of Quebec that they are an integral part of this concept of Canadian nationality, and that we are deeply concerned about their welfare. Our commitment to a united and vital Canada is clear.

Let us tell the people of Quebec that we believe in all these things. Let us also tell the people of Quebec that this commitment to Canada precludes any possibility of any kind of sovereignty-association, for that just would not be Canada.

8:20 p.m.

Mr. Breithaupt: Mr. Speaker, we in the Liberal caucus will now proceed through a variety of areas which this debate will cover. I have the task to comment upon the opportunity which all Canadians have to bring a renewed federalism through the institutions available to us.

I believe we can learn from the experience of other federations, both successful and unsuccessful ones. We cannot simply copy the complex system of Switzerland or that of the United States and thereby hope to solve our problems. Those two systems are suited to the history, the culture and peoples of those nations, but in Canada we have special problems to resolve and we have a variety of characteristics which must be separately addressed.

The most particular point to remember, as we look around the world, is that Canada is a bilingual, multicultural federation governed by a parliamentary system. As a multicultural

federation it differs from the United States and Australia since neither of those two nations is multicultural. Yet these three very large nations have some of the longest-lasting constitutional systems that exist. Switzerland is multicultural but it is not parliamentary. In some respects, Canada has more in common with some of the new Commonwealth nations, such as Nigeria, than some of the old dominions like Australia and New Zealand.

But how is this federalism to be defined in 1980? K. C. Wheare offered this definition of the US constitution of 1787: "By the federal principle, I mean the method of dividing powers so that the general and regional governments are each within a sphere co-ordinate and independent."

But this leads to the view of dual federalism, while we are more practical now to see the need for an interdependent federalism. Within the federal system, dual federalism sees the federal and provincial governments as equal rivals. However, interdependent federalism views them primarily as equal partners.

Ronald L. Watts is the principal of Queen's University. In the preparation of the Pepin-Robarts report he defined interdependent federalism as:

"The principle of political organization by which concurrent desires for territorial integration and diversity within a society are accommodated by the establishment of a single political system within which central and provincial government possess co-ordinate authority, such that neither level is legally or political subordinate to the other. Other forms of political systems may recognize or express elements of unity or diversity but make one level of government subordinate to the other.

"This statement modifies the traditional definition of federalism in three respects. First, political as well as legal relations between governments are relevant in determining co-ordinate status. Second, governments may be dependent on each other—that is, interdependent—so long as the dependence of one level of government on the other does not become so one-sided as to involve subordination. Third, the federal principle as stated may be expressed by a whole range of institutional arrangements suitable to different conditions and is not limited to one pure model."

The definition is important, because Mr. Watts was to rely on it during the drafting of the Pepin-Robarts report. He wrote large sections of the report dealing with the federalist view, and many of the concepts he

expressed have been picked up by Claude Ryan, the leader of the Quebec Liberal Party. The proposals for reform, which Mr. Ryan brings forward to a new Canadian federation, therefore follow in the continuous flow of ideas and materials from the Pepin-Robarts report and from those conferences and discussions which preceded that report.

We can see that the Canadian constitution of 1867 deviates somewhat from orthodox federalism, since some of its provisions clearly make the provincial government subordinate to the central government. In Canada, the central government has a number of overriding powers which give it the status of senior government. These include the emergency power, the declaratory power, the spending power, the powers of disallowance and reservation, and the power to appoint Lieutenants Governor.

The Pepin-Robarts commission said that both disallowance and reservation should be eliminated from the new Canadian constitution, and the proposals by Mr. Ryan do the same thing. We also agree with respect to the proposals of appointment of the Lieutenant Governor, and both agree that a central emergency power would have to remain in the constitution.

The residuary powers reside with states or provinces in most federations, rather than with the central government. Both the Pepin-Robarts approach and the Ryan proposals suggest that the provinces have this residuary power. Again, this is the kind of idea which must be thoroughly canvassed and discussed as we renew our federation.

All these changes would serve the same purpose in that they would eliminate any subordination of the provincial governments to the central government. In this approach, all these particular proposals are truly federal, and the changes as they develop would make the Canadian system more genuinely federal than it is now.

There can be no doubt that the Fathers of Confederation wanted a strong central government and that they deliberately designed the system where the central government had a dominant role. The Fathers of Confederation wanted to build a strong country, and they had just had the experience of the US Civil War to remind them of the dangers of excessive states rights.

But two points have to be made. First, Canadian federalism did not evolve as the Fathers of Confederation would have liked to see it. They wanted a basically unitary state, with the provinces having a minimum of power, and acting as little more than

overgrown municipal governments. This did not happen, and we cannot try to tailor modern solutions to our problems based on the views and wishes expressed in 1867.

Second, there is no basis in fact for the theory that Canada was meant to be a confederacy, with provinces having a wide range of powers and the central government having only those powers that the provinces wanted to give it. While this theory has had some acceptance with certain people in Quebec, in my opinion it is not based on fact. Provincial rights have been strengthened over the years by several decisions of the judicial committee of the privy council.

The pendulum swung back to the federal government during the Second World War, but since then the provinces have all begun to reassess their traditional rights and to seek powers from Ottawa.

The period known as co-operative federalism saw the implementation of a number of joint federal-provincial programs such as medicare. Initially, the federal government remained more powerful than the provinces, and agreement to joint programs was forced, even if some of those programs upset the priorities of provincial governments.

However, the balances have shifted during the past 15 years. In recent years, very little progress has been made on a new division of constitutional powers between the central and provincial governments. Canadian federalism has been decentralized administratively by major changes in the fiscal and financial arrangements of the federation.

Since the early 1970s, we have seen the growth of executive federalism, the first ministers' or the other ministers' conferences producing the most recent agreements in the federal-provincial field. This executive federalism has had some positive effects, but it has also caused problems.

Ten years ago, the commission headed by Andre Laurendeau and Davidson Dunton warned that Canada had reached the greatest crisis in its history. In 1979, the Pepin-Robarts task force came to the same conclusion.

One problem is as old as the country itself, and that is the relationship between the two founding peoples, French-speaking and English-speaking Canadians. But there are other problems which have become just as serious. Regional discontent exists as well in western Canada and in the Maritimes.

8:30 p.m.

Ronald L. Watts, the principal of Queen's University, to whom I have referred earlier, had analysed the types of strain that have operated in federations. He knows they all

experience tensions, but it is to deal with those tensions that they have adopted a federal system. In addition, there is no single factor that can cause the disintegration of a federation.

The circumstances which led to the break-up of a federation vary, but in all cases political conflict has polarized so that eventually compromise seems impossible. There are various themes of strain, which include the evaporation of the original inducement of union as well as the original divergence of political demands. These tensions can be truly destructive if they are reinforced by variations in the ability of provinces to influence central politics.

There has been a constant problem in Canadian history. Since federation, Ontario has been perceived as the province which has the most influence on the central government and which derives the most benefits from the central government. It is not only the result of the fact that we in Ontario have the largest provincial population and that we have been the centre of industrial development in Canada. It is also a result of the fact that the national capital is in our province and that an unusually large proportion of the federal civil servants is made up of Ontarians.

The western provinces, with their smaller populations, have often felt powerless to influence major federal decisions. This feeling of alienation has grown in recent years as western economic power within the federation has increased.

Constitutionally, Canada is a federation, but its system of government was imported from a small, unitary state with powers centred on the executive, and there is no practical mechanism of regional brokerage.

The Senate was supposed to represent regional interests, but it has failed, because it is appointed by the federal government, rather than by the provinces whose interests it is supposed to define. Indeed, the representation within Ontario of members of the Senate has not in any way balanced the varied interests within our province.

The region of Waterloo alone has sufficient population to have a member of the Senate represent us. Those persons living to the west, along Lake Huron, should also make a claim for a senator. The population of London is large enough to demand that kind of representation. The areas of Brant and Haldimand and Norfolk should also make a claim in that regard. Therefore, in my part of western Ontario alone, where perhaps four or five senators should represent regional interests within the province, there is no one.

It is not always easy to remember the areas from which senators in Ontario come.

But it is certainly easy to know where they don't flourish. The regional brokerage which should take place within political parties, or in the federal cabinet, also has strains because of the representation of the two parties in parts of the country other than in their own home areas.

The Senate has failed to provide the balance of interests within the province and within the nation.

As well, the secondary institution has proven inadequate; that is, the federal-provincial ministers' conferences. These conferences of Premiers or of particular cabinet ministers have emerged almost as an institution. However, they do not seem to be permanent, because they have no constitutional basis. They operate almost completely outside of the democratic system, and they put a premium on confrontation rather than on accommodation.

We recognize the need as well to move into the themes of official languages and the constitutional protection of language rights. We recognize that changes must occur in the structures and duties of the Supreme Court of Canada. We recognize that regional groupings of provinces or areas, with some interests in population, can bring better balance to the growth of our nation.

I need not repeat to the Ontario public the historic development of constitutional change in Canada. The point is only to remind our people, and the people of Quebec particularly, that we have an opportunity to work together to renew our federalism. In my view, the best guarantee of the traditions, language and culture in Quebec is to have that province remain fully in Canada.

Our fellow Canadians in the Maritimes and in western Canada also have desires and demands for change. Most of the proposals for changes show that a constitution will have to have guarantees of basic individual, political and language rights. In addition, a new division of powers designed to eliminate overlapping areas of jurisdiction must occur, and in that occurrence the powers of the province will increase. As well, a reform of the centre institutions to which I have referred will bring more provincial input into the decision-making process.

By working together, we can all plan to become first-class citizens wherever we live in Canada. My background is neither French nor English. The community I represent was first settled in the 1790s by large numbers of Pennsylvania German settlers and then those artisans and craftsmen who came directly from Germany. The community was

called Berlin until 1916, when it became Kitchener.

Our community has grown to include groups from nearly every country of the world. We have kept some of our German heritage but only as a base from which to grow in Canada and to which to welcome our fellow Canadians and our many tourist visitors. We, who are neither French or English, call upon the two founding races, with the native peoples, to remember the strengths which our one third of the Canadian population brings to this country.

Last evening, many saw the program on the liberation of Amsterdam in 1945. I found it important to listen to Canadian servicemen tell of their experiences and doing so in both French and English. My involvement with the Canadian forces goes back for the past 24 years. I have served in many parts of Canada and have met and worked with many French-speaking officers and men.

My interests also happen to involve the Order of St. John and St. John Ambulance, an organization which spans the nation, and voluntary persons support those services in both languages, English and French. Another interest I have is in a particular group that the member for St. David and I share. That is the Order of St. Lazarus, the purposes of which are ecumenical, bilingual and committed to national unity.

We are all in Canada to build a better nation than now exists. As the motion before us says, "We support full negotiation of a new constitution to satisfy the diverse aspirations of all Canadians and to replace the 'status quo' which is clearly unacceptable."

To the people of Quebec, who will cast their ballots on May 20, I can only say: "Work with us. Do not be deceived by the snare of sovereignty-association. Together we can go on to a greater future in a land which is more blessed by beauty, resources and the skills of our people than is any other on the face of the planet."

Mr. Breaugh: Monsieur le Président, je voudrais dire quelques mots à mes amis du Québec. Je parle français avec l'accent de M. Diefenbaker, mais j'espère qu'ils sauront me pardonner si je me fais mal comprendre. Je crois que les Québécois ne décideront pas de leur avenir et du mien à la légère.

Je comprends qu'ils tiennent avant tout à s'exprimer avec fierté et à satisfaire les besoins qui leur sont propres. Je crois qu'ils y parviendront mieux dans le contexte d'un nouveau Canada. Ce débat historique à l'Assemblée législative de l'Ontario devrait être le signe évident pour nos frères et sœurs

du Québec, et de tout le Canada, que les Ontariens sont prêts à forger une nouvelle constitution et à bâtir un meilleur Canada.

Les Québécois ont sans doute perçu ce besoin avant nous. Sans doute peuvent-ils définir plus clairement leurs propres espoirs et aspirations s'il s'agit maintenant de négocier une nouvelle constitution et un nouveau Canada. En Ontario, on prend à nouveau conscience des immenses possibilités qui s'offrent ici à tous les Canadiens. On reconnaît les fautes passées et les grandes promesses de l'avenir.

En ce mois de mai, la population du Québec va exprimer son opinion par référendum comme j'exprime la mienne par ce discours. Ce sont là les premiers pas sur un chemin long et difficile. Que ces deux événements soient perçus comme des facteurs positifs lorsque nous poursuivrons le débat à d'autres tribunes.

Puisse-t-on voir que nos différences sont aussi nos points forts. Puissent nos besoins communs nous unir devant la tâche qui nous attend. Bâtissons une nouvelle constitution et un nouveau Canada et faisons-le ensemble.

8:40 p.m.

This country has much to be ashamed of. In our history of more than a century, we have still not resolved the rights of our native people or their claims. In our history, we still have not resolved the problem of two official languages. Francophones in this province are aware of federal legislation saying we have two official languages. They are also well aware in this province, as in others, that it is difficult on occasion to get those rights put into practice.

There are also a great many minority groups in our country these days that have listened to federal and provincial politicians talk about a policy of multiculturalism and are well aware there are difficulties in their own community in teaching their sons or daughters their own languages and traditions. We very often talk a good game, but we very often have problem putting those into practice.

For a social democrat like myself, the greatest single failure of this nation is to look at the wealth of the resources which this country has, to look at the kind of economic potential which this country could have and to realize the failure which is there; to realize that, after better than 100 years of operation, we still do not have control of our own resources and of our own economy.

One only has to go to an industrial place like Oshawa, where I come from, and look

at the job opportunities which are there in normal times and the economic benefits which are here and compare those to the ones one finds in the outports of Newfoundland. There is a world of difference.

One could look to the western part of this country—and the alienation is heavy in the air in the western part of this country—and see the western Premiers say to the rest of the country they have finally begun to deal with this matter of resources, resource policies and oil prices. One even sees in some of the legislatures in the western part of the country members of those legislatures talking about some kind of union with the United States of America.

If one looks to the east, one will see in Quebec a severe threat of a new nation emerging different to the existing arrangements now in place. If one goes to the Maritimes, one will find people who are more interested in the Boston Red Sox than they are in either the Blue Jays or that ball team in Montreal.

I believe in a federal system of government. I have had the opportunity to go from one end of this nation to the other in my little camper. I have felt the feelings one sees in different parts of the country. I have felt the alienation of the west and the problems that are there and in other parts of this country. I don't believe it could be governed by anything other than a federal system. It requires that.

I think the problem is that there are some difficulties in making the current federal system relevant to the people it is supposed to serve. In my view, any form of government that does not provide individual citizens with some rationale, some clear understanding that that particular organizational mode of government makes sense to them and makes some difference in their individual lives, is one that is found wanting, and that is precisely where I find us now.

In part, this has to do with our institutions and our electoral techniques. I find a great many people in my own area and across the country want to have a slightly altered form of electoral process. They are talking a great deal these days of some kind of proportional representation, which is an idea I support, not that it is without its sins but then, as a matter of fact, neither is the current system, which we call the first-past-the-post system. That means most of the members in the federal Parliament have the support of less than 50 per cent of their constituents.

Other countries in the world use the proportional representation formula in different ways, but essentially it means taking a percentage of the popular vote across the country and setting up a second body or integrating it and allocating the members that way.

It has been my feeling for some time, and it is shared by a number of my colleagues, that if the Canadian Senate ever did serve a useful purpose in the history of this country, it has outlived its usefulness.

A number of people who are investigating proposals for constitutional change now are suggesting some form of a second House. I do not support any kind of an upper tier to the House of Commons. I do support the concept of a parallel House. I think it would be quite possible to set it up with 100 members and have those members appointed by proportional representation.

I would see no difficulty in having those members interact with the House of Commons. For example, they could be present for question period; they could function as ministers; and they could function as party leaders. The only caveat I would put on this in personal terms is that I do not believe they should have a vote in the Commons. That is simply a compromise or a blend situation that I believe in, representing the two roles that members of parliaments have, first to represent a constituency and second to represent a political party or a school of political thought.

I also think part of our problem is that we have left the decisions and the writing of papers to a rather select and elite group of people. We have so far used primarily the mechanism of the first ministers' conferences.

I think it a dangerous business to leave the future of this country to the Premiers, to the Prime Minister, to the bureaucrats, and to the academics. I believe we must find means of involving the citizens in having their say, in voicing opinions, in saying yes or no, in looking at options that might be available. I am not prepared to leave that to some small elite group of people who may design a very fine theoretical model but which may not have anything to do with the needs of our citizens.

I think it quite possible to put together a series of constitutional conventions which would bring together people from all walks of life. I suppose members of Parliament and people from legislatures across the country could participate in this process as well.

I believe the first ministers' conferences are useful tools, but I believe those should

be attended by all-party delegations. There is a whole level of government which now is the prime provider of services, that is, municipal government—which is not even there. I think those things must be enlarged and embellished because, quite frankly, every one of us now admits the first ministers' conferences are a kind of showpiece. If it were not accompanied by little lunches here and there and late dinners over there, and a couple of backroom meetings over here, no one could say what they want because, for example, there is considerable political risk for the Premier of Ontario to sit down at a table with the camera glaring and say exactly what he thinks.

I think those first ministers' conferences ought to continue on a more regular basis, but there ought to be more people there. There ought to be all-party delegations and at least the municipal governments in this country ought to be represented at them.

The constitutional conference convention idea sounds like a rather preposterous notion when one runs it by the first time, but we do that for trade unions, for business associations, for political parties and for professional associations. It strikes me this also warrants that gathering of a large percentage of the population and letting them meet. Even if it were only for five or six days a couple of times a year, over the next two or three years, one could build towards a consensus document.

I believe the final result of that particular exercise ought to be a referendum on the clear issues of a new constitution. It is not too practical to put it all on a ballot, but I think it would be possible to put the principles down and have the people of this country say, "Yes, that is what I would like to have," or "No, that is not acceptable to me."

It goes back to my original premise that the people of this country must see some value in a change in the constitution. They must also agree with whatever changes are made in institutions, in the delegation of responsibilities and in the delegation of powers. The current Prime Minister has said that by 1981 he would like to have a new constitution. I don't believe anybody feels that is quite possible just now, but by the mid-1980s, before the next federal election, with a regular series of first ministers' conferences expanded in their size and their role, and with a regular series of constitutional conventions, I believe we could work out a consensus document. I believe we could have a clear choice put before the people of Canada in which they could express their own opinions.

I imagine most members have followed the referendum activity in Quebec in the last few days. Undeniably, they have proven that some things which we in this House perhaps thought were very dry subjects indeed—matters having to do with the future of our country, of our province, of our own personal family—are matters which people can understand and which people have no difficulty at all in forming opinions upon.

8:50 p.m.

I have watched with great interest the referendum debate in Quebec. That debate takes place in the National Assembly and in the formal meetings that are held; it also takes place in church basements, in line-ups for buses and in bars and restaurants. Any place where people gather now they are talking about their future and what their choice will be, and I think it is quite possible and quite practical that could happen throughout Canada.

This country has great potential. My family came here not in a very distinguished way. My ancestors came from Ireland, not by choice, but simply to avoid a famine. When they left Ireland, in the mountains of Wicklow, they didn't own the land they worked or the cottage they lived in; that belonged to an English landlord. They didn't exactly come here first class, either; they got here in cattle boats. Many of them died of the plague on the way over, and more of them died and were buried on islands in the middle of the St. Lawrence when they got here.

Those who did survive walked from Kingston to what at that time was the farthest western parish, called Camden, and there they settled down amid the rocks, which looked very much like Wicklow.

In the wintertime the men went off to the shanty and cut logs, and in the spring they drove those logs down the Madawaska. For the remainder of the year they tried to keep their families alive on a farm. For the most part the women ran the farm, because the men were away somewhere else working. For many of us there has been a real change in that, although many of us have parents who came here under similar kinds of circumstances. Changes take place gradually.

I grew up in a small town in eastern Ontario called Napanee. In the middle of the summer things got a little dull in Napanee, but around about July 12 each year things really spruced up. There was a great parade, the pickup trucks came into town, there were guys with pipes and drums and there were flags and banners. It was quite exciting, more

exciting than anything else we had to look at those days. The guy across the road from us used to ride this magnificent white horse, and he borrowed my brother's shin pads every year so that he wouldn't hurt his knees. That made me and my family part of this great parade as well.

In the middle of the afternoon they went to the fair grounds. I don't understand why, but they forgot to invite the Catholics. It didn't bother us, though. We knew the fair grounds well and we simply slipped into the back of the fair grounds and we listened to great speeches about the Papists. We didn't know who the Papists were, but we sure found out what a bad lot they were.

As I got a little older and we started to go out with girls, I found out that in Napanee there were some girls whose parents said to them: "No, you can't go out with Catholics. We're sorry." Neither the girls nor the boys in Napanee really understood that. But in those days if your parents said no, the answer was no. When I got a little older I found out there were some jobs I couldn't apply for. Not only didn't I understand that, but I didn't like it either.

I don't think my children are ever going to see that kind of prejudice in their lifetimes. I think those changes have occurred in Canada, substantive changes. My grandfather was illiterate; he couldn't read or write a word of English or French. My father had for his time what was considered to be a normal education; he went to grade six. I was the first member of my family to get into post-secondary education. I think my children have options open to them which my grandparents and their children didn't even think about.

There is the potential for change in this country which is not prevalent in the rest of the world and, although we have lots of faults and there are lots of things that are wrong about Canada, there are also lots of things which are very right about Canada.

One of the things that came to my attention as I read Maclean's magazine and several other Canadian publications was that Canadians are supposed to have no culture. On Saturday afternoon, from the National Arts Centre in Ottawa, I watched a group of young people. I was watching, quite frankly, because there was a Dixieland band from Central High School in Oshawa that was participating in a competition. Not only did I see them win their little competition, which was nationwide, but I watched the remainder of the program as well, and I saw young people from across this country performing modern music in a variety of forms, technically very

good. These young people don't seem to understand that Canadians are not supposed to have a culture of their own.

In terms of cultural development we have gone from having token individuals who are extremely good and well to having a wide variety of people who don't accept the old myth that Canadians can't be good at a number of things.

In every sports arena you go into, every hockey rink, every playing field, every swimming pool, you will find young Canadians who do not accept what their mothers and fathers accept. They are challenging the world, and they are succeeding. Last summer I had the opportunity to visit one of my favourite parts of Canada, Cape Breton, and I found something that was near and dear to my heart. There is a Gaelic college there. I am Irish, and we have pretty well lost our language here and even in Ireland. I found a Gaelic college, sponsored and operated by Scots from Cape Breton. Throughout Cape Breton I found people who had retained their culture and their language and were developing new and very good art forms.

Canada has potential in almost any field one could name. In the resource sector, if we ever got our act together, if we ever planned our economy and made it a truly Canadian economy, we would have job potential. If we ever set our minds to it, as other countries in the world have done, and planned that economy, if we were able to clarify between the public and the private sector who is best equipped to do what, if we could do those things, this nation would offer to the individual citizen a chance to do something that few countries in the world can do.

The people of this nation, perhaps because it is sometimes a little harsh and perhaps because it is not always an easy place to live, tend to thrive on adversity. I do not like to use those words because they have connotations which in other situations I am not very happy with. But the plain fact of life for many people who live in this country, in the northern part of the province and even in the middle of our large cities, is that they have the opportunity to break out of what in other countries of the world would be considered to be almost a caste system.

Part of our tragedy is very simply that we have never allowed them to do that, and part of our great potential is very simply that the potential is still there. An act of will could make the government of Ontario, the government of Canada and the constitution of Canada relevant to its own citizens. It could change the lives and the futures of each and

every person whom we represent in this House and whom other parliamentarians represent all across the country.

In other words, the challenge is clearly there. The mechanisms are clearly there. The potential is clearly there. The challenge is for the people of Canada, for the members of this Legislature, for the members of our federal Parliament, to see if we can finally put together that matching game between the potential of a great nation and the ability of its people and its politicians to design a system that works, is rational and is sensitive to the needs of its people.

Mr. Belanger: Monsieur le Président, c'est pour moi un honneur, un grand privilège, et un grand plaisir, de parler aujourd'hui sur ce sujet qui est d'une si extrême importance. L'avenir de notre pays est une chose qui nous concerne tous. Non seulement en tant que citoyens d'un grand pays, mais en tant qu'individus et que parents. Je veux que mes enfants éprouvent le même sentiment et la même fierté que moi, quand je dis "Je suis Canadien". Je veux qu'ils puissent être fiers de leur pays—un pays qui s'étend entre les deux puissants océans et les mers glacées du Nord. Un pays assez grand pour présenter les reliefs les plus divers. Un pays dont les habitants et les traditions sont si variés qu'on pourrait le qualifier de monde en miniature.

C'est là le Canada que je connais. C'est là le Canada que je veux léguer à mes enfants. J'aimerais maintenant partager quelques idées avec vous sur le présent et l'avenir de notre pays. Je suis Franco-Ontarien.

Cela signifie que je suis un Canadien francophone qui vit dans une province dont la langue dominante est l'anglais. J'ai également passé la plus grande partie de ma vie dans l'est de l'Ontario, dans la région des comtés de Prescott-Russell et de Carleton.

Les Franco-Ontariens comme moi sont nombreux dans ces comtés. En fait, plus de 80% des habitants de ma circonscription ont le français pour langue maternelle.

Prescott-Russell compte parmi les plus vieux établissements de l'Ontario.

Son histoire est celle de la province et il partage les traditions qui ont façonné notre pays tout entier.

9 p.m.

Ce sont d'abord l'explorateur français Champlain, puis les coureurs des bois qui ont été les premiers à pénétrer dans les forêts qui couvraient autrefois notre pays. Ils ont été suivis par les colons écossais et irlandais, les Curran, les Hammonds et les Maloch, qui brûlèrent les forêts, procédèrent

à l'arpentage, labourèrent la terre et lensemencèrent, et se joignirent aux pionniers français qui les avaient précédés dans les collectivités telles Clarence Creek, Lefavre, Bourget, St. Bernardin et Vankleek, Alfred l'Original, pour n'en nommer que quelques-unes.

Ma circonscription est aussi une communauté agricole, dont la croissance et le développement sont le résultat des efforts conjoints des colons francophones et anglophones. Et pour nous rappeler davantage encore que ce coin du pays a été développé au début par les efforts des deux peuples, elle est flanquée d'un côté par la rivière des Outaouais—l'ancienne route des explorateurs et des voyageurs—voie naturelle vers l'intérieur du pays et un pont entre la province de l'Ontario et la province du Québec.

Monsieur le Président, je ne suis pas un spécialiste des questions constitutionnelles, et je n'ai pas non plus étudié pendant des années l'histoire du Canada. Je ne puis que laisser parler mon cœur. Je ne puis qu'exposer le point de vue unique que j'ai acquis en grandissant dans ce coin de l'est de l'Ontario. Je ne puis que m'exprimer en mon nom et en celui des habitants de Prescott-Russell que je représente.

Dans le passé, les relations entre les deux populations de part et d'autre de la rivière des Outaouais, n'étaient peut-être pas des plus chaleureuses, mais elles étaient cordiales. Chaque collectivité restait autonome, mais les affaires se traitaient librement par dessus la rivière et nous pouvions toujours compter sur nos voisins en cas de besoin. Il arrivait que des Québécois épousent des jeunes filles de notre région, surtout la région de Hawkesbury. Ils ont vite découvert qu'ils pouvaient être heureux dans une province comme l'Ontario, ou une province anglophone. Le français est couramment utilisé dans Prescott-Russell, dans les cours de justice et la politique locale. Les Canadiens francophones peuvent se sentir chez eux dans ma circonscription.

Malheureusement, ces bons rapports entre les deux collectivités de part et d'autre de la rivière des Outaouais n'ont pas duré. Au lieu de rester un pont favorisant le commerce et l'amitié, la rivière est aujourd'hui une barrière entre les deux provinces. Les bonnes relations d'autan ne sont plus.

Monsieur le Président, il n'est plus possible aujourd'hui aux hommes d'affaires de Prescott-Russell de se joindre à des entreprises au Québec. Il semble que notre aide et nos connaissances ne soient plus appréciées.

En tant que Canadien, je trouve cette situation affligeante. Je ne crois pas qu'il

faillie restreindre le libre flot des affaires dans notre pays. Je crois que les frontières de nos provinces doivent être libres et ouvertes à tous les Canadiens. Que chaque province doit partager avec tous ce qu'elle a à offrir et qu'aucune province du Canada n'est indépendante des autres et uniquement responsable d'elle-même.

Nous sommes tous voisins dans ce pays et les actions de chacun se répercutent sur les autres.

C'est pourquoi, Monsieur le Président, les discussions actuelles sur la séparation, la séparation partielle et le régionalisme accru, sont pour moi inconcevables. Comment peut-on penser à faire éclater un pays qui fonctionne de façon aussi harmonieuse? Comment peut-on détruire, penser à détruire le produit de plus de 110 ans de dur travail de la part de ceux qui nous ont précédés?

En vérité, comment peut-on être assez insensible pour travailler à la chute d'un pays aussi fort que le nôtre, dont le succès est indéniable?

Notre pays n'est pas le résultat d'un peuplement unique; il ne s'est pas non plus développé dans le vide. Le Canada est un héritage partagé. C'est quelque chose qui appartient à chacun de nous, et à quoi chacun de nous appartient.

Personnellement, je sens très fortement que je fais partie de cet héritage commun. L'arbre généalogique de ma famille remonte très loin en arrière et couvre l'histoire canadienne dans sa totalité jusqu'au milieu du 17^e siècle, époque où mes premiers ancêtres se sont installés dans la région de Beauport au Québec.

Depuis ce temps-là, la famille a crû et s'est multipliée. On en trouve des rejetons dans tout le Canada, occupés à des emplois divers. Nous faisons toujours partie du patrimoine vivant de ce pays.

Nombreuses sont les familles qui, comme la mienne, se sont employées ensemble à façonner l'existence enviable dont nous sommes tous les héritiers aujourd'hui. Les Canadiens ont à leur porte tout ce qu'il faut pour aspirer à une existence encore meilleure. Il se peut que nous vivions dans des pièces séparées, mais nous avons tous investi dans cette maison. Voulons-nous ou pouvons-nous sans remords voir éclater le toit commun?

Est-ce que les choses qui semblent nous diviser exigent que soient rompus les liens qui, depuis tant d'années, nous unissent en un seul pays?

Sommes-nous réellement à bout de ressources? Qui dit chirurgie ne dit pas nécessairement amputation.

Je me souviens avoir fêté la Saint-Jean-Baptiste quand j'étais enfant, non seulement dans la province du Québec, mais aussi dans les régions de l'Ontario. Il n'était pas rare à cette occasion de voir anglophones et francophones, la main dans la main, prendre une part active aux célébrations.

Ce témoignage de fraternité entre hommes et femmes de cultures différentes est quelque chose dont je ne me lasse pas d'être le témoin. Et j'y trouve un grand réconfort. Et cela renforce ma conviction qu'il nous est absolument nécessaire de rester ensemble dans un pays uni.

Monsieur le Président, sans doute il nous faut agir pour sauver le Canada. Mais je ne suis pas d'accord avec ceux qui disent que la seule façon de résoudre nos problèmes est d'avoir recours à des mesures extrêmes et dramatiques. Il nous faut négocier. Il faut discuter sérieusement pour pouvoir nous comprendre parfaitement les uns et les autres.

Je crois que des discussions sensées, sensibles et bien documentées, feront beaucoup plus pour résoudre les problèmes que des accusations violentes, des menaces et des injures.

Le me félicite que le gouvernement de l'Ontario ait choisi la voie de négociation, plutôt que celle des repréailles, pour tenter de réduire les tensions actuelles au sein de la Confédération. Aussi, je crois que le fédéralisme renouvelé est la seule mesure envisageable face aux extrémistes qui préconisent l'irréversible.

Nous entendons beaucoup parler de fédéralisme renouvelé, Monsieur le Président, et le sens de l'expression risque de varier suivant la personne qui l'emploie. Quand je parle de fédéralisme renouvelé, j'entends une redistribution des pouvoirs au sein de la Confédération, avec peut-être un accroissement des responsabilités confiées aux provinces, particulièrement en ce qui concerne les affaires sociales et communautaires.

9:10 p.m.

Par certains côtés, la souveraineté-association ressemble plutôt à un projet visant à la redistribution des responsabilités. Toutefois, à mon avis, il est un peu trop exigeant. En outre, aucune province ne peut agir seule; personne ne peut prendre position une fois pour toutes et refuser de bouger. Les négociations doivent se poursuivre et toutes les possibilités doivent être explorées.

Monsieur le Président, il me faut parler franchement sur le sujet car nous n'avons déjà que trop attendu. Le moment d'agir est arrivé et ce pays a besoin d'une direction solide pour faire face aux questions fondamentales qui nous divisent et redécouvrir toutes les bonnes choses qui nous unissent et font de nous tous des Canadiens.

Monsieur le Président, il nous faut une direction plus nette de la part du gouvernement fédéral. Il nous faut plus que des mots, plus que d'aimables platitudes, plus que de la rhétorique. Il nous faut des plans d'action concrets. Il nous faut une charte constitutionnelle revitalisée et remise à jour.

Il s'est trouvé des gens pour dire que la séparation du Québec ne signifierait guère qu'une révision de nos cartes de géographie, une ligne noire supplémentaire marquant les frontières du Québec.

Je pense qu'il est dangereux de prendre à la légère l'impact que le retrait du Québec du Canada aurait sur tous les Canadiens. Dans la situation actuelle, je ne pense pas qu'il soit possible de compter ou de mesurer toutes les conséquences qu'un tel changement de nos structures nationales aurait sur nos vies quotidiennes.

Beaucoup d'entre nous sont d'avis qu'une telle action de la part des Québécois aurait pour résultat de fermer les portes et les esprits et de raidir les attitudes. Cela jetterait une ombre sur les projets faits jusqu'ici dans les relations entre nos deux peuples fondateurs.

Je veux voir se rétablir les liens cordiaux que reliaient autrefois les deux berges de la rivière des Outaouais, qui unissaient Prescott-Russell et le rivage québécois. Il serait tragique pour nos populations et pour notre pays de voir s'établir des postes de douane et des bureaux d'immigration de part et d'autre de la rivière. Cela signifierait que rien de ce que nous entendons maintenant par les termes Canada et Canadien n'aurait le même sens.

Et la rivière des Outaouais, depuis si longtemps occasion de commerce, d'exploration et d'amitié, deviendrait source de crainte et de soupçon. La tradition, l'héroïsme et l'amitié associés à ses eaux perdraient tout leur sens si on laissait la séparation et le régionalisme suivre leurs cours logique jusqu'à sa triste conclusion.

Monsieur le Président, on ne cite pas souvent Lomer Gouin parmi les premiers ministres du Québec. Toutefois, en terminant je désire le citer sur l'un des messages délivrés il y a déjà 75 ans. Et je cite: "Quand je contemple notre immense territoire, quand j'admire nos vieilles provinces

avec tous leurs riches souvenirs historiques, quand je vois ce à quoi hier a donné naissance, des prairies aux forêts sauvages riches d'avenir, je suis fier de porter le nom de Canadien, fier de mon pays, le Canada".

Mr. Epp: Mr. Speaker, this debate is a curious event. One hundred and twenty-four MPPs, the elected representatives of some 8.5 million Ontarians, will, over the next four days, discuss the future of Canada.

Although the debate is clearly occasioned by the forthcoming Quebec referendum, it will likely have little effect on how that referendum will turn out. We in Ontario may be powerless to affect that vote. Yet we will be deeply affected by what happens there.

The idea of sovereignty-association is a painful one for us, because we know it means separation. To accept Mr. Levesque's idea of sovereignty-association would be to accept the end of a united Canada and to look instead to something like united kingdoms of Canada. I hope and pray it does not come to this.

I believe the grievances and problems of Quebec can be dealt with in a united Canada. I believe that our federal government is capable of readjustment. Along with my colleagues in this House, I am ready to begin that process of renewing federalism.

I support the resolution. I hope Quebec votes no. If Quebec were to secede, half of Canada's cultural memory would be wiped out, and I feel this would be tragic.

Mr. Levesque's proposal for sovereignty-association has had one benefit. It is forcing Canadians to consider fundamental questions about the future of this nation. There is a consensus in this country that our present constitution needs to be changed. There seems to be widespread agreement that the existing system is over centralized and over complex. The challenge to this House presented by the separation movement in Quebec is to find ways of improving our federal structure of government so that all regions will feel they benefit from a united Canada.

As a former mayor looking at the possibility of reforming Canada's constitution, and as my party's municipal affairs critic, I wish to focus on the municipal perspective: the role of municipal government and some of the options for change.

Local government in Canada is often lavished with praise. It is portrayed as the level of government closest to the people, the level that offers the greatest opportunity for access to participation in decision-

making, the level that is most responsive to the needs of citizens and most efficient in developing services and delivering services.

Every member of this House undoubtedly has made speeches arguing that local government must be kept strong because it is so democratic, efficient and effective. But the gap between the rhetoric and the reality is gigantic. The reality is that local governments are creatures of the provinces, legally subordinate to the provincial government by the British North America Act. Municipalities have neither the money nor the power to deal with urban problems. They are tied to a regressive, inelastic revenue source, and their dependence on transfers from the senior levels of government is increasing, not decreasing.

Shared-cost programs continue to distort priorities and add red tape to an already over complicated intergovernmental system and process. They have no ability to control the spending of school boards, to whom they are required to hand over half of the revenues they collect. They cannot set spending priorities for other local boards which receive direct grants from the province, such as children's aid societies and public health boards.

Their powers are set out in municipal acts, which often run on for hundreds of pages and spell out precisely what they can do and, by omission, what they cannot do. The slightest change, even to change from using iron to aluminum wastebaskets, must be authorized by amending the Municipal Act. Virtually every citizen—even in some areas the putting up of a stop sign—must be approved by the provincial government.

A recent example, Bill 45, illustrated how preposterous the situation is. A special act of the Legislature had to be passed so that the city of Toronto could make a grant to the heirs of Tom Longboat, who won the Boston Marathon back in 1907. Nor can municipalities subdelegate; that is, assign even the most minor decisions to local officials, as do the federal and provincial governments.

9:20 p.m.

There is no need to belabour the point. The inability of the property tax to finance present urban expenditure responsibilities is a fact of which we are all aware. Similarly, the fact that municipal governments as creatures of the province can only exercise the powers and discharge responsibilities delegated to them by a provincial government

is a basic restraint with which we are all familiar.

The question as we look ahead to a renewed federalism for Canada is, do we think the situation should change, or do we want to keep municipalities as creatures of the provinces, caretaker governments with little freedom of action and financially dependent on transfers from above? Personally, I feel the outlook for local autonomy is bleak unless we, as provincial politicians, decide to champion municipalities and work to change the situation.

If one looks at the events of the past 10 years, one can only arrive at a pessimistic conclusion. In the last 10 years, we have witnessed the rise and fall of a movement to strengthen municipal government in this country.

All honourable members will recall the efforts of the tri-level movement to win increased status and independence for local government as a level of government in its own right. Municipalities entered into the tri-level conferences back in the early 1970s with high hopes. They hoped for more consultation in intergovernmental process. They hoped for a better revenue deal.

At the first tri-level conference held here in Toronto in 1972, municipalities felt pleased to secure a place at the conference table. The following year in Edmonton, the agreement to set up the task force on public finance was seen as a genuine step towards the real goal of discussing revenue sharing. Then in April 1976, the report of the task force, known as the Deutsch report, was released, and the figures seemed to prove that local governments were greatly underfinanced, as they had claimed for years.

By August 1976, the movement was dead and the long-promised third tri-level conference was never held. Do members know why that conference was never held? It was because the provincial ministers decided not to attend a third national tri-level conference. So much for the years of effort to establish and entrench the process of tri-level consultation.

In our own province, a regional government program launched as part of the Design for Development was filled with rhetoric about strengthening local government in Ontario. While there have been a few minor gains in terms of increased responsibilities delegated to municipal governments by the province, most notably the power to approve plans of subdivisions delegated to certain regional governments, municipal governments have not been strengthened. They are not playing a

more meaningful role in regulating their own affairs.

The failure to strengthen municipal autonomy is clearest if one looks at the history of municipal finance. The story of the Edmonton commitment is a sad story. We have had a decade of rhetoric. We had a commitment, back in October 1973, where there seemed to be some hope, and we have seen this commitment eroded through revisions and reinterpretations. Where are municipalities now? Right back where they started from, still talking about the possibility of developing a new mechanism for transfer payments to replace the Edmonton commitment.

It is not only past events that lead me to question the prospects for the future. Although we, as provincial politicians, talk about flexibility and the need for each community to be able to respond to local needs, we also feel a responsibility to provide for equal treatment for people all over this province and to provide for equality of opportunity, which means there must be limits to local autonomy. It is this concern about equality of opportunity which undoubtedly contributes to an ambivalence about local autonomy. I hope this debate forces us to confront this ambivalence we feel.

If we are going to give municipalities a new deal within a renewed federalism, we are going to have to face up to this ambivalence. The pressures will be pushing in the opposite direction. For instance, we know we are going to have more old people in society and so we are going to have to spend more on social services for the elderly and for health care.

The property tax, a relatively inelastic source of taxation, will become increasingly less able to pay for the kinds of services that people need. Since the health-care system is a provincial responsibility, we can see that the province will become more, not less, important as a service provider.

If we believe in all the values we attribute to local government, and if we believe our own rhetoric about the need for increased status for local government, it is we who will have to make the decision to loosen the reins with which we now control local government actions.

The present constitution was created in a pre-urban context. I believe that modern municipal governments require a new financial basis and perhaps even a new constitutional framework. As part of constitutional reform, I believe we have to consider the possibility of redefining existing relationships and responsibilities.

Former Premier John Robarts once called Ontario the golden hinge of Confederation. While some might interpret that to mean Ontario has dominated the nation by virtue of its size, position and economic power, others interpret it to mean Ontario has benefited most, politically and economically, from a united Canada. I prefer to think of us as the golden hinge in an unselfish and positive sense, that of opening the door to a united Canada, strengthened by a renewed federalism.

To fulfil this role, we in Ontario must take the lead in developing a new climate of co-operation between all governments, municipal as well as federal and provincial, as part of a new vision of Canada.

Ms. Bryden: Mr. Speaker, one of the speakers on the other side likened this debate rather ostentatiously to the work of the Fathers of Confederation. If his perception is valid, perhaps he should have described it as the work of the fathers and the mothers of Confederation.

I am participating in this debate because I am a Canadian who thinks that it is vitally important to keep our country together. Decisions of this sort are more often made with the heart than with the head. Cold economic facts are brushed aside or end up in a limbo of conflicting estimates and assumptions, but if we want to keep our country together, we have to indicate a deeper understanding of Quebec's heart than we have in the past.

We have to recognize that Quebecois are Canadians like us who have helped to build this country for more than 300 years. While a majority of them speak a different language and have a different cultural tradition, they are Canadians and have helped to make Canada the country we are proud of.

We have always recognized regional and cultural diversity in this country. We must not be afraid of diversity or insist that our society be monolithic in either language or its governmental arrangements within the federation. At the same time, we all want a strong Canadian identity, a strong Canada that can deal with the very serious economic and social problems facing this country today. It must also be a Canada that can deal adequately with growing international problems.

9:30 p.m.

We have to realize that any cultural group has an abiding desire to maintain its cultural heritage.

Where there is a very large cultural group, it expects to express its identity in a society that is largely operated and developed by

its own members. I hope we can accommodate that expectation of the Quebecois within Canada.

Many Quebecois, we know, consider the May 20 referendum as part of a negotiating exercise to obtain this kind of recognition and accommodation. They may support it for this reason. Others regard it as a step towards a specific kind of separation. Regardless of the outcome of the referendum, I believe all Canadians must be prepared to enter into discussions on the reshaping of our country after the referendum. But the agenda for these discussions must be much broader than constitutional reform.

I do concede that we need constitutional reform. We do need to find a more satisfactory way to amend our constitution. We do need to eliminate obsolete items like the disallowance power which has fallen into disuse. We may need to give the provinces additional powers in some fields, such as the treaty-making area, where matters under provincial jurisdiction are involved.

Before we start to tinker with the division of powers in the constitution or to move towards greater decentralization, we have to look at the nature of most of the current disputes between Ottawa and the provinces. In the case of Quebec, its historical distrust of central power has been an all-encompassing determination to protect and foster the distinctive culture of a largely homogeneous French community surrounded by a vast anglophone continental expanse.

For the anglophone provinces, the disputes have almost always been political and have boiled down usually to the question of money. It is not additional powers they have sought so much as the means to carry out their current responsibilities and the opportunity to do it in their own way. Because of this distinction, perhaps we should be looking at a more flexible constitution which will accommodate both these kinds of disputes and put an end to them.

Possibly we should be considering a division of powers which would allow a province to assume additional fields without financial penalty. This could be along the lines of the opting-out formula adopted in the Pearson era. The option would be available to any province which wanted to assume the burdens of administering additional fields. It could not, therefore, be regarded as special status.

Quebec, I grant, would be most likely to take up the option because of its desire to mould its society to its distinctive pattern. But it is not inconceivable that other provinces would also opt out in certain fields if

the benefit seemed greater than the administrative headache. I would hope that the need for concerted action and the desire to achieve equalization of development among the regions would act as a deterrent to widespread decentralization.

However, as I stated earlier, I do not believe that the agenda for the post-referendum discussions should be limited to constitutional reform. We must recognize that tinkering with the constitution will not solve most of the very serious problems facing this country today. For example, I think the question of full employment should have a high priority on the agenda of the post-referendum discussions. It won't be solved by constitutional change, but it needs a strong commitment by all governments in all parts of Canada to devise programs to achieve it.

The question of national energy policy also cannot be dealt with by constitutional change alone. Together we need to set our goals for conservation, for development of renewable energy sources, for equitable pricing and for ultimate energy self-sufficiency.

Protection of the environment is another area where we need joint federal, provincial, territorial and local government action. I hope the post-referendum agenda will include this area of concern.

The development of our communications and electronics industries also needs concerted action. They are the lifeblood of our economy.

The redirection of our health-care system to a preventive approach will require the innovative redesign of medicare, in which all governments should share.

These are some of the vital questions that must be on the post-referendum agenda. If we can reach consensus for action on these matters, we will be a lot closer to achieving a basis for Canadian unity and a reason for Quebec to stay in the federation.

But first we must make it clear to the Quebecois that we are approaching these discussions with an open heart. We must indicate that we recognize and understand their aspirations for cultural identity and for some different constitutional and fiscal arrangements within federation. We must demonstrate that we want them to continue to work with all Canadians in building a better Canada.

One way we can demonstrate that desire is to give legislated status to French-language rights in Ontario, and we can do it by moving faster in providing educational and other services in the French language in Ontario. In the foot-dragging on Penetanguishene, as

my colleague pointed out this afternoon, we demonstrated the exact opposite.

Monsieur le Président, j'ai l'intention de voter pour cette résolution dans l'espoir qu'elle donnera aux Québécois un peu confiance en notre désir de nous asseoir avec eux et d'apporter des réformes constitutionnelles et des changements qu'il faut vraiment faire au statu quo qui est qualifié dans la résolution de "absolument inacceptable". Je crois que c'est là le chemin vers l'unité canadienne.

Mr. Ramsay: Mr. Speaker, I am honoured to have the opportunity to participate in this, the most important debate this province and this country has had in its brief existence. As the member for Sault Ste. Marie for a little more than a year, I feel fortunate to have started what I hope will be my long political career at this crucial time in our nation's history.

I would like to add my voice to those of my provincial colleagues, both of my party, of this House and across Canada, in calling for constitutional reform and the full participation of the people of Quebec, and indeed of all provinces, in the negotiations.

9:40 p.m.

I believe the constitution of this country or of any country must reflect the growth and maturing of a nation in order to truly protect the rights and privileges of its people. The time has obviously come for the Canadian constitution to be amended and clarified on these points so as to reflect a Canadian society approaching the 21st century. I sincerely hope the people of Quebec will choose on May 20 with an overwhelming no vote to join the remaining nine provinces and the federal government in hammering out a new basis on which this country can prosper for the next 113 years.

Each Canadian citizen has a unique compassion and love towards his or her home town, province and country. These different feelings are just part of the complete mosaic that is Canada. This personal affinity to our particular region is reflected in the wide variety of attitudes that Canadians hold towards the recent development in Quebec. The most common feelings, however, lies between the extremes: confusion and uncertainty about what is happening to our country and what is needed to keep it together.

The fact that Quebec's and western Canada's separation is being discussed or even considered by many Canadians as a practical alternative to the present situation indicates that immediate action is vital if Canada is going to remain a united country. Quebec is

not alone in the commitment to change. Among the many constitutional proposals being considered are those from British Columbia, Saskatchewan, Nova Scotia and Newfoundland. Virtually all provinces have put forward their ideas for change. Each proposal reflects what each region regards as Canada's current weaknesses and drawbacks. The common factor is that every province rejects the status quo of the present constitutional arrangements, but that change must occur within the framework of Confederation.

Ontario is willing to work with Quebec to change the constitution. I believe the federal system has proved flexible enough to accommodate such change. The people of Ontario believe the aspirations of Quebecers to attain every legitimate social, cultural and economic goal can be realized within Confederation. In the words of two federal members in a constitutional review report, there are other nations in Canada, such as the Eskimos and the Indians. It is not the existence of the Quebec nation which should be questioned, but the principle that every nation must necessarily be independent.

The people of Quebec must realize that political relationships are not based solely on linguistic and cultural differences. The social and economic interests of the province must be taken into consideration. The economic and resource interests, such as the current debate over energy or offshore fishing rights, are prime examples of the many significant differences among the 10 provinces that must be set out in the new constitution.

The main issue for the people of Ontario during constitutional reform is the continued existence of a united Canada. Many features of Canadian life, to which I attach strong value, would be lost. As stated in the report of the Task Force on Canadian Unity, Canadians would be denied the enriching experience, derived from the often-creative interplay between two linguistic and cultural orientations among a diversity of regions and provinces. Our multicultural foundation is the primary force that has preserved the unique national community across the northern half of this continent. Canadians should view diversity as a source of strength. This nation is much more than simply French- and English-speaking Canada.

I believe the future we hope to share together must include all Canadians and provide equality of opportunity for all. Sovereignty-association has been rejected overwhelmingly by this government, by members of all three political stripes and by every province outside Quebec. The words of our

Premier in a speech two weeks ago bear repeating: "Sovereignty-association is simply the polite term for the breakup of Confederation and has no associates in Canada."

The people of Ontario wish to see the country remain united, but it is obvious that a great deal of change is necessary before Quebec, Ontario, Alberta and the rest of Canada feel satisfied. I strongly believe that simply altering a legal document or governmental procedures is only the first step to unifying this country once again. The key to future harmony within Canada, I feel, is through the knowledge and flexibility of Canadians in all parts of this country, not in just one small corner or region of it, as is so often the case.

Canadians have a great deal to offer each other. It is up to each individual to explore and benefit from this country's social and cultural diversity. A yes vote will only create the closing of minds and a hardening of attitudes in Canada which will result in a setback for the unifying forces of this country.

Finally, I believe we need to repeat to the people of Quebec that Ontarians will not calmly accept the fragmentation of their country and then willingly sit down and work out economic arrangements with the government which caused the split. We, as Ontarians, are fully prepared to discuss the broadening and increased sensitivity of our constitution to allow for personal culture, economic and political development. This can only be accomplished by Canadians and among Canadians.

Mr. B. Newman: Mr. Speaker, it is an honour for me to take part in this evening's debate. As a Canadian, not a hyphenated Canadian, but of Polish-Ukrainian parents, I have been fortunate enough to have learned to speak or to understand at least seven different languages. Even though my grammar may be atrocious, my ability to communicate is there. I know the importance of communication.

My dad left his native Poland as a teenager just about the turn of the century. My mother left that part of Europe now known as the Ukraine as a frightened young girl in her teens. Each could have selected other countries in this wide world but preferred this land, this Canada, as a land with a future. Each chose Montreal as the place to start a new life. The two met in Canada, got married and started to raise a family.

My dad worked for seven and a half cents an hour unloading 150-pound bags of sugar from the freighters docked in Montreal. Yes,

seven and a half cents an hour, with a minimum work day of 10 hours 75 cents for a 10 hour day's work. Most often he could work as long as he wished or was physically able to. My mother did housework.

It wasn't too long before there were two new Canadians as a result of that union. My parents were very pleased with their adopted land. Both had to learn a new language of communication. It wasn't easy, but they did learn.

Along came Henry Ford and the advent of the automobile. Detroit seemed to be the new Valhalla; so it was off to Detroit, a new land, the United States of America, and a new language to learn. This did not deter this young family.

After a short stay in Detroit, where my second brother was born, the family moved back to Canada and settled for good in Windsor, Ontario. This last move meant new customs, new ideas and new values. They adapted themselves in short order and it wasn't too long before the family had grown to seven, four boys and one girl. Windsor, Ontario, Canada, was to be their final move.

My dad became a small businessman as the family grew. I was fortunately able to graduate from Assumption College, a portion of the University of Western Ontario, and then attend the College of Education, specializing in physical education. I was fortunate that, because of my size during my high school days, the only athletic activity in which size did not matter was gymnastics. I was attracted to it. During most of my teaching career I coached gymnastics. In my estimation I was successful in this field. I was the gymnastic chairman of Canada with the Amateur Athletic Union of Canada and can take some small measure of pride in having pioneered in the sport of gymnastics. In my estimation the most glamorous of all the physical activities.

9:50 p.m.

My involvement in athletic activities, plus the determination of the athletes, both male and female, with whom I was associated, led to a most rewarding and successful career for both the athletes and myself. These athletes have won Pan American, US national and innumerable Canadian championships. I have taken them personally as Canada's coach to the 1956 Olympic Games in Melbourne, Australia, the 1958 World Games in Moscow, to the 1959 Pan American Games in Chicago, where Canada was the silver medallist team in both men's and women's competitions.

I would be remiss if I didn't mention that for the first time in Canada's AAU history, a gymnast was selected as the most outstanding amateur athlete of the year. In 1954, Edward Gagnier of Windsor was so selected. In the years 1954, 1955 and 1956 Miss Ernestine Russell, now Weaver, was the Velma Springstead trophy recipient as Canada's most outstanding amateur athlete. This young lady has been selected as the women's gymnastic coach for the 1980 US Olympic Games team, but we are all aware that the US teams will not be competing in the Olympic Games this year. I make these comments, not from a sense of self-adulation, but simply to show the opportunities in our Canada for those who are willing to work hard.

Mr. Speaker, when Montreal was selected as the 1976 Olympic Games, you have no idea how thrilled I was. I was excited because not only could Canada show the world that it has grown up, but also the world could see two cultures living side by side in peace and harmony. As a former Olympic coach, I was prepared well in advance so that all members of my family and their spouses were able to take in this chance of a lifetime in seeing Olympic competition.

My associations with the good people of Quebec are many. My parents came from Europe to Montreal. My brother and sister were born in Quebec. My athletes have competed against Quebec athletes. I have coached Quebec athletes in the Pan American Games. My whole family has sampled the hospitality and friendship of the Quebecers on other occasions besides the Olympic Games.

Maybe that is why my appeal to those now in Quebec is so passionate, so strong and so necessary. I have worked with them. I have trained with them. I shared the joy of competition, felt the sorrow of losing with them. But sharing these experiences together has given me a deep sense of emotionalism which transcends any possible differences I could have felt with them.

In addressing this debate today I am reminded of another equally historic session in this Legislature which took place 13 years ago, and that was our Confederation of Tomorrow debate. I was proud to have taken part in that exchange on behalf of my province and my country. It is an honour to be here once again to contribute to another event so significant to our nation's wellbeing.

Back on May 23, 1967, in my comments to the Confederation of Tomorrow conference, I spoke as one of the few members in this honourable House not of either French or British ancestry. Today I cannot make that

statement. All of us know of the dramatic changes in ethnic representation of this chamber over these few years.

I also spoke of the combined efforts of so many people and so many different groups in the economic, social and political climate of Canada. In fact, no one group of people can lay claim to the thought that they alone were responsible for the greatness of our country. According to the 1971 census, we find that along with the French and English it has been the combined efforts of the Irish, the Scottish, the Austrians, the Belgians, the Czechs, the Slovaks, the Germans, the Danish, the Finnish, the Greeks, the Hungarians, the Icelanders, the Netherlands, the Italians, the Jewish, the Lithuanians, the Russians, the Polish, the Romanians, the Norwegians, the Swedish, the Ukrainians, the Yugoslavs, the Chinese, the Japanese, the Caribbean people, the native Indians and the Eskimos who have made this country great.

These peoples, with many more whose origins I have not mentioned, have come together to work, to build and to live in peace in this country.

At this time I would like to mention some of the unique contributions of these various groups to our nation. Can we forget Austria's contribution to Canada of Dr. Hans Selye; Dr. Douglas Jung, the first Canadian of Chinese origin to become an MP in 1957; and Stephen B. Roman, of Slovak origin, one of the most successful businessmen.

Can we forget the first Dane to set foot on Canadian soil was Captain Jens Munck, who landed on the west coast of Hudson Bay (now Churchill, Manitoba) in 1619, while trying to find the northwest passage to China; Cornelius Krieghoff, one of Canada's first important painters, who depicted life among the Indians and Quebec farmers; and the contributions to our educational system of the Dutch Egerton Ryerson? We can thank the Finnish in 1829 for the construction of the Welland Canal. Back in 1715, 312 Germans founded a settlement in Nova Scotia now known as Lunenburg. At the time, Halifax, the first major British settlement, was only one year old.

Few of these people ever thought of their accomplishments as being a German contribution, a Dutch contribution or a French contribution. They regarded themselves as Canadians, playing their part in the life of their nation. That's what has made this the most powerful nation of the world in terms of tolerance, understanding and cultural sensitivity.

We have every reason to believe that the thousands, maybe millions, of people, who have come to our country in recent years, will follow in earnest the examples of those who preceded them.

Our nation is growing stronger every day, and will continue to do so as long as the opportunity is here to be a first-class citizen of Canada, whatever your place of origin.

About one third of our total population is composed of people whose origins, in an ethnic sense, are neither French nor English. This has fostered the development of multiculturalism as an official policy of our federal government. It is based upon the idea that, nationally, we have two official languages but no official culture. It recognizes the diversity of cultures, traditions, and backgrounds of those people who have come to Canada from every part of the world. Therefore, it is a way of enriching the lives of all Canadians by making them aware of, and giving them access to, the contributions and cultural heritage of Canadians of origins other than their own.

More important, our multicultural policy is a pledge that Canada does not belong today, nor will it in the future, to people of one or two groups. Rather, it is a confirmation that every person is important to Canada as a human being in terms of present contribution, future potential and self-respect.

Our multiculturalism also serves as a mark of our identity, of distinctiveness for Canada in the world community, setting us apart from the United States with its melting-pot approach. While we share with our closest neighbour our economic and social organizations and a major language, we advance the concept of pluralistic culture. Here our similarity with the United States ends.

We are a free society—free and individual in culture in collective terms. Freedom, in the multicultural context, means that when we, or our predecessors, emigrated to Canada, we were allowed to retain our cultural background, our values, our traditions, our heritage. We didn't have to leave them at the border, because multiculturalism and the nature of our society rest in the freedom of our people. By having the right to retain our own backgrounds, our own cultures and our own values, we have the right to be ourselves. That is the element that gives Canadians so much pride.

10 p.m.

We who want to preserve forever our own backgrounds and traditions surely can understand the deep desire of Canadians of French

background who might feel threatened with the possible loss of their language, their culture and their traditions. If we understand that, as I'm sure we do, let's share that understanding. In doing so, we will realize that this is the problem—we are faced with, this is really what it is all about; Canadians learning to understand Canadians of whatever background.

Legislation will not create good relationships between groups of people, but as fellow citizens we can create conditions of understanding, of mutual respect and perhaps of love. The Prime Minister once said that he never found so much understanding of the Quebec problem as amongst new Canadians. They understand why a quarter of our population wants to preserve its language and culture. Minority groups use their knowledge of suffering and deprivation in some instances to come together in building a new and different society, where that hard knowledge gained makes life better in the future, a future that is beyond language and above politics. That future is now upon us.

The real challenge to all Canadians is surely to decide how open and generous will be our relationships, how willing are we to make accommodations to one another. While I strongly support the right of every ethnic group to retain the facets of its unique identity that it regards as important, I also feel there is an equal obligation for each such group to understand the culture and contribution of other groups which make up our diverse population. I strongly believe that all our ethnic groups do possess this respect.

Canada, as a country of minorities, has the advantage of being a nation of tolerance, understanding and cultural sensitivity. I have already mentioned these attributes, but they are important. They are not easy to come by in an intolerant world, a world of majority-dominated countries. Yet these valuable characteristics have largely been responsible for making Canada the most respected nation in the world.

We are not just one breed or one family. Rather, we have drawn our wealth, intelligence, culture and knowledge from all over the world. Our strength from our diversity does not go unnoticed. What it means for us at home is that we are capable of more human progress and understanding than most constitutional reformers would ever have thought possible. The strength is here for constitutional reform to come to grips with the present reality. The strength is here for a vision of Canada that will relate to all Canadians. Our strength, in this multicultural

respect, has been made possible by our two official languages. Having two official languages provided a basis for the concept of multiculturalism, because it established a tradition of the acceptance of diversity, without which Canada's policy would be one of a melting pot rather than a multicultural one.

If Canada were ever to be divided into two countries—one English-speaking, the other French-speaking—multiculturalism probably would not survive. In this respect, I look upon multiculturalism itself as a force for national unity. It helps to confirm that we all belong and can feel at home in Canada, as our country, whatever our origin.

It is through not accepting but welcoming our diversity that we will ensure our unity. That is because in the end our greatest asset in this country is that all of us, regardless of our origin, are admirably, energetically and uncompromisingly Canadians. Since time immemorial, this great country of ours has been renowned the world over for its unique natural resources, the grandeur of its mountains and timberlands, the beauty of its shining waters, the richness of its rolling prairies and its mineral wealth.

It is only comparatively recently that we have taken our place among the great nations of the world. Today we are indeed a part of the much-discussed global village, not only because we are playing an increasingly important role on the international stage, but also because, with expanded immigration, the world in effect has come to us.

Essentially, a country is its people. At one time, our Canadian population was for the most part, Anglo-Saxon and French-Canadian. This is no longer the case. By our very way of life we bring to the world at large a hopeful message, a message of tolerance, understanding and the joy of diversity. This message today is more important than ever before, not only for the rest of the world, but also for ourselves here in Canada.

For generations Canadians have had a dream—a dream of one nation from sea to sea. Events of the past have brought home to us the fact that this dream might well be in danger of being destroyed. Ultimately, I believe we shall emerge from the present crisis more unified than ever. Given goodwill, patience, and understanding on all sides this is the only possible outcome.

As a people, we are singularly blessed. Our country has natural beauty beyond compare. Our resources, though not limitless, are enormous. Our cities are among the finest urban centres in the world. Our small towns and villages preserve the traditional values

which we all hold dear. We live in a truly democratic society. The opportunities in this country are almost boundless for anyone who is prepared to work hard and give of his best.

While many Canadians may experience hardship, we have never known oppression. Most of us have time for relaxation as well as for creative work, for conversation and study, for love and friendship. We are free to enjoy the arts and the beauties of nature. Whatever our walk of life, whatever our national background, there is opportunity to find solitude and communion, for dreams as well as doubts, for poetry and philosophy, for song and dance, and for worship. We have time to live, time to count our blessings, and enough time to dwell upon eternity. Although our problems cannot be ignored, we have much to be thankful for. As to the rest, surely it is up to you and me.

While we may well have difficult times ahead of us, I have no doubt that we shall meet this challenge as we have met others: with courage, with determination, with integrity and with compassion. I appeal to my Quebec friends. Come, join with me to fulfil that dream. The dream of one Canada from sea to sea will, I know, survive and flourish. I am confident that each of us will do our share and fulfil our responsibilities to see that we achieve that end, that the true north, strong and free—Canada—continues to be united, strong and free. Long live Canada.

Mr. R. F. Johnston: Mr. Speaker, I will speak tonight on the role of municipalities in the new constitution of Canada. I fear it is a subject that is being overlooked in the debate nationally, and yet it will have a major impact on Canadians, 90 per cent of whom will be living in major urban areas within the next 30 years. I was pleased to see that the member for Waterloo North (Mr. Epp) discussed this issue earlier.

First, I would like to speak directly about the debate itself, the wording of the resolution and the importance of Quebec to me, in personal terms, and to the development of our own cultural identity as Ontarians.

Monsieur le Président, je tiens d'abord à vous remercier de cette occasion que j'ai, de participer à ce débat historique et d'exprimer mes idées en français. Je tiens à souligner l'importance de la présence de la télévision et à préciser que cet événement multiculturel fait un précédent de marque dans la réalité traditionnellement anglophone de l'Ontario.

Il reflète aussi le besoin indiscutable de changement constitutionnel pour l'Ontario, qui ne peut plus se contenter du statu quo. Nous avons trop tardé pour organiser ce débat. Il

aurait dû avoir lieu au plus tard l'année dernière. Nous sommes maintenant dans le contexte du référendum, ce qui affaiblit et limite notre débat en l'éloignant de nos problèmes ontariens.

Ce débat n'a lieu qu'à cause du référendum du Québec. On voit la parallèle avec la résolution du problème de Penetang et le voyage au Québec de M. Davis, premier ministre.

S'il y a des députés qui pensent que notre débat peut influencer sur l'issue du référendum au Québec, ils se trompent. Ce référendum est l'aboutissement d'une crise de conscience culturelle et d'une pensée politique en pleine évolution. Nous autres Ontariens, nous sommes encore des novices dans cette discussion sur notre avenir dans la fédération canadienne. Nous faisons un pas en avant avec ce débat, mais nous n'avons rien à dire aux Québécois. Sauf que nous pouvons et nous voulons changer.

10:10 p.m.

Pour cette raison, j'approuve totalement la première partie de notre résolution qui dit que "nous nous engageons, en priorité de première instance, à appuyer la négociation complète d'une nouvelle constitution pouvant satisfaire les diverses aspirations de tous les Canadiens et pour remplacer le statu quo qui est clairement inacceptable". Tout en acceptant la résolution entière, je déplore l'existence d'une phrase négative à propos de la souveraineté-association. L'inclusion de la phrase "nous affirmons notre opposition à la négociation de la souveraineté-association" n'est pas nécessaire, tout à fait superflue et suïette à de fausses interprétations dans un sens négatif, comme si l'Ontario refusait d'entamer des pourparlers.

Or, je veux que l'Ontario reste sur un terrain d'entente, la négociation avec tous les membres assis autour de cette table, même s'il n'est pas d'accord avec les aspirations de certains, pour négocier notre position sur l'avenir du Canada.

Je veux seulement que nous soulevions aussi le même genre de révision sur la part de l'Ontario dans la Confédération que le Québec a entreprise durant ces vingt dernières années. Mais nous avons été les "fat cats" de la Confédération trop longtemps, et nous ne voulons pas nous poser des questions sur la manière dont nous avons drainé nos ressources culturelles et économiques.

Maintenant que le mouvement de forces économiques de l'ouest a commencé, et que l'aspect déficitaire des succursales étrangères est exposé à la vue de tous, alors maintenant nous sommes désireux de nous éloigner du

statu quo. Cependant, nous maintenons toujours notre arrogance et montrons notre mauvaise volonté en incluant cette référence gratuite à la position potentielle de notre province.

Ici, je voudrais dire quelques mots sur le Québec et de mon expérience personnelle. Pour moi, l'importance du Québec est primordiale dans notre mosaïque canadienne, si cosmopolite. Il représente la force de tous les Canadiens-Français en dehors du Québec, et nous oblige à nous pencher sur les problèmes et les droits des minorités en Ontario et au Canada. Nous prenons enfin conscience que nous avons besoin d'eux, et que la loi est donnant donnant dans le contexte économique actuel de notre fédération. Nous devons nous défaire de la nature impérialiste de notre culture anglaise, perpétuée par l'Ontario malgré son évolution, et que nous répandons sans plus nous en rendre compte.

Le Québec est une partie intégrante de mon pays et de mon être au point de vue spirituel, en tant que Canadien d'abord et qu'Ontarien en particulier. Monsieur le Président, je suis né à Pembroke, au bord de la rivière Ottawa qui sépare le Québec de l'Ontario. Dès mon plus jeune âge, j'ai appris à comprendre jusqu'où allait est la cette séparation. Mes premiers amis étaient français et nous jouions heureux ensemble. Mais dès l'âge de l'école, j'ai dû apprendre le vocabulaire péjoratif, qualifiant les catholiques et les Canadiens-Français, les distinctions sociales, et à séparer mon loyalisme.

Nous partagons une même rivière dans une région magnifique mais nos différences culturelles étaient amplifiées et caricaturées par la bigoterie. Rétrospectivement, je comprends plus complètement les inégalités et la répression psychologique de mes amis qui ne se permettent pas les même projets d'ambition que je cultivais en tant que membre de la communauté anglophone.

Dans les années soixante, étudiant l'histoire canadienne à l'université, j'ai pris conscience de la base historique de la domination anglophone et du contexte économique et politique du Québec. J'ai participé à des débats intellectuels sur l'épanouissement du Québec pendant la révolution tranquille. Et je suis allé vivre à Québec. J'ai participé à la marche sur McGill, avec l'appui des Québécois dans la rue remplissant ma tête et l'aura d'une volonté politique croissante tout autour de moi. Dans les boîtes à chanson, dans les bistrots à minuit, et dans les graffiti sur les murs des bastions commerciaux de domination anglaise.

C'est au Québec, Monsieur le Président, que mes croyances sociales-démocrates se sont enfin confirmées et que ma maturité politique a commencé.

Monsieur le Président, je veux croire qu'il n'est pas trop tard pour montrer notre bonne volonté politique de mûrir en tant que nation pouvant accommoder le Québec et qu'il représente au sein de notre fédération. Il faut essayer de faire preuve d'une ouverture d'esprit et d'un dynamisme que nous n'avons pas encore accompli, et franchement nous manquons de temps.

Others of my colleagues will speak to the kinds of decisions on human rights, economic nationalism, education and social services which must be addressed by this province in a constitutional framework if we are to have any hope of securing a renewed federalism that is acceptable to Quebec and other provinces.

I would like to raise a subject which no doubt frightens half to death all the provincial Premiers and most of the provincial rightists assembled here tonight. I want to talk about the possibility of entrenching within the constitution certain rights for the major urban municipalities. I am suggesting, as a minimum, that the mayors of Ontario's major cities be involved at some point in our select committee's agenda and/or that six or seven mayors of the major urban areas of Canada be given a major and distinct role in any further federal-provincial meetings on the constitution.

In 1871, there was only one city in Ontario with a population of 50,000 or more. Its population represented 3.5 per cent of the total population of Ontario. In 1971, there were 26 such cities and they represented 58 per cent of the province's population. In the British North America Act, under section 92, the provinces were given financial and structural control over municipalities. It can be argued that made sense, given the agricultural base of the economy and the slow-growing manufacturing sector at that time. But since that time municipalities have continued to be the administrative wings of the provincial governments, delivering provincial services efficiently at local levels. They are constraining bodies and intermediaries with no political clout, operating under the philosophy that father knows best, and daddy is the provincial cabinet in their various provinces.

Even the creation of Metropolitan Toronto in 1954 was only an imposition on the urban setting of the county system established under the Baldwin act of 1849. We have recently learned from the Minister of Intergovernmental

Affairs that he wishes to keep it that way and will not provide electoral reform to open the way for accountable democratic government at the municipal level, even for a municipal government that has a population larger than seven provinces in the country. I would argue that it may be time to establish a legislative party and cabinet role for our major cities, but I don't want to go on with too much blasphemy in the House.

I am not arguing for the balkanization of the country by extending major rights to the 4,500 municipalities across the nation, but one should consider that within 20 years, maybe by the time we participate and rewrite our constitution, 73 per cent of our population will reside in our 12 major urban areas. Of those urban centres, five of them exist in Ontario. Not only that, but 30 per cent of the nation's people will live in Montreal and Toronto. Is it not fair to suggest we might take another look at providing for that reality in a revised constitution?

10:20 p.m.

Lionel Feldman has written that in some ways the cities today are in the same position vis-à-vis the provinces as the provinces were vis-à-vis the federal government after the Second World War. They are just stretching their wings. The only difference is they have no constitutional guarantees. However, one can argue that the democratic political base of the provinces was what won us our extensive powers, and not constitutional rulings.

One can look at the city of Toronto's housing thrusts and the recent energy initiatives it took as examples of the city finally achieving policy consensus and flexing its democratic muscle. However, the regional government structure is acting as a wet blanket of provincial control to curtail such developments, and as long as that is the case we can probably rest safely in our provincial beds.

In 1969, the Federation of Mayors and Municipalities began the tri-level conferences, which in 1972 caused Des Newman, then the mayor of Whitby, to say to Le Droit: "... Il a laissé entendre que des amendements à la constitution canadienne seraient peut-être souhaitables, afin de tenir compte du nouveau rôle des municipalités".

I didn't give that to the translation people in advance, but it is just stating that he felt at that time people were coming to believe that amendments to the constitution might be possible giving entrenching rights for the municipalities.

However, by 1976, the process of tri-level consultation was abandoned by senior levels of government in fear of the ramifications of

things like the Edmonton commitment on financing. The Ministry of State for Urban Affairs threatened the federal power structure and the provinces enough that it was abandoned.

I personally believe direct interaction between the cities and the federal government is not a bad thing, and we shouldn't quake in our boots about it. Lionel Feldman said: "At present, it can be said that Canada's urban governments are not quite mature enough in an institutional sense to take part effectively in the intergovernmental process. They still emphasize the delivery of services at the expense of a political approach. They are still seen as only a training ground for people with ambitions for higher office, and they lack a rational policy-making process."

It is the provincial governments which have kept the municipal electoral system from evolving into a meaningful accountable government from a fragmented administrative wing. Both John Stuart Mill and de Tocqueville wrote about the importance of maintaining democracy through the base of local government. If that is the case, our democracy is in trouble because the turnout at municipal elections ranges between 25 and 50 per cent. With meaningful power, with consistent policy review and accountability, they would become more involving.

Some futurists would agree there is no need for the provincial tier, as a matter of fact, if the cities are developed, but I am more self-serving than to accept that stance.

It is ironic that it was ex-Premier Robarts who understood the need for large metropolitan municipalities to control their destinies in terms of land-use planning, energy conservation, urban transit and city-oriented social services, when he said: "Metro Toronto will be much better equipped to face the challenges of the future if they are given the same kind of flexibility and discretion in policy making and implementation as the senior levels of government." He wanted to provide general powers to legislate with respect to local affairs, and he wanted to take away the provincial powers over the special-

purposes bodies which perpetuate the system of patronage in this province and others.

Now is the time, as we begin to enter into the process of constitutional review here, for us to change the basically hierarchical nature of our intergovernmental process, which leaves municipalities with de facto and de jure subordinate status, and to involve the mayors of our major cities in our efforts.

In conclusion, I would like to quote from a letter recently received from Mayor Harris of Scarborough, who indicates, I think, the important role that the municipalities can play in the federal debate.

"Present and future unity debates ultimately concerned with constitutional changes within the Canadian political, economic and social framework should pay special attention to the universal interest and mandate of municipal governments in all parts of this country. Our strengths as municipal representatives vis-à-vis the senior levels of government have always been based upon **commonly held and expressed interests and needs** and, generally, recognition of the municipal task." This, I think, is the important line for us: "Certainly I can state without hesitation that, failing all other avenues of national accord, local politicians from across Canada will always find a shared purpose."

I encourage the members of this House to open themselves to the involvement of the municipal tier in our constitutional discussions.

On motion by Mr. Turner, the debate was adjourned.

Mr. Speaker: The acting government House leader has a brief statement.

Hon. Mr. Gregory: Mr. Speaker, prior to the adjournment of the House, I have been asked to announce the names of the speakers for tomorrow. They are Mr. Turner, Mrs. Cambell, Mr. M. N. Davison, Mr. Grossman, Mr. Conway, Ms. Gigantes, Mr. Norton, Mr. Stong, Mr. Foulds, Mr. Kennedy, Mr. Hall, Mr. Wildman, Mr. Snow, Mr. Nixon, Mr. Renwick, Mr. Villeneuve, Mr. Ruston, Mr. Isaacs and Mr. G. Taylor.

The House adjourned at 10:26 p.m.

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Legislature of Ontario Debates

Official Report (Hansard)

Fourth Session, 31st Parliament

Tuesday, May 6, 1980

Afternoon Sitting

Speaker: Honourable John E. Stokes

Clerk: Roderick Lewis, QC

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Reference to a cumulative index of previous issues can be obtained by calling the Hansard Reporting Service indexing staff at (416) 965-2159.

Hansard subscription price is \$15.00 per session, from: Sessional Subscription Service, Printing Services Branch, Ministry of Government Services, 9th Floor, Ferguson Block, Parliament Buildings, Toronto M7A 1N3. Phone 965-2238.

Published by the Legislature of the Province of Ontario.
Editor of Debates: Peter Brannan.

LEGISLATURE OF ONTARIO

TUESDAY, MAY 6, 1980

The House met at 2 p.m.

Prayers.

SECURITY IN LEGISLATURE

Mr. R. F. Johnston: Mr. Speaker, I rise on a point of personal privilege to do with the privilege of a member to invite guests into the Legislature to participate in tours of the Legislature.

Two months ago I agreed to work with a group called the Family Benefits Work Group to establish a number of events in this week coming up, including a demonstration on Thursday and the singing of songs outside the Legislature today by a small group of mothers and children. Another part of what I arranged was a tour of the Legislature by a part of that group, understanding that the younger children couldn't participate but older people might.

Today a group of students from an alternative school who came with the group entered the Legislature as my guests, along with the member for Bellwoods (Mr. McClellan). We passed the security guards and the barriers that were set up outside for this small group of 10 mothers and children—below the age of four—and explained they could come in. We sat down and had our pictures taken with them on the steps, and they proceeded to take the tour, under guidance from the staff here.

They happened to be wearing T-shirts which they had put on in support of the action of the group that was outside singing the songs. As a result, I was pulled out of a caucus meeting this morning by the security staff and asked if I might go and ask these people to remove these T-shirts or to leave the building. I went and talked to the group of students, feeling quite constrained in my position as a member and feeling this was a very unfortunate kind of thing to do to young people who were coming quite innocently to the Legislature.

I found them sitting on the floor listening to the tour guide, being very peaceful, creating no kind of disturbance at all, and explained the situation to them. They decided they would leave this Legislature rather than

be dictated to as to how they might dress, given that some of them were wearing T-shirts with no other apparel underneath.

I feel we must be able to handle our security matters much more democratically and with a little more humanity and understanding and not put members like myself in the embarrassing position of watching seven students and two teachers leave this building feeling they were not welcome here.

Mr. McClellan: Since I was a co-host of the group of students who were here in the company of their teacher, Mr. Harry Skinner, I want to convey to you, Mr. Speaker, my own sense that my privileges as a member have been violated and my own very deep regret that this incident happened. I don't think it is the business of the security forces of this Legislature or of the Speaker's office to dictate to the guests of a member how they shall dress as they take a tour through the building.

I point out to you that the demonstration of the Family Benefits Work Group is not today; it is on Thursday. This group was here as part of a regular tour of the Legislature.

I would ask you, sir, to write to the students and to their teachers with your own apology for the discourteous way they were treated here today, and to invite the group to return to the Ontario Legislature and to continue its tour.

Mr. Speaker: I have some knowledge of the incident to which the member for Scarborough West and the member for Bellwoods refer. It has been the practice in this Legislature and in its precincts that all demonstrations be carried on outside the building. When it was brought to my attention by the security forces, I went out and found that there was a very well-run demonstration outside the building.

People were wearing the T-shirts you refer to, with their message inscribed on the front, and also were carrying balloons on which the same message was inscribed. In every sense of the word, that is a demonstration which is quite legal and quite legitimate outside the building. The security forces, for reasons known to all of us, have been advised

that all demonstrations will be conducted outside the building.

When it was brought to my attention and I investigated, I found out that the same message as that transmitted outside the building, was being transmitted inside the building. This places our security forces in a very invidious position. The kind of guidelines that were laid down by at least two predecessors of mine are known well to all members and staff of this Legislature. The security forces of which you complain were only carrying out the instructions that have been issued to them for a number of years around here.

If you feel they are not appropriate to the situation, I think it's the responsibility of the House to give some guidance to the Speaker so that in turn he can transmit it to our security forces.

On the basis of what I know of the incident I see no cause for complaining as to the actions of our security forces. Unless I get some other guidance from the House in general, those guidelines will be enforced in the future as they were today and as they have been in the past.

Mr. Breagh: Mr. Speaker, if I may—

Mr. Speaker: Does the member want to challenge—

Mr. Breagh: I do not wish to challenge but you did ask for guidance. I would like the record to show that I have never in my life been frightened or threatened by children wearing T-shirts or carrying balloons, and I offer that as guidance.

Mr. Speaker: That's not the question.

STATEMENTS BY THE MINISTRY

GREAT LAKES-SEAWAY TASK FORCE

Hon. Mr. Snow: Mr. Speaker, when I announced the appointment of Mr. Ralph Misener as chairman of the provincial Great Lakes-Seaway task force, I indicated my intention of reporting back to the House on the makeup of the entire group once the members had been selected.

Today I would like to inform the House that 11 of the proposed 13 individuals who will sit with Mr. Misener on this important provincial investigative body have been selected—11 people with a considerable weight of experience in marine transportation, municipal administration, union representation and manufacturing.

The people I speak of include: Mr. Bob Saracino, mayor of the city of Port Colborne; Mr. Nicholas Trbovich, mayor of the city of Sault Ste. Marie; Mr. Dick Thomasson, legis-

lative representative of the Seafarers International Union of Canada; Mr. Clare Westcott, executive director, Office of the Premier; Mr. Don Irvine, a director with Hall Shipping Company from Prescott, Ontario; Mr. John Pressinger, a retired mill superintendent, once with Abitibi Mills, from Thunder Bay; Mr. Duncan Maxwell, president of the Port Weller Dry Docks; Mr. Aird Lewis, executive director of the Nature Conservancy of Canada, from Toronto; Mr. Jack Shirley, retired president of Bowater Canadian Limited of Oakville; Mr. Jacques LesStrang, senior editor of the Seaway Review, published in Maple City, Michigan, and Mr. Robin Summerley of the economic policy office with my ministry.

2:10 p.m.

I anticipate two additional members of the task force will represent steel production in Ontario and one of our milling companies. As you can see, Mr. Speaker, representation is from across the province and across the border as well. I am confident these individuals, under the able direction of Mr. Misener as chairman, will provide Ontario with the kind of background information that will ultimately form the backbone of a provincial policy which will not only lead to a more efficient marine facility along our portion of the St. Lawrence Seaway system, but be the basis for our continuing negotiations with neighbouring American states, Ottawa and those municipalities with critical interests.

Each of the people selected to sit on the task force has indicated a keen interest in working towards the improvement, where feasible or possible, of the marine mode in our overall transportation network. I would like to point out Mr. Misener, the chairman, is with us today sitting in the gallery at the end of the aisle here as an indication of his interest in the task force.

I have also set up a task force secretariat under the co-ordination of Margaret Kelch to supply the members with management and support services. In addition, I will be setting up a technical advisory committee to provide specific knowledge on various issues identified by the task force.

Finally, as I said earlier, I expect Mr. Misener's full report, together with the findings of the provincial task force on rail policy, will provide Ontario with a greater understanding of our future in intermodal transportation.

FOREST FIRES

Hon. Mr. Henderson: I have a statement regarding the forest fire situation in north-

ern Ontario. I am presenting this statement for my colleague the Minister of Natural Resources (Mr. Auld), who is at present in Holland participating in the ceremonies marking the Canadian involvement with the liberation of that country in the Second World War, in which the minister played a very active role.

I would like to give the honourable members the latest information on a very serious forest fire situation which developed in northern Ontario, particularly in the northwestern area. At this moment 89 forest fires are burning across the province. This is a considerable increase which began over the weekend when a violent lightning storm hit the northwestern part of the province. About 90 new fires resulted. Many of these have been put out but more are expected throughout the area where ground conditions are extremely vulnerable to the threat of fire.

Yesterday nine major fires developed, primarily in the Kenora, Dryden and Fort Frances districts. In the Kenora district, the hardest hit, one major problem is a fire moving just north of Sioux Narrows. It is not known yet whether an evacuation order will be issued for that community. At Camp Robinson, a settlement north of Highway 17 on Red Lake Road, an evacuation order has been issued to the 30 people there. The fire is still 10 to 15 miles away but it could become dangerous to the community in the next day or two. Another major fire was heading for the community of Minaki yesterday, but bypassed it, crossing the CNR main line just west of the town. Minaki is not now in the path of the fire, but the situation remains hazardous there.

The ministry has declared a state of fire emergency for the three communities: Sioux Narrows, whose population is about 750 at this time of year; Minaki with about 300, and Camp Robinson with 30.

To deal with the serious fire situation, the ministry's fire control system has called upon all available manpower, equipment and aircraft from the less hard-pressed areas of the province to work on the problem fires in the northwest.

This morning 55 fire crews were on duty in the affected area with more on the way. In service were 25 helicopters plus 10 water bombers. As far as the weather is concerned, some relief is expected today with a significant drop in temperature and some snow squalls. However, northwest winds still prevail and the situation remains critical.

This is an up-to-the-minute outline of the situation as reported by the ministry's provincial fire control centre in Sault Ste. Marie.

ORAL QUESTIONS

CARE OF PHYSICALLY HANDICAPPED

Mr. S. Smith: I will direct a question to the Minister of Community and Social Services, Mr. Speaker. Could the minister explain the philosophical rationale for his continuing insistence upon a municipal contribution before he will settle the matter of the disabled people who are now languishing in the back wards of various provincial hospitals and institutions when they could, in fact, be living a more vital and interesting life in the community? What is the rationale for the insistence upon a municipal contribution when these people are already being housed totally at provincial expense?

Hon. Mr. Norton: Mr. Speaker, as the Leader of the Opposition knows, it has long been the policy within this province and in other areas of this country as well that such cost sharing is an approach to the delivery of social services at the local level. There are a number of very good reasons for that, not the least of which is the importance of local involvement in the planning and the co-ordination of social services.

On this specific issue that he raises today, some other municipalities in Ontario, outside Metropolitan Toronto, not only have expressed a willingness to continue as they have in the past with cost-shared programs like this, but have asked that they be permitted to cost-share, specifically for the reason that they would like to feel they, as municipal bodies, have some direct influence and control over the programming at the local level.

I think the reference to the persons who are resident at the present time in chronic-care facilities in terms of cost is, one might say, a red herring. It is a red herring in the sense that the member knows, and certainly those of us who have responsibility for some of these programs understand, that the transfer of persons from those residences is being done not for financial cost saving by and large, but rather for humane reasons in order that they might lead more fulfilling and fulfilled lives in the community.

I would suggest to the member that we are willing to continue on this basis to try to apply the available resources as equitably as we can across the province, and the offer stands for Metro the same as it does for

others. At the moment, the only municipality which has taken that particular stand is Metropolitan Toronto and there are other municipalities waiting. I am not prepared to allocate the additional moneys that would be required to fund services in Metropolitan Toronto at 100 per cent and sacrifice other areas of the province which are waiting for their 80 per cent so they can proceed with comparable programs.

2:20 p.m.

Mr. S. Smith: The answer to my question seems to be the minister feels he needs a municipal contribution so the municipality can assist in the administration or the local planning. By way of a supplementary, would the minister kindly explain himself in this regard: Since in the welfare program, or other such programs, the municipality may decide who is to qualify and so on, and it is natural that if it is not paying any of it the administration might take on a very unusual flavour where it is spending other people's money, in this particular case, where the whole purpose of the program is clearly designed to get people who are now housed in totally inappropriate settings, at provincial expense, into these special facilities, and where obviously only those who are severely disabled in this way could possibly qualify—nobody else could conceivably decide they want to walk in off the street and take these facilities—what is the necessity for the local contribution?

Why doesn't the ministry just accept this, as it does with children's mental health services, for instance, as a provincial facility and a 100 per cent provincially funded facility, and get these people out of the back wards where they are at present languishing?

Hon. Mr. Norton: Mr. Speaker, I guess it depends upon what one chooses to use as a comparison. I think that much more appropriate than children's mental health centres would be a comparison with other persons living a normalized existence in the community who are in need of some support by way of homemaking and nursing service, for example.

There are two components to this program. There is the housing component, and where the problem has developed in terms of Metro is in the home support service, the support component.

The counterpart that I see there is the counterpart of the homemaker and nursing service, under which act we propose to provide those services. To argue that this is somehow inequitable seems to me to be

arguing that the physically handicapped, because they may require a somewhat higher level of service than the elderly or the otherwise less disabled persons living in the community would require in the way of homemaking and nursing service, ought to be treated differently.

If we really believe in normalization, it seems to me the generic programs we offer, in this case the homemaking and nursing service, ought to be applicable on the same basis to all of those who are in need of the service, whether they require a high level of service, as the severely handicapped do, or a lower level of service.

It is a question of degree, and all I'm suggesting to Metro, and have been suggesting to others, is that we continue with that principle in terms of the delivery of the generic service of homemaking and nursing support in the home.

Mr. McClellan: By way of supplementary: I would ask the honourable minister whether he recalls at the time in 1974 when the government killed the care package proposal, the commitment that was made by the minister of the day, the member for Prince Edward-Lennox (Mr. J. A. Taylor), to fund any project proposals for independent community living facilities for the physically handicapped as they came forward and to fund them at 100 per cent? Does the minister recall that he funded all projects in 1975, 1976, 1977, 1978 and 1979 at 100 per cent; and if the minister does recall those promises, why has he changed his mind about 100 per cent funding? Why has he, all of a sudden, discovered cost sharing in 1980?

Hon. Mr. Norton: Mr. Speaker, by no stretch of the imagination could the honourable member claim that cost sharing, as a principle, has been discovered in 1980.

I stand to be corrected. I wasn't here in 1974, but it is my understanding that the commitments made at that time referred to specific pilot projects, and we have maintained that commitment. There are four projects which we have established in co-operation with local agencies across Ontario and it was on the basis of those pilot projects that we determined—

Mr. McClellan: Funded at 100 per cent.

Hon. Mr. Norton: At 100 per cent, certainly, during the period that they were pilot projects. It would be my intention eventually to have those as part of a regular ongoing program rather than being funded as special pilot projects.

We did that for the specific purpose of learning, from the experience, what the most

appropriate type of setting would be for handicapped people living in the community. In fact, I made that determination before the end of the full three years of the pilot projects, because it was evident to me that there were many physically handicapped person who not only could function but also could benefit more fully from living in an integrated housing concept within the community, and that's what we have decided to proceed with.

That may not be appropriate for everyone, obviously, but that is where we are putting the available resources at the present time. We funded the experimental or the pilot projects at 100 per cent for obvious reasons. That makes sense when one is trying to find out how well something works. To the best of my knowledge, it was never the intention that the ongoing program, once it was established and the policy decisions were taken, would be at 100 per cent, but that it would be on the same basis as other localized services, other social services delivered at the local level.

Mr. Speaker: A new question. We have spent 10 minutes on this one.

Mr. S. Smith: It happened to be a long-winded answer, Mr. Speaker.

Mr. Speaker: Agreed.

Mr. S. Smith: We agree on that. In the meantime, these people are still languishing, while they're arguing politics—the minister's friend Paul Godfrey, of course.

LIQUID INDUSTRIAL WASTE

Mr. S. Smith: I will ask my second question of the Minister of the Environment.

Would the minister care to explain how it is that his ministry can assure people throughout Ontario that they ought to accept various waste disposal facilities and rely on the ability and the careful monitoring of his ministry as the main protection of their home communities, that they should not refuse these various waste disposal situations, when his ministry seemed totally unable to act in the case of the famous magic box, in Hamilton—a box in which at least 270,000 gallons of toxic wastes were put, and from which they disappeared; a box which everyone on the site referred to as the magic box, knowing full well you could pour waste into it and the waste magically disappeared?

Given the fact that the Ministry of the Environment could, first of all, allow that to happen and, secondly, could take no action as a consequence of having discovered the

situation, how can any community in Ontario have confidence in the way in which the minister conducts himself?

Hon. Mr. Parrott: Mr. Speaker, I think there are two parts to that question. The first was with regard to various processes we are trying to establish across the province to treat our liquid wastes. As I'm sure the leader of the Liberal Party knows, we have suggested and insisted that the hearings be held under the Environmental Assessment Act.

Although, quite frankly, I reject the concept of whether the ministry is trustworthy or not—I'm sure it is—I would think the leader of the Liberal Party would realize that the Environmental Assessment Board, made up of citizens throughout this province, has the fullest opportunity to make assessments on those proposals and then make recommendations. It is not a matter of whether our ministry is involved in that particular process or not. It is the Environmental Assessment Board and those officers who will be making that assessment.

The second part of the question had to do with the Upper Ottawa landfill site. I'm sure the member knows that all jurisdictions, at the time that certificate was issued many years ago, permitted landfilling of liquid waste. I'm sure he knows I'm strongly opposed to the landfilling of liquid waste. We're making every effort to change that situation.

I would suggest to the member that if he does not think that such a process should go on, he should address his concern to the regional municipality. It is running that site. A certificate was granted to it by our ministry. We have some monitoring responsibilities, there's no doubt about that, but it is the region that runs that site.

The certificate for solidification has now expired. It might or it might not be renewed; it's up to them. I think the member should make his case in his own municipality. His own municipality is running the particular site and I think he would be wise to make his communications to it as well.

2:30 p.m.

Mr. S. Smith: By way of supplementary: Since the lawyers in the Ministry of the Environment indicate the law is such that they have no way of prosecuting in a situation of this kind, or dealing with it, whether it be due to the region failing to monitor, or the ministry failing to monitor or, more likely, both failing to monitor; since, according to the minister's lawyers, the law is

insufficient to allow any kind of prosecution to take place, even though everybody must have known that 270,000 gallons of liquid waste are not constantly disappearing by evaporation; since the law is that weak, does the minister not feel some responsibility to change the law so that when he offers a solidification process somewhere else he can offer a guarantee to those people that such a thing could not possibly happen again?

Could he not guarantee if it did happen that there would be severe prosecution undertaken? Can the minister either undertake to change the law or explain to us why anybody should have confidence in his ministry as a monitoring or prosecution agency?

Hon. Mr. Parrott: The Leader of the Opposition should know that every jurisdiction had, at that time—I mean outside Ontario as well as within Ontario—permits to take liquid wastes. I am sure he knows that we are very much opposed to that and are setting out on a very active program to stop the disposal of liquid wastes on our landfill sites.

I don't think I need to repeat all of the activity we have engaged in during the last year or year and a half to try to overcome what I think is a very serious environmental problem. I will not rest until we are able to amend the legislation and there will be no landfilling of liquid industrial wastes. That is an unconditional commitment of this government. We are working diligently towards that end.

It does not help us if we do not get those essential facilities in place before we place the legislation. With no facilities and a proposal for legislation such as the member has made, there is only one alternative; that is the illegal dumping of the wastes on to our land and into our streams. That is a terrible mistake. So we must have facilities in place and then, without any question, this government will ban the dumping of wastes.

It would help a great deal if the Leader of the Opposition would turn around and talk to some of his own colleagues who have made such comments as, "We hope to God it is not here." Those facilities are essential for our province. I will say over and over again, we must have those facilities and we are doing everything we can to get them. Then we will have, I think, one of the best disposal methods of all wastes that it is possible to have.

Mr. Isaacs: A supplementary, Mr. Speaker: The minister has indicated that it is his ministry that has monitoring responsibility in

these situations, and it took his ministry five months in 1978 before they discovered and closed down the magic box. Given that was a holding tank and the solidification process is now to be reopened at the Upper Ottawa Street site, will the minister assure us there will be full public access to all the information as to what is going into that site? Will he ensure there will be full public information through an Environmental Assessment Board hearing or through some other mechanism as to the process, the monitoring and the security that is in place so that the people of the area can be assured that the magic box incident, or anything of that kind, will never recur—at the Upper Ottawa Street site, or anywhere else in Ontario?

Hon. Mr. Parrott: Let me take a minute to try to explain what this dramatic scene of the magic box is.

The magic box, I guess, was a holding tank, as the member said. There was nothing illegal about bringing waste into that landfill site. It is a practice about which, for the last year and a half, we have started to say we very much want to discontinue the disposal of liquid wastes into landfill sites. Until we have those facilities there, the landfill site is the only alternative. It is not an alternative that I like. It is one that we want to get rid of, but it is the only viable alternative right now.

It is happening in other jurisdictions as well. I hope the honourable member understands that the site had the legal right to accept liquid wastes there and in other areas as well. There were many other sites in this province and in other jurisdictions that could accept liquid waste. That is the magic box concept we are talking about. It was the right of a municipality to have a landfill site that accepted wastes.

On this particular site it was to be treated in a solidification process, but that did not mean it had to be per se treated that way. They had the right to put those liquids on to the site. The solidification process on that particular site is not now operative, and I hear the honourable member making the case that he thinks it should not be operative.

I think that is terrific because we in this province have said we want two solidification processes as soon as we can get them. If other people want to come forward later and go through the whole public hearing, it is their right to do so. The member should be aware of the tremendous amount of effort that we, the private sector and the municipalities, are making to get these facilities on

stream as soon as it is humanly possible to do so.

In conclusion, we could have done it much sooner except for the very legitimate commitment that all these hearings must go through the environmental assessment hearing process. That does take time, but it also gives a lot of protection to the people of this province.

Mr. Speaker: So do the answers. We have spent 21 minutes, and we are not finished the second question yet. Final supplementary.

Mr. S. Smith: Mr. Speaker, the company charged about 10 cents a gallon minimum for that 270,000 gallons, and charged it on the basis they would be using it for solidification, since the region only accepted that whole project on the basis that waste would no longer be poured on to the Upper Ottawa Street site, which clearly could not take any more, and there was to be a solidification project, properly monitored, according to its certificate of approval. What is going to happen to that \$27,000 which the company took for solidification, when it then allowed the material to go out a hole in the bottom so that it might just as well have been dumped in the first place, as the minister himself just said? Is the minister going to try to recover the money?

Hon. Mr. Parrott: Mr. Speaker, that is something which must be addressed between those people who paid the money, that is industries in our province, and those who received it.

One thing that has not happened, and I am rather pleased that the Leader of the Opposition (Mr. S. Smith) has changed his position a little bit on this point, is that the money has not gone illegally into the pockets of the people of our ministry as he accused. He has never, with respect, suggested otherwise.

They are very trustworthy people, and I am glad to see the Leader of the Opposition is no longer accusing our ministry, or the employees of our ministry of illegally receiving that money. That is a marked step forward.

ONTARIO HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION

Mr. Cassidy: Mr. Speaker, I have a new question for the Premier which touches on human rights and which, I believe, is relevant to the debate we are having in the Legislature this week on the constitution. Is it government policy that the Ontario Human Rights Commission should be silent on major issues affecting minorities in this province? If not, why was there no public statement at all by the commission relating to CTV's racist attacks on the Chinese-Canadian community from the

time the show Campus Giveaway was aired last September until the time CTV withdrew and apologized completely to the Chinese just two or three weeks ago?

Hon. Mr. Davis: Mr. Speaker, going back in my own recollection of the activities of the commission and its members, they have never been reluctant to express a point of view on issues of this nature. I cannot recall exactly whether a member of the commission did have a point of view that was expressed. I know that members here expressed a point of view. I can recall the Minister of Industry and Tourism (Mr. Grossman) doing so, and I recall an observation I made at a dinner the Chinese community had, I believe, at the Inn on the Park.

Certainly there is no policy not to make statements. My experience, as I look back at the activities of the commission, which I think have been really exemplary over the years, has been that they have never been reluctant to do so. I cannot comment whether individual members did.

I will look into that for the honourable member, or have the Minister of Labour (Mr. Elgie) look into it for him. I can only speak from my personal knowledge of the members of the commission and their own personal commitment with respect to issues of this kind.

Mr. Cassidy: A supplementary question: Is the Premier aware of the mounting concern among ethnic communities across this province at the abdication of leadership by the Ontario Human Rights Commission? Is the Premier aware of the fact that the chairman of the commission, Dorothea Crittenden, has been so totally invisible that she has had only one public appearance this year, and in two years of office has made no public statements on matters affecting racism?

2:40 p.m.

Is the Premier aware that the enforcement of human rights by the commission is now so inadequate there is a backlog of 900 cases that will take almost a year to clear up? What action is the government prepared to take in order to restore the Ontario Human Rights Commission's credibility in the eyes of ethnic communities across this province?

Hon. Mr. Davis: I think the leader of the New Democratic Party is doing a disservice to the chairperson of the human rights commission.

Mr. Laughren: Not at all.

Hon. Mr. Davis: Well, all right. Listen, if members want to be critical of her, let them be so, that is fine. I happen to know Miss Crittenden. I know of her service to the

public of this province for many years. I know her sensitivities and her concerns with respect to the responsibilities she has assumed, a rather onerous task. She may not make a lot of public speeches, but there are people I know who make too many. Somewhere in between there is a balance.

I am just going by press reports, but I believe a member of the commission was present when this matter was discussed. I think if one checks the records one would see Dr. Ubale was there and he wasn't invited to speak or comment. Dr. Ubale is a relatively outspoken member of the commission who is not reluctant to speak what he feels. This has applied to others over the years. I think it is very unfair of the leader of the New Democratic Party to be attacking, in a very personal way, the chairman of the human rights commission. She is a very able, sensitive, dedicated public servant.

I think there is a separate issue and that is the increased work load of the commission. There is no question that the numbers of cases that are being brought to the attention of the commission have increased. I personally met with the commission, along with the Minister of Labour, a week to 10 days ago when they informed us of the growing difficulty in terms of the administration because of the numbers of cases before the commission. They have made suggestions to the ministry and government which we are assessing as to how we might assist through increased personnel the very substantially increasing work load. I think that is a separate problem from the one the honourable member initially raised.

Mr. S. Smith: A supplementary question, Mr. Speaker: I am pleased the Premier is giving his attention to the matter of expanding the personnel and, of course, the funding of the commission. Would the Premier also give consideration to the request made in the production, *Life Together*, by the Ontario Human Rights Commission? The request was made that the commission should be more responsive to the Legislature as a whole in a nonpartisan way rather than to the government directly. Would the Premier also consider that the chairman be appointed by consultation with the opposition parties and that the reports be made to the Legislature as a whole in much the same way as the reports of the Ombudsman, for instance? It seemed like a very reasonable request to have them removed from the sort of partisan or semi-partisan realm. I wonder if the Premier would give his earnest consideration to that.

Hon. Mr. Davis: Mr. Speaker, this was a part of the recommendation. There has been some discussion over the years as to the appropriate reporting relationship. I guess my experience has always led me to the conclusion that in matters where government policy is obviously involved, to try to divorce that responsibility from the government of the day is really not realistic. I discussed this with the author of the report at the time. I think there is a very real distinction between the functioning of the Ombudsman, a creation of this Legislature, and the human rights commission, which is responsible for the administration of legislation passed and also responsible in an indirect and sometimes direct sense for government policy.

I think it is fair to state, and I don't say this critically, that to try to divorce that responsibility from the government of the day is not really realistic. The government of the day, even if we were to take that step, would still be held responsible, as it should be, for the activities or lack of activities of any agency, including one as sensitive and as important as the human rights commission. That is not an attempt in any way to reject any creative idea. I think what I am saying, with respect, is it is really a matter of reality, a practical point of view that I think if the Leader of the Opposition were to reflect on carefully he might at some point come to share.

Mr. Di Santo: Mr. Speaker, I would like to ask the Premier whether he was referring to Rev. McLeod, who actually said the human rights commission should respond to the Legislature rather than being an agency of the Ministry of Labour.

I would like to ask him whether he has given any thought to the comments made by the former chairman of the commission, who said the commission has become bureaucratized to the point that now, and I quote, "I understand all commissioners must check with her"—the present chairman—"before they speak to the press. You can bet they are not allowed to say anything critical of the government."

Does the Premier think this is the role of the Ontario Human Rights Commission? Is he aware of the criticism that is levelled on the commission because of the way it is run right now by a civil servant appointed by this government?

Hon. Mr. Davis: Mr. Speaker, I think the member will find if he checks the records carefully—knowing some members of the commission; not all of them—that they

have not been reluctant in the past and they are not reluctant at present to express personal points of view. All the member has to do is check the press, some of his own press, and he will find this to be factually the case.

I don't think I discussed the other matter raised with the former moderator of the United Church. I have discussed other issues with him on occasion. I think really—I am going by memory—my discussions were with the former president of Trent University. I think that is the case.

Mr. Cassidy: Final supplementary: Since the credibility gap which now exists for the human rights commission among the ethnic communities across this province is in large part due to the inadequacies of the Ontario Human Rights Code and the failure to revise that code since publication of *Life Together* in 1977, will the Premier give this House a commitment that before summer the government will table its general amendments to the human rights code so that they can be before the Legislature and can be enacted into law before the end of this year?

Hon. Mr. Davis: I think it is fair to state the government is not only prepared to do this, but will in fact be introducing these amendments. When they are ready, the government will be awaiting with some interest the reaction of members opposite to some amendments, or the lack of same.

OTTAWA-CARLETON FRENCH-LANGUAGE SCHOOL BOARD

Mr. Cassidy: Mr. Speaker, I might say, before beginning this question, that Gérard Lévesque, the secretary general of L'Association Canadienne-Française de l'Ontario, is following the constitutional debate this week. He is sitting up there in the gallery, I believe. Oh, he has just gone.

My question is to the Premier. In the context of the constitutional debate this week and the need to show Quebec and to show French Canada that Ontarians are serious about French-language school rights and the rights of the French language in this province, is the government prepared to reconsider its rejection of the creation of a French-language school board in the region of Ottawa-Carleton?

Hon. Mr. Davis: Mr. Speaker, this is an issue that causes the government some concern because of the potential for misunderstanding. I am not surprised that the leader

of the New Democratic Party has raised it at this moment, although I might express perhaps a measure of disappointment. One of the difficulties with issues of this nature is not so much the reality of the situation here as the potential of its perception in other parts of Canada, particularly Quebec.

I answered a similar question at a press conference in Montreal, where I made it abundantly clear that the policy of this government as it relates to this issue is not based upon the question of language. There has been an indication by some—perhaps even felt by the leader of the New Democratic Party—that this is, per se, a language issue.

I endeavoured to point out to the media in Montreal that what was being discussed was really the creation of a third school system in Ontario. I explained in principle, and I don't think the leader of the New Democratic Party can argue this, that if this is to happen in Ottawa-Carleton as an experimental or pilot project, in terms of principle there should be a French-language school board to administer one relatively small secondary school in Simcoe county with perhaps, and the minister could correct me, half a dozen elementary schools within Tiny township.

2:50 p.m.

It means a third bureaucracy, and I don't say that in the pejorative sense of the word, but it means we would have three directors of education. We would have X number of superintendents of education and over the years the member for Brant-Oxford-Norfolk (Mr. Nixon) has been saying that we already have far too many within the existing system. We would in fact have the public school system, the public school board or board of education; we would have the public separate school system; we would have the French-language or French school system. We would have these systems in many parts of the province, because we could not confine it to Ottawa-Carleton, if, as a matter of principle, this is the route that should be followed.

I just want to make it abundantly clear to the leader of the New Democratic Party that this is not an issue of language. We are interested in finding a vehicle whereby the parents of the youngsters who are attending the French-language schools have an input in terms of the academic nature or the quality of the program, but we endeavour to stay away from the creation of another school system and that really is the issue. It is not a question of language; it is a question of establishing a third school system here in

Ontario and that is what I endeavoured to explain to the media in Quebec.

Mr. Cassidy: Supplementary: Would the Premier and the government not be prepared to review the situation in Ottawa-Carleton where some 30,000 French-language school children are now taking instruction, where the school system is divided in four parts between two Catholic and two public boards and where the creation of a French-language school board can be done without any addition of school boards? It could, in fact, be done with possibly, even a reduction in the total number of school boards. Rather than looking at the extension across the province, will the government not look at the situation in Ottawa-Carleton, specifically where the proposal for a French-language school board has been endorsed not only by the Mayo commission but also by all four school boards in the area and has got broad support from the entire Ottawa-Carleton community?

Hon. Mr. Davis: Mr. Speaker, I realize it's hard for the leader of the New Democratic Party to understand that if it makes sense, if it is right educationally, if it is right in terms of the principle—and I know that that perhaps may not impress him—if it is right in Ottawa-Carleton, with great respect it is also right where one has substantially fewer students.

We have never based the delivery of educational service in this province, in the years that I have been involved, on the numbers of students that would be looked after by a particular school board jurisdiction. That has never been the ground rule. The ground rule has been simply the traditional and the legal basis for the public separate school system and for the boards of education.

I say to the leader of the New Democratic Party, it isn't as simple as saying, "Let's experiment in Ottawa-Carleton." It's not as simple as saying, either, that one can solve readily the question of whether one has a French-language public school system or one has a French-language separate school system. There is, in some communities, some modest difference of opinion as to what particular route that may go as well.

Mr. Roy: A supplementary question, Mr. Speaker: In listening to the Premier answering this question and having in mind our full and unanimous support of the motion that my leader has seconded in this House and the debate that is taking place; having in mind that I see nothing improper about raising this issue, considering it is something that was proposed by a commission estab-

lished by this government some four or five years ago and the fact that his concern appears to be on the basis of bureaucracy—the denial is on the basis of bureaucracy—and considering that his own commission has recommended that Ottawa-Carleton could be cut from four existing boards to three boards, including a French board—

Mr. Speaker: Can we get to the question?

Mr. Roy: I am getting there, Mr. Speaker.

Mr. Speaker: Not nearly fast enough.

Mr. Roy: —why would the Premier not accept a recommendation made by people in Ottawa-Carleton and by people on this side that when he sets up that sort of board in Ottawa-Carleton he do it on an experimental basis, say for a period of five years? With the facts given by the leader of the NDP, does the Premier not feel Ottawa-Carleton is a situation much different from some of the situations across the province that he has cited? Doesn't he think the situation existing in Ottawa-Carleton does not exist in most other areas of the province?

Hon. Mr. Davis: With great respect, Mr. Speaker, and I would appeal to the intelligence and logic of the member for Ottawa East, I know there are in Ottawa-Carleton more students than there would be, say, in Simcoe county. But I ask him, as a matter of principle, if it is the right thing to do to establish another school board and really another school system in Ottawa-Carleton, how can the member logically argue the same right should not be available to those youngsters in Simcoe county's Tiny township? If the member were the member two rows behind him, the member for Nipissing (Mr. Bolan)—

Mr. Roy: You do it every year for the schools. You don't establish a school for five students and you don't establish a board for one school.

Hon. Mr. Davis: We don't. With great respect to the member for Ottawa East, we are talking about a school system; we are talking about a principle. One can't argue it on the basis of there being 30,000 students vis-à-vis 4,000 students. If there are enough students to administer a school system, then I think in matters of principle the member for Ottawa East would have to understand the logic of the situation. One can't have an experimental program for five years. It is either the right thing to do educationally or as a matter of policy—which should be extended into Essex county, Nipissing, you name it—or not.

Mr. S. Smith: Not necessarily.

Hon. Mr. Davis: It is. Principles may not mean that much to the members opposite but they are fundamental.

PUBLIC OPINION POLLS

Mr. T. P. Reid: Mr. Speaker, I wasn't convinced about the efficacy of the NDP question until the Premier gave his answer, but now I am.

I have a two-part question for the Premier in regard to public opinion polls, his annual \$430,000 expenditure of taxpayers' money. In view of the fact the Chairman of Management Board of Cabinet (Mr. McCague) indicated April 21 that all of the public opinion polls taken in the last year would be made available by the individual members, and they have not yet done so, would the Premier gin up his colleagues, if I may put it that way, to produce such public opinion polls?

Second, since *de facto* the chairman of management board has indicated that these polls will be forthcoming, will the Premier make an unequivocal statement today that as these polls are received by the various ministries they will be tabled in the Legislature?

Hon. Mr. Davis: Mr. Speaker, I won't rise on a matter of personal privilege but I really take some exception to the distinguished member suggesting I should "gin up" my colleagues. If that is how the member wants to treat his colleagues, that is his business—and maybe he does on occasion.

Mr. T. P. Reid: You had better do something to rouse them up.

Hon. Mr. Davis: I am a great believer in motivation but I always felt alcohol wasn't necessarily the best motivator. The member may feel differently.

Mr. Speaker, I would say to the member who asked the question that it is the intent to table those polls that were referred to in the answer to the question. I don't know whether the answer contained this in detail, but it was my understanding that ministers would be doing this as they got into their estimates and opportunities arose to discuss them. I think the Minister of Transportation and Communications (Mr. Snow), for instance, has already tabled some of the polls referred to standing in the name of that ministry. But yes, the member will have access to them, as will the world.

Mr. T. P. Reid: One short supplementary, on behalf of the world—or the other jurisdiction, as the Premier is fond of saying:

Would the Premier not agree that since the Minister of Natural Resources (Mr. Auld) was able to table in the Legislature the forest regeneration agreement between the government and the ministry, he should follow the same procedure? As the ministries and ministers receive the public opinion polls, should he not routinely table them at the same time they are received by the ministers? In that way the world and everybody else will know what is in them and have them available.

3 p.m.

Hon. Mr. Davis: Mr. Speaker, I understand the question. I am sure if the member had his way he would really like to ask if we would be prepared to give him a copy of the poll before the ministry even saw it. I would ask for the same thing, but not really expect to get it. I can't give that sort of undertaking to the member, but I do give the undertaking they will be made available.

TOILET TISSUE

Mr. Swart: My question, Mr. Speaker, is to the Minister of Consumer and Commercial Relations. He will recall I questioned him in the House recently as to why he had not kept his commitment to produce the report on the in-depth investigation into the price of bathroom tissue. He answered me that it was his understanding that particular report had been conveyed to me and he would make sure it was in my hands. It is now 12 days since he made that statement and I have not yet got that report. Can he table it? What is the date of it? What is in it?

Hon. Mr. Drea: Mr. Speaker, when the question was asked I said to the honourable member I didn't really understand why he didn't have it because I had recollections of seeing that report. The report I saw was an interim one. The reason it has been delayed—and it will be available to the member next week—is that at the same time in my estimates, as the members of the committee will recall, the member for Riverdale (Mr. Renwick) wanted a detailed food analysis along the American border, which was agreed upon with Detroit. The toilet tissue and other paper products of the Eddy Corporation became involved in the preparation of the food analysis. They will both be tabled next week.

Mr. Swart: By way of supplementary: Can I remind the minister he did promise to have that report tabled more than two months ago and he did promise to make the comparative

food basket report many months ago? Can I ask him why he is so indifferent to all these matters of excessive consumer pricing? Why does he refuse even to investigate the companies that are charging excessive prices, let alone take any action on those prices?

Hon. Mr. Drea: There were two reports done in the southern Michigan area on food prices. The first one was completed in early January or mid-January. I thought it would be fairer, since this would be the basis of comparison with US food prices—that whole thing suggested by the member's party, not by the member—that there be a second comparison to really reflect the first quarter of the year. That has now been done and will be tabled next week.

I have honoured my commitments. I always do, though it may not be to the member's satisfaction.

CARLETON BY-ELECTION

Mr. Roy: Mr. Speaker, I have a question for the Premier if I may interrupt him. Considering that there has been a vacancy in the riding of Carleton now since April 15, when does the Premier plan to announce a by-election in that riding so that the people of Carleton may get provincial representation?

Hon. Miss Stephenson: In the fullness of time.

Mr. Roy: Don't give me that bull about in the fullness of time that the Minister of Education is suggesting.

Hon. Mr. Davis: Mr. Speaker, I don't want to be unkind to the member for Ottawa East, but I expect if he will attend here in this Legislature with some degree of regularity, at some point in time he will hear me say just when that by-election might take place.

Mr. Roy: I don't want to be unduly harsh on the Premier, but am I to deduce from his reluctance to call a by-election in that riding that he is somewhat apprehensive in putting his government's record before the people of Carleton?

Hon. Mr. Davis: I would only say to the member for Ottawa East, as he knows, because he has a great deal of intelligence some days, that one thing we are most reluctant to do is put forward the record of this government vis-à-vis the policies or lack of them of the Liberal Party or the Smith party of Ontario. I tell him that in that, there would be no contest.

ETHNIC NEWS MEDIA ADVERTISING

Mr. Di Santo: Mr. Speaker: I have a question for the Minister of Industry and Tourism.

In view of the fact that the government information and communications program budget has not been increased for the last three years, as was recognized during the discussion of the estimates of that ministry, and in view of the fact that there are many ethnic newspapers which are suffering because of increased costs and inflation, has the minister come to any determination, as he promised on that instance, and has the budget been increased, or is the minister thinking of increasing the advertising budget for the ethnic papers?

Hon. Mr. Grossman: Mr. Speaker, there currently is an increase being developed in the advertising budget for ethnic newspapers and it will be finalized shortly.

Mr. Di Santo: By way of supplementary: In view of the fact that the guidelines now encourage the large enterprises to the detriment of the small papers, which are struggling for survival, will the minister make sure when devising the new guidelines that the small papers get a fair share of support so that their survival can be ensured?

Hon. Mr. Grossman: May I say immediately that I in no way support the presumption upon which the honourable member bases the question. I don't support for a moment the principal that the member suggests is implemented in our program, which is to suggest that we support the larger newspapers, and so on, to the detriment of the small papers. It is clearly just not fair to say that.

What we try to do through that program is not an easy task, which, of course, involves the government (a) using its advertising resources as wisely as possible, (b) ensuring that we use the ethnic newspapers and media to the maximum extent possible, (c) ensuring that those persons who use the ethnic media are in a position to obtain as much information about government programs as anyone else. Finally, of course, we seek to use the program in ways in which all ethnic media can participate in the program, so that we can in that way help keep those media vehicles in operation.

I know there is a constant controversy over which papers fall within and outside the guidelines, and I know the member will agree that we have to have some guidelines so as to ensure that people don't run out and start a newspaper tomorrow morning and automatically become qualified to receive our ethnic advertising moneys.

Unless the member is advocating an open-ended program, it means that with the given allocation of moneys in any year the degree to which new people come upon the scene

and claim to have valid new ethnic newspapers will take money from other long-established, very strong ethnic media which still need the same amount of continued government support.

In fairness to the readers of all those newspapers, and in fairness to the very fine newspapers throughout this province, we must have some guidelines put in place. I don't doubt that there will always be firms that will claim the guidelines should be expanded to take them in, but I must say—and the member is in a position to attest to this at first hand—the number of small newspapers in this province that have been established and are thriving today is due testimony to the effectiveness of the government's ethnic advertising program.

I may only add that the Ministry of Culture and Recreation, through its multicultural branch, is playing a closer and closer role in co-ordinating these efforts with us so that we may develop programs that are more mobile than ever before.

TOWNSEND NEW COMMUNITY

Mr. Nixon: Mr. Speaker, I have a question I want to direct to the Minister of Housing about the Ontario Land Corporation program to erect a new town called Townsend, partly in my constituency. Because of the disappointing reaction from builders in the community at large to the availability of lots, is the minister going to exercise his well-known flexibility in adjusting the timetable for the development of Townsend?

Hon. Mr. Bennett: Mr. Speaker, I have indicated to the honourable member before that we keep a constant review of the situation in Townsend and the availability of lots and, indeed, the uptake by the private sector. I reported to this House in a written answer to a question on the Order Paper the exact uptake we have had to this point and the interest shown.

3:10 p.m.

I will be in Townsend in the next few weeks to review further both with our people on site and our assistant deputy minister, in relationship to Townsend, the amount of land we shall service and make available for production use in the next 18 months.

Mr. Nixon: A supplementary question: Since the minister reported in answer to my written question on the relatively small number of lots that have been committed, not necessarily sold, in spite of a very expensive multicolour advertising insert in

most of the newspapers in the area and extending far beyond, why would the land corporation be reluctant, in fact refuse, to make public an independent residential marketing study covering the area, since this matter is of such concern to the taxpayers as well as to the independent developers in the area?

Hon. Mr. Bennett: The member will recall that in a written letter to the research officer for his party we indicated very clearly and precisely that we felt we were in the same position as anyone else in the private market. When we do research studies that indicate what the market potential happens to be, we do not share the results with our competition. That is exactly the position we are in at this point.

GROUP HOMES

Mr. McClellan: Mr. Speaker, I have a question for the Provincial Secretary for Social Development. Now that the Ontario Municipal Board has upheld the North York bylaw that discriminates against certain categories of group homes, thereby torpedoing the government's program of voluntary compliance with acceptance of group homes and undermining human rights, what action does the government intend to take?

Hon. Mrs. Birch: Mr. Speaker, naturally I am very disappointed by the decision taken by the OMB. My colleagues and I will be studying it very carefully over the next few days.

Mr. McClellan: A supplementary question: When the government is studying it—and I appreciate the fact that it is studying it—may I ask it to consider most seriously bringing forward amendments to the Planning Act and to permit group homes to exist in neighbourhoods right across this province, as a matter of basic human rights?

Mr. Speaker: A new question. The member for Lincoln.

Mr. McClellan: I did not hear the answer to my question.

Hon. Mrs. Birch: That will also be part of the consideration.

NIAGARA ESCARPMENT HEARINGS

Mr. Hall: Mr. Speaker, I have a question for the Provincial Secretary for Resources Development. Given the understanding I had that the minister has reconsidered the earlier rejection by hearing officers of transcription facilities at the current Niagara Escarpment Commission hearings, can the

minister now advise when a public printed record of each day's hearings will commence?

Hon. Mr. Brunelle: Mr. Speaker, the honourable member brought this to my attention, as have other members, and I indicated that I would look into it. I discussed the matter with the chairman of the commission and the figure I have been given is a cost of approximately \$1,600 a day.

As the honourable member knows, this does not prevent anyone at the present time, if he wants, from making notes, et cetera; they can do this at their own expense. The officer in charge of the hearing, Mr. McCrae, who has over 20 years of experience, has also discussed this matter with me.

Those who wish to take notes and make recordings can do so, but they must do so at their own expense.

Mr. Hall: Supplementary, Mr. Speaker: Nevertheless, I hope the minister will take into account the fact that such taking of notes means daily attendance at these hearings, and they have vocations to follow. This is a hardship.

It is a question of whether, in the matter of the public interest, the government should provide this service, or whether it should be taken off the salaries of individuals by loss of pay. I do not think that is very fair.

Hon. Mr. Brunelle: Mr. Speaker, the matter has been very thoroughly looked into. As the honourable member knows, these meetings are strictly to provide information. It is not a trial; it is not a public inquiry. We feel it is not necessary to have recordings made of the proceedings at government expense.

FRANCOPHONE ENUMERATION

Mr. R. F. Johnston: Mr. Speaker, I have a question of the Premier. As the Premier has now received suggestions on French-language enumerations from the Association of French-Language Advisory Councils, from the Toronto Star in its editorial today and from my resolution which I presented on May 1, which we hope has been of some help to him, can he tell us when he expects to have an answer for us on the possibility of enumeration this fall? What method will he choose to use to have this enumeration done?

Hon. Mr. Davis: Mr. Speaker, as I indicated to the honourable member, enumeration takes place some time around August or September. I expect we will have the matter resolved by that time. As I said to the mem-

ber, we will find a way. I am delighted to have all the advice. I am not sure just what priorities the member gave, whether he thought his advice was better than that of the Franco-Ontarian association or the Toronto Star.

Mr. Roy: Or the member for St. George (Mrs. Campbell).

Hon. Mr. Davis: Oh, the member for St. George.

Mr. R. F. Johnston: They are all identical.

Hon. Mr. Davis: There are certain similarities; I acknowledge there are certain similarities.

NOTICE OF DISSATISFACTION

Mr. Speaker: Under standing order 28, the member for Wentworth (Mr. Isaacs) has expressed dissatisfaction with the answer to a question posed to the Minister of the Environment (Mr. Parrott) concerning the disposal of liquid waste. This matter will be debated at 10:30 tonight.

INTRODUCTION OF BILLS

ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION AMENDMENT ACT

Mr. Swart moved first reading of Bill 67, An Act to revise the Environmental Protection Act, 1971.

Motion agreed to.

Mr. Swart: Mr. Speaker, the purpose of this bill is to impose heavier fines upon offenders of waste management laws and to establish a fund based on the surcharge added to this fine, also to be paid by the offender, which will be used to rehabilitate abandoned waste disposal sites and abandoned landfill sites.

Accordingly, the bill contains amendments to the Environmental Protection Act whereby waste management law offenders will pay fines up to a maximum of \$10,000 per day, up from the present \$2,000, and the same offenders will pay an additional surcharge of five per cent of their fines to go into an abandoned waste dump cleanup fund for the aforementioned purpose.

This bill expresses a concern of university students Cathy Wesol, Marian Shull and Rick Double who prepared it.

ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS ON NOTICE PAPER

Hon. Mr. Wells: Mr. Speaker, I am tabling the answers to questions 132, 134 and 135 and the interim answer to question 141 stand-

ing on the Notice Paper. (See appendix, page 1537)

Mr. Speaker, if I might also indicate, for your guidance, I understand that questions have been raised concerning the answer to question 110. It is the ministry's opinion that question 110 has been answered. The answer was from the Ministry of Health. The Minister of Northern Affairs (Mr. Bernier) indicated to the Minister of Health (Mr. Timbrell) that that was the answer which should also pertain for his ministry.

ORDERS OF THE DAY

DEBATE ON CONFEDERATION

(continued)

Resuming the adjourned debate on the constitutional resolution.

Mr. Turner: Mr. Speaker, first let me say, as a Canadian and as a member of this Legislature, I am extremely proud to be taking part in this debate today. Like all Canadians, I think it is fair to say I share a deep and passionate affection for this great country of ours.

Ontario's commitment to the social and economic development of this country is well established and beyond question. Our outstanding reputation as realistic and constructive negotiators with other jurisdictions is not questioned in either the public or the private sectors. I suggest this is the result of the creative development of the many resources of this great province and perhaps, more important, the constructive use of the many talents of the diverse representation of people in this great province.

3:20 p.m.

We are in the midst of a task which could not be more critical. As individuals, as legislators, as Canadians, we are evaluating our identity. We do so with the full knowledge that our sister province of Quebec is working through a period of tough decision-making. Quebeckers cannot take a good hard look at the relevance of Canada and the relevance Canada has for them without all of us—indeed all Canadians—taking stock of our identity, nor can any other province in this Confederation.

The future of this great country is at stake. The members of this Legislature on all sides of the House are joined in a debate on our founding principle. Canada, a confederation of provinces and territories, is being challenged by forces within her own boundaries. A nation rich with the diverse and dynamic talents of all its peoples, filled with natural resources and technological ex-

pertise, is being torn apart by that same wealth that sets us apart from other nations. Change has to occur from within if this nation is to be strengthened from without.

This week, right now, we are examining what this great country of Canada means and what kinds of experience identify what is to be a Canadian. All of us in this House, in this province and in the whole of the country have a story to tell. Personally, I find the timing of this debate quite significant. Thirty-five years ago this month the Canadian Armed Forces accepted the surrender of Germany in Holland, signalling an end to what was the most bitter period in the history of our modern world.

It was a time of unified effort by Canadians. I like to think the fight was worth while for it sustained freedom for many peoples. For everyone involved, the experience evoked feelings of profound intensity. Like many other Canadians, I participated in this war as a member of the Royal Canadian Air Force. I served in the Snowy Owls squadron, unit 420. I trained in many parts of this great country and I served on active service in Europe.

In my unit on the squadron, there were representatives from all parts of this great country of ours. More significant and perhaps unique, on the same field where we were stationed we flew with a partner squadron, the Alouettes, number 425. Obviously, we worked very closely on a daily and hourly basis. Despite our differences of language and background, we were a united team. In order to work together efficiently as individuals, we related to each other. To protect our identity as Canadians we established a strong camaraderie whose basis was the recognition that we shared the broad base of experiences that are at the centre of this Confederation.

The kind of relationships we formed during that period were very special. Indeed, the time was special. These two squadrons joined together to face crises on a daily basis, as did all the other squadrons serving over there. Together we worked and hoped to survive. Implicitly, we were protecting our nation from a philosophy which would impair the development of our individual talents. As Canadians, the men who were with the Snowy Owl and Alouette squadrons, together with many other Canadians, defended the nation's aspirations to self-expression.

I am saddened by the feeling of many people within the province of Quebec that Canada no longer works for them. It is rare now indeed to develop such attachments as we did during the war. I say that for me these friendships have had a profound meaning.

These experiences have added a dimension to my life which shapes my belief in the value of a full and democratic life.

I would submit this is what is very special about this Canada of ours. In addition to the economic benefits of Confederation, I can appreciate the potential of a combined endeavour. The combined efforts of Canadians during times of national emergency were rallied in the face of an external threat. But the threat posed to us now is from within this great country and is no less intense and no less real.

What I find disturbing is the ability of Canadians to recognize and to unite in the face of outside interference and yet to be blind or indifferent to the dangers of this more insidious threat. In the face of what some Canadians perceive as unwarranted American economic expansion to our markets, nationalism is espoused. Nationalism comes to mean a cultural economic defence against penetration or domination.

I am sure we have all heard the argument that we should be constructing barriers which will separate us from the excesses of the domination of other nations and absolve Canada from the threat to her nationhood. Unfortunately, we know all too well that barriers may be constructed from within a nation as well as from outside. This is the very reason for this debate.

We in Ontario are in a strategic position in many ways. Geographically situated squarely between eastern and western Canada we are in the centre of the flow of essential mineral and energy resources and foodstuffs. Ontario's leading expertise in the manufacturing sector, as well as her own wealth of natural agricultural and energy resources, is by no means accidental. We have a wealth of creative talent and many tools with which to build. These very facts alone speak for themselves. We must also recognize and take responsible action towards promoting one of the intentions of Confederation. We must find ourselves in a location which must promote both the free flow of products and ideas throughout a united Canada.

In this nation the centres of flow are changing. Increasing energy needs are exerting greater pressure on the western provinces to tap their oil and gas resources. An explosion of activity in western Canada has been the result, accompanied by well-deserved, substantial economic rewards. As the direction of cash flow has taken a new course, so have the federal government's equalization payments. Such sudden changes have been heralded by cries of regional disparity

throughout the whole of this country. It is time for everyone of us in this country to reappraise our positions. To deal with our social problems I believe new and innovative approaches have to be taken.

Let us not try to kid ourselves. Constitutional reform is demanded, and all levels of government, federal and provincial, will be called upon to integrate fresh long-term goals. We know all too well that many of our energy resources are non-renewable. We have already set to work on this premise. The task in front of us is to renew our Confederation and to encourage co-operation among all Canadians, not the isolation stemming from preoccupations with regional self-interests.

3:30 p.m.

We need to draft a new blueprint for this great country of Canada. We need to draw the attention of our communities from local interests and focus on national values. For more than a century, our country has acquired and developed in a stable and uninterrupted fashion fundamental freedom for all of its citizens: freedom of speech, freedom of assembly, freedom of association, the right to vote, freedom of the press, the right to a fair trial. All these rights, and more, are enshrined in our federal laws and in federal statutes such as the Canadian Bill of Rights. These rights, liberating self-expression, were no historical accident. They were the natural product of our federal system.

The diversity of people living within our borders has enhanced the tolerances for differences within our system and, indeed, has ensured its survival. We are fortunate that our diversity in people is matched by our diversity in resources. The possibility of developing energy self-sufficiency is far greater in a united Canada than it is in a divided Canada. Confederation ensures that every province and every region will share in the wealth and freedom provided by our resources and enjoy the benefits of a protected rate. Confederation provides adventurous Canadians with the opportunity and the challenge to build forward-looking communities, to create jobs and to make use of our wealth, fostering Canadian investment.

In the international arena, our nation has indeed achieved an enviable reputation. Our economic, geographic and cultural advantages, as well as the traditional policy of our nation to protect the rights of self-determination of our indigenous population, has earned respect the world over. Canadians play an important role in the defence of western values and further peace and harmony in the

world through active participation in the United Nations.

The reputation and heritage all Canadians share is also freely expressed through provincial participation in the international affairs of our nation through trade development offices, cultural exchanges and sporting activities. Confederation allows each province to play a far greater role in world affairs than if they were separate entities.

To be a Canadian is to appreciate the shared meaning expressed in all the regions of this great country: to build on a tradition founded on the principle of integrity. I sincerely hope that we fully appreciate our common potential and experience, an ever-maturing combination of creative energy and unfolding talents, and make full use of our diverse and abundant resources.

I would suggest that we reflect on the words of Georges-Etienne Cartier: "The question we ask ourselves is this: Shall we live apart, will we be content to preserve a mere provincial existence when united we may become a great nation? No union of small communities was able to hope to reach national greatness with such facility as we are."

Mrs. Campbell: Mr. Speaker, when I first contemplated participating in this debate, I considered talking about justice as it exists in Quebec, as it exists in Ontario and as it exists elsewhere in Canada. However, somehow I was unable to convince myself that this was the topic I really wanted to pursue on this occasion. Eventually, I decided not to elaborate upon the theme of justice except once more to go on record as saying that if we are thinking about justice in absolute terms, then we have to acknowledge the existence of its counterpart, injustice, which is in reality the absence of justice in the true sense.

Frankly, I felt that at this point in our history it was more important to speak from the heart than from the head. We may never have a better opportunity than we have here today to move out of the flatlands in which we spend the greater part of our lives and to take a look at the view from the mountain tops, so to speak. We have a unique opportunity to put into words, inadequate though they may be, something of what we feel about Canada. We have the chance of a lifetime to put on record what we believe this country is all about. We have a gift which is given to a few of us, a forum in which to make, hopefully, a ringing appeal which, God willing, may find an echo in the hearts of other Canadians who are as con-

cerned as we are about the future of our country.

Let me say at the outset that I support the resolution which is before this House. I believe we should not negotiate sovereignty-association which is surely simply another way of saying separation. I recommend that we should regard a no vote as a signal to begin the process of renewing Canadian federalism.

Sometimes it is the outsiders who see most of the game. Listen to what the Economist, a well-renowned British weekly magazine of news and opinion, has to say: "Canada is a country threatened by a possible economic and political breach that could and almost certainly would destroy it. It is really inconceivable that Canada would survive as three chunks instead of a broadly interdependent system of 11 federal and provincial governments or that a French nation in Quebec would bring greater ethnic independence and economic advancement to the large French-Canadian populations in New Brunswick, Nova Scotia or Manitoba."

In any federation where power is divided between two or more levels of government, stress is inevitable. Possibly it is even healthy. Sad to say, however, built-in stress is frequently aggravated, possibly even exploited, by politicians at every level and of every stripe, who are more concerned with their own day-to-day political survival.

The federal system under which we live has so much to recommend it, so much in its favour. De Tocqueville understood the merits of our system when he stressed the fact that small nations are often unhappy, not because they are small, but because they are weak, while large nations prosper, not because they are large, but because they are strong. Strength is often a primary condition for the happiness and even the existence of nations. De Tocqueville concluded that the federal system was invented to consolidate the various advantages of the greatness and smallness of nations.

One of the truly remarkable assets of our federal system is its flexibility.

In wartime or during times of severe financial conditions, such as a depression, we move easily towards centralization. With peace and plenty, we tend to decentralize. This ebb-and-flow characteristic of Canadian federalism gives us much cause for optimism in coping with the problems presented by our present complex situation vis-à-vis Quebec and the other provinces and the necessary future constitutional discussions.

3:40 p.m.

Today the confidence of the people in governments and politicians is severely shaken. There is widespread doubt about the ability of those who are elected to alleviate the sufferings of the world and to solve the serious problems with which we are confronted. Throughout the world, whether or not elected under a democratic system, representatives hold in their hands the fate of nations, the lives of communities composed of millions of men, women and children. Sometimes those in power and those with power have a tendency to forget that salient fact. In times of crises, such as we face today, there has to be give and take between the parties. There has to be a concerted effort to work together to solve apparently insurmountable problems.

This great country of ours is going through a very turbulent period in its history. However, my heart does not fail me at the prospect of what lies ahead. Always in the past, when we have passed through times of storm and difficulty, we have been sustained by the strong and flourishing roots which we have put down in this country. Our roots are good and our roots are strong. Much of this strength derives from the very diversity of the people who make up this nation of Canada.

Like my colleague from Kitchener (Mr. Breithaupt), I have no roots in either the English or the French fact in Canada. My background is basically Celt. For this reason, I want to mention the tremendous pride I feel at the fact that during the First World War the famous Van Doos fought shoulder to shoulder with the Highland regiment—the Ladies from Hades, as they were called—and the Princess Pats and the other great Canadian fighting regiments. From all over Canada they came to join together to protect the country which they all loved. And so it was in the Second World War.

I think it is rather sad, particularly at this point in our development, that Canadian history is taught in Ontario as a political and constitutional history rather than in terms also of the stirring tug-at-the-heart stories which make a nation's story a vital and living thing.

I will touch briefly upon the historic documents in which our constitutional history is enshrined. There is the Royal Proclamation of 1763 which dictated that British civil and criminal law would apply. In 1774, coincidental with the problems in the American colonies, came the Quebec Act which provided for the application of the Napoleonic Code in Quebec. The Constitutional Act saw the light of day in 1791, establishing Upper

and Lower Canada. The date of the Union Act was 1840 and, in 1867 we had the British North America Act.

It is important to recognize that even before the British North America Act we find our constitution reflecting the changing times and changing circumstances. So today there comes from all parts of Canada a strong desire for constitutional change yet again, for change that reflects our needs at this time. We are pledged to make the necessary changes.

Like many Canadians, I have a dream about this great country of ours. Sometimes I have even thought we have come a long way towards developing a society which encompasses understanding and generosity as well as respect for the rights of the individual. How wonderful it would be if here in Canada at this time we could fulfil our destiny and show the world the way to devise a national community in which people of diverse origins can live, love and work together and so light the way to the achievement of an international community with similar understanding. Clearly in order to fulfil this impossible dream, there has to be a strong and abiding desire on the part of people on both sides in this question to live together in mutual respect and to give a sense of priority to the achievement of those things which are valued by each community.

I think the Yvette movement has caught the imagination of Canadians as few developments in connection with the Quebec situation have done. These women have set aside all the partisan political stances and have cut through to the heart of the situation.

Lorsque Lise Payette, Ministre d'Etat du Québec pour le Statut de la Femme, a comparé les femmes pro-fédéralistes du Québec à des "Yvettes"—un caractère de petite fille soumise, des histoires pour les écoles primaires—elle a provoqué une petite explosion.

Cette suggestion de Madame Payette, que toute Québécoise dynamique et intelligente est nécessairement séparatiste, a été complètement et irrévocablement démolie par la réaction immédiate qu'elle a provoquée.

Si les femmes pro-fédéralistes étaient aussi humbles que le Ministre l'a suggéré, la réaction n'aurait pas été aussi spontanée et aussi remarquable. Trois jours après ce commentaire du Ministre, 1,700 femmes se concentraient au Château Frontenac à Québec pour une "réunion des Yvettes": et moins d'une semaine après, 15,000 femmes représentant tous les différents groupes ethniques

et sociaux se rassemblaient au Forum de Montréal pour lancer leur appel passionné pour que le Québec reste au sein du Canada.

We cannot simply throw up our hands and surrender Canada to the forces that would seek to divide us so that we may be destroyed. We dare not contemplate the chaos that would follow such a development. We must be ready and eager to make accommodations, even, if need be, sacrifices, so that we may recreate Confederation for today's generation and for generations yet unborn.

Make no mistake about it, we have the right to enter this debate because we are not a nation of allies, but members of the family which is Canada.

3:50 p.m.

Today more than at any other time in the history of this nation, we need to send a clarion call to every province, to every Canadian. If we are to meet the incredible challenges which lie ahead, we must summon all our intelligence and strength, all our forces, whatever our differences may be, in the all-absorbing, all-encompassing Canadian cause, the survival of this country as a country.

We all have our vision of what Canada is all about. For some people, it is the coves and inlets of our rocky coastline to the east and to the west. For others, it is the incredible sweep of the Prairies. Some think of Canada in terms of the emerald forests, the silver grey rocks and the shining blue waters of the Canadian Shield. There are those who think of Canada as the home of great wilderness regions. There are others who take pride in and confidence from our vibrant and exciting urban centres, or take comfort and strength from the quiet, other-world atmosphere of our small rural villages.

For most of us, Canada is a combination of all of these things. Few of us think of Canada as just our own small corner of it. If we do, then surely we are the losers.

As a result of our failures, the enthusiasm and loyalty of the people of Quebec for the concept of Canada as one nation, stretching from sea to shining sea, shrivelled and almost died, but not quite. I believe the enthusiasm and loyalty are still there, longing for nourishment, the nurturing that only we can give. I believe the best interests of all Canadians will be served by seeking a renewal of our present association within a modified Confederation.

In closing, I will tell you unabashedly that one of my favourite anthems is O Canada, particularly in its French version, which was the first version which I learned, because

when I was in school our national anthem was what has now become our royal anthem. In those days it was felt sincerely that we must at all times remember the French fact in Canada.

Notwithstanding the importance of the recognition of our ancestors of this country in O Canada, my favourite line is, "Protégera nos foyers et nos droits"—the plea for the protection of our hearths and rights. I hope those words are heard and remembered in Quebec and throughout Canada. I hope that the prayer which is implicit in those words is answered.

Mr. M. N. Davison: Mr. Speaker, the contributions to this quite remarkable debate have been, by and large, both thoughtful and considered and, on most occasions, quite passionate.

I think members of the assembly have come here to this debate, as we do to most debates, representing not only our own constituencies and our own political parties, but the sum of our own experience. We bring that diverse wealth to the legislative assembly on this occasion perhaps more so than on other occasions. In the modern vernacular, perhaps it could be said we are at where we are who we are.

I cannot bring to this debate, as can many members of the assembly, the insights of a lawyer or a businessman or a teacher or a farmer. I am by occupation a factory worker, an occupation that is not terribly well represented in the assembly, but working people across this country have as much at stake in this debate as does anyone.

I, for one, am quite prepared to admit I do not understand the intricacies of constitutional reform, constitutional amendment and constitutional law, although I do believe that reform and amendment are needed urgently and are long overdue. I can't say I agree fully with either side in the current referendum debate in Quebec, although I do understand and accept the fundamental right of the people of Quebec to self-determination.

This debate in this assembly takes place within a larger debate across the country. I suppose it is good that we are all talking to each other. It never hurts. But at some time the time for action arrives and has a way of passing. I hope, as we sit here and debate today, that the time for action has not already passed and that it is not too late to do something about the issues before us.

I have followed the debate across the country, in Quebec and in the legislative assembly. I can't agree nor can I say that the national crisis is a crisis of sovereignty-asso-

ciation or a question of a new Confederation or a new constitution. I have to think back to where I come from in this debate. When one looks at the problems of Canada from a shop floor or from the north end of Hamilton or from any other industrial community in this country, things look a lot different than they do when viewed from this assembly and from the other places where this debate is taking place.

As a worker, it seems to me that the national crisis is fundamentally and severely related to the basic economic inequalities in this country today. I find it incredible that in Canada at this time we are still unable to supply jobs to people who want jobs. I find it a national disgrace that in this country we are unable to meet the basic human needs of our people. That is what I think is the focus of the national crisis.

I, for one, am quite prepared, quite willing and quite happy to join with all Canadians in building a new constitution. But if I had my way I would prefer to join with all Canadians in building a new Canada. I think one of the most fundamentally difficult economic issues for us in this country is the issue of regional disparities. It is a crying shame, and it's an unparallel problem in this country. It is a crisis that won't go away and that can't be ignored. Yet that is exactly what we've tried to and exactly the way we've tried to deal with regional disparities in this country.

In 1977, the Economic Council of Canada issued a major report entitled, *Living Together*, which dealt with this issue. The specifics are frightening for national unity. In 1970, the per capita income in Ontario, which was the richest province then, compared to the per capita income in Newfoundland, which was the poorest, showed that we in Ontario made double what the people made in Newfoundland. Even taking into account federal transfer payments, we still made 87 per cent more in Ontario than the people of Newfoundland did and, after taxes, 70 per cent more. In spite of a decade of attempts by federal governments to rectify the situation, a huge gap remains between the incomes of Canadians across the country.

4 p.m.

It is not just a question of income when we talk about regional disparities. There are other questions involved, such as the question of jobs. That is fairly clear when one looks at the March unemployment statistics broken down by region in this country. The Atlantic region has 12 per cent unemployment; Quebec has 10.1 per cent; Ontario has seven per

cent; the Prairies have 4.3 per cent; BC has 7.6 per cent. The regional disparities are even more apparent in terms of unequal opportunities. Over half our research and development contracts, and we do not have very many in this country, are in Ontario. Almost half the corporate head offices in this country are in Ontario. Ontario has done very well out of Confederation up until recent months perhaps.

The inequalities lead to other devastating effects on many regions in this country. The degree of interprovincial migration, the brain drain, is particularly frightening in some of our regions. Regional disparities form one of the major components of our current process of political fragmentation.

A moment ago I referred to the March figures for the unemployed. I cannot think of a more devastating thing to have happen to a person than to want a job and not be able to get one. But that is the situation in Canada today, and it can be multiplied across the country.

During the depths of the Depression in this country, we had something like 825,000 people out of work and now we hover constantly around a million people out of work. In March, there were 969,000 people out of work. It is both sad and dangerous in human terms, and in financial terms it is devastating.

Members of the assembly will remember back in the spring of 1977 when the nurses graduated in Ontario. We had 2,533 graduate nurses, 800 of whom had to go to the States to look for work. Do we know what it cost us to educate those people? It cost \$6 million. If we multiply that by the number of people that we sent out of this country looking for jobs, we can see what kind of proportion the crisis reaches.

The average Canadian worker produces something well in excess of \$20,000 a year of goods and services, and yet we have a million people out of work. Basic multiplication gives \$20 billion a year in lost production in this country. Think what that could do for Canada and the million people out of work. We do not even count the hidden unemployed in this country any more. If they are not working, if they have not been looking for work over the past four years, if they are not on the list down at the local manpower office, they are not unemployed. We are talking perhaps of another 1.5 million to two million people. There are 2.5 million to three million people out of work in this country, and that is devastating for national unity.

Income distribution in this country is an absolute crime. In 1951, the upper 20 per cent of our population received 45 per cent of the total income while, at the same time, the lowest 20 per cent received 3.2 per cent of the income. Do the members know it is now worse? In 1971, the upper 20 per cent had increased its share to 49.2 per cent. The lowest 20 per cent of the population then received two per cent of the total income. I thought that was why we brought in a system of income tax. I thought that was what a lot of our taxes were for, namely, to distribute that wealth more fairly across the country. It is not happening. Those that have get more; those that do not have get less. There is something fundamentally wrong in that kind of a policy.

It still remains that the private citizen carries the tax burden, not the corporate taxpayer. Profits and interest on investments have been increasing steadily, if not amazingly, in the years from 1974, and yet very little of that wealth has been recovered for use among the people of Canada.

About 20 years ago in Ontario, 15 per cent of the provincial income came from individual taxes and 25 per cent came from corporate taxes. What is the situation today? Two years ago, the figure was 48 per cent from individual taxes and 11 per cent from corporate taxes. Some of the examples are just unbelievable.

During the federal election campaign, the 1978 figures for Shell Canada Limited, with total revenues that year of \$2.734 billion, showed a modest little profit of \$150 million. They managed to pay not one penny in taxes. How many of our citizens across this country can claim the same with such an income, never mind all the write-offs and loans and grants we shell out to those companies? I don't know how we can expect to keep Canada together when we allow such inequities in our tax system and in the redistribution of wealth and foreign ownership.

Saskatchewan's Premier Allan Blakeney, no doubt the most enlightened of our nation's premiers, said only two weeks ago, as he entered the debate on national unity, that foreign ownership in Canada and its influences are the root of our present constitutional crisis, and I think he is right. The degree of foreign ownership in this country is incredible. It is thought by most that it is difficult for a major industrial country to properly function and maintain some sort of influence or control over its economy when more than 10 per cent of its economy is held by foreign corporations.

In Canada, the figure is over a third in the non-financial sectors. In the manufacturing sector, it is 57 per cent. What does that mean in terms of money, capital inflow and outflow? In 1976, we actually managed to export more capital to those foreign investors than they brought into the country. In that year, Canada exported \$3.3 billion in dividends and interest payments. If those trends continue, in the 1985 figure will be \$12 billion.

When one wants to know about the degree of foreign corporate responsibility in Canada, all one has to do is look at the auto industry today. When times get tough at home, they shut down a plant in Canada and take those jobs home. They don't care about Canada and they don't help us to develop this country. That is another one of the difficulties we have here.

I love this country very much, as do all members of this assembly, but in many ways I love it for its potential, what it could be, and Canada could be a truly great country. There are some things we must do in this economy before we can move ahead and realize our potential.

We have got to end the regional economic disparities in this country. That means we are going to have to establish a national industrial strategy, something we have talked about for years on end. It is going to have to be a creative, innovative strategy that plays to our strengths and that provides new opportunities, especially in the regions where unemployment is so high and where opportunities are needed so badly. It is going to have to play to our strengths in terms of our resource base and develop those resources for the benefit of all Canadians.

There are many other things which are going to have to be expected from our national industrial strategy. One of those things is that we are finally going to have to come to terms with understanding the role of the private and the public sector in this country. There are major success stories in the private sector in Ontario and in Canada. Look at the steel industry in Hamilton. That is a major private success story.

There are major public success stories, and one need look no further than Ontario, to see Ontario Hydro. We have to understand there is a necessary mix between private and public sector investment. Those people who so dogmatically and rigidly oppose every move to some kind of public entrepreneurship badly misunderstand the heritage of this country. Public ownership is as much a part of our future as it is of our heritage.

National strategy is going to go a long way in providing jobs for our people. There are other things we can do in the short term. We have talked for a long time about lowering the work week. That is something we can do to provide more jobs. We can get a handle on the ruinous interest rates in this country, and that will provide more jobs. We can start to control the exodus of foreign capital from this country, and that will provide more jobs in Canada.

Simply put, we are going to have to recognize that in a new Canada every Canadian is guaranteed a right to a job, and that is going to have to be one of the bases of a new industrial strategy in this country. We are going to have to come to grips with the fact of foreign domination in our economic life. We are going to have to understand that in a new Canada, as in an old Canada, we can't have real political independence unless we have economic independence.

4:10 p.m.

Unless Canadians can direct their own economic life, then they are always going to be subject to decisions from outside this country. We have the capacity and we have the tools. We could use FIRA and we haven't. We could use the Canadian Development Corporation and all of the countless other federal and provincial agencies, and we haven't.

Something else we are going to have to do, and I am convinced of it, is to completely refashion the taxation system in this country. We are going to have to eliminate unfair tax loopholes. We must ensure that people pay their fair share and that there is a more reasonable distribution of wealth in this country.

I don't mean to imply that by speaking about the economy there isn't a linguistic or a cultural component in the debate we face in this country because there is. Other members of the assembly have discussed and will continue to discuss that. But I do believe that it is only by building together on a solid base of a strong, independent, national economy that we as Canadians are going to reach and achieve our potential, that we are going to be what we can be.

I have, as do all members of this assembly, a vision of Canada. My Canada is a place where we don't turn our backs on anyone, where everyone can find economic, social and cultural justice. My Canada is a place where francophones and anglophones can live exciting and meaningful lives anywhere in this country from coast to coast. My Canada is a place where working people can lead dynamic lives with security and opportunity. My

Canada is a country in which immigrants are welcome to full citizenship—a country where the multiplicity of our cultures is realized as something that builds and strengthens and enriches the national fabric. My Canada is a place where the old people can remain in their communities and live out their twilight years in comfort and dignity. My Canada is a place where all of our young people have equal opportunities and truly unlimited horizons.

I think that on the northern half of this continent we can build a country that is both singular and truly great. In some ways, in many ways, we can be an example to the rest of the world. I hope that one day other people in the world can look at Canada and say: "Yes, it is possible. Oui, c'est possible."

Hon. Mr. Grossman: Mr. Speaker, I thought about my remarks for this afternoon for some time, and as I did one theme ran through my mind continually. It was the thought that surely there are people situated in many parts of the world who would find the mere fact that we are conducting this kind of national debate throughout our country at this time rather hard to believe.

I also thought there are many who participated in meaningful and important ways in our public life in Canada who would find it equally hard to believe if they were with us today. Laurier who believed that the twentieth century did belong to Canada would surely find the national debate that has been carried on for some time hard to believe.

Those who look at our country from a distance and see a country with the tremendous agricultural base we have, the tremendous base of natural resources, potash, oil, natural gas, uranium, nickel, the fish resources, the wood products resources we have, and add to it the enormously skilled work force, the access to markets we have, particularly in this part of the country, and the enormous assets of our electrical energy base in many parts of this country, would find the current debate in a country so rich in all of those things rather shocking and startling. It would seem to me that nations which currently are starving and struggling and sacrificing, nations which are currently spending time seeking food and clothing and shelter for their people, would find this discussion rather strange, disheartening and mystifying.

It would seem to me that other nations that look to Canada as a small but significant international political force would find this debate distressing. It would seem to me that other nations that look upon us as a large and important provider of foods,

manufactured goods and raw materials would worry about this debate. Those people wonder why we are not marshalling our forces, pooling our efforts, to maximize the enormous potential we still do have as a nation. Yet, being uniquely Canadian I suppose, instead we debate fragmentation, ways to pull us apart, ways to separate an already too divided nation and national economy. Instead in this country, we debate institutionalizing our weaknesses, not uniting and reinforcing our strengths.

It seems to me that interdependence in this country and interdependence throughout this country was the key to Laurier's goals. I understand the danger in talking about the economic side of Confederation. After all, when Levesque does it, it is categorized by some as "balance sheet separatism," and when I do it, it is called "typical anglo scare tactics," but we should not forget that interdependence in so many ways, including economic, is at the heart and core of this country.

I can't and don't suggest that the over 100,000 jobs which are dependent in Quebec and another 100,000 in Ontario which are dependent on Ontario-Quebec trade in manufactured goods are the be-all and end-all to this debate, but I think it does indicate that the dependence of any one province on the total Canadian market is surely stronger and more important than the total Canadian reliance on any one provincial market. Yet we see that we have been unable to go in the way of solidifying and building the kind of interdependence among our own markets that would give us the strength to accomplish many of the goals we have spoken of in this debate and others, including that of ending regional disparities.

It seems to me that provincial governments, with their newfound fiscal freedom and widespread regulatory authority, have sought in various ways to redress their traditional grievances by means of all sorts of interprovincial barriers to trade and, frankly, unco-ordinated, noncomplementary regional economic development strategies—strange and quite antithetical to the kinds of things this nation needs at this time.

Newfoundland is now considering implementing a registry of workers to effectively preclude anyone from outside that province working on its oil rigs. Alberta has established a tribunal which has recently threatened to cut off feedstocks to Petrosar.

Newfoundland wants permission to ship Labrador hydro power to the United States export markets and can't do it through

another province. The Atlantic provinces have signed an agreement establishing purchasing policies which favour not Canada, but provincial and maritime procurement and preference.

Alberta has long had an industrial permit system that effectively maximizes an Alberta-first policy. Manitoba's last major hydro purchase was of turbines from the Soviet Union, not turbines from a Canadian supplier based in Ontario. Ontario, too, let us face it, chose Hawker Siddeley in this province to build its streetcars instead of a lower bid from a Quebec firm.

4:20 p.m.

These examples, which are only a few of far too many, do more to show our problems to date. They show that governments have to leap ahead at this point in time. It is my belief that governments in this sense are behind their people. I think a base of public support for the kinds of things this country needs is there and must be met by its governments.

The kinds of interprovincial barriers to trade, to manpower mobility and to capital flow which I have just touched upon outline not only the problems we currently have but, more importantly, outline just how unworkable the concept of an economic association would be. We are already working in a restrictive and restricting economic structure, and those deficiencies must be addressed immediately and effectively. Surely there is now an impetus to address those. The only way they can be addressed is within the context of a renewed federal system within one single sovereign nation.

It seems to me that at this point we have a clear choice. At this critical point in our history, we can continue to fragment our nation's economy or, instead, we can develop a unified Canada, one with combined interests, shared objectives and mutually beneficial goals.

It would be unfair to suggest that we could strengthen an already fragmented market by anything called economic association. Our challenge is to use our differing strengths throughout this nation as a basis for building a strong Canadian whole rather than do what we have done before, restructure the individual units, failing in the end to ensure a firm foundation upon which we can all develop and strengthen as a nation.

Our country will continue to experience industrial prosperity in its geographically centralized areas. We will continue to ex-

perience agricultural prosperity in our agrarian provinces, economic prosperity from the fisheries of the Maritimes and resource prosperity from our mineral rich regions, but to share this prosperity amongst all citizens of Canada is both the challenge and the objective we have. Where we have failed is in the inability of our governments to use actual strengths to develop our potential strength.

We have failed to turn cyclical gains into long-term certainties, to use transitory regional prosperity as a means of protection against long-term drought. Only by sharing can any nation hope to achieve both greatness and the ability to insulate all of its people against hardship caused by economic forces beyond their control. In the final analysis, the future of this nation will be determined not by constitutional analysts or balance-sheet chicanery, but by the hearts and minds and emotions of its people.

I am not so naive that I believe economic statistics can be suitably persuasive to convince the people of Quebec to vote no on May 20. A country that has as its foundation a balance sheet can scarcely be called a country. Indeed, if balance-sheet mentality were the root of this nation, the boundaries of my province and the boundaries of my nation would alter every decade with the ebb and flow of industries endemic to each part of Canada.

We cannot pretend to hold or attempt to hold one province, any one province in this country, simply because there is a financial cost to its going. Those in Quebec who want to go are certainly prepared to pay the financial price to leave. Equally, I believe the rest of us would be willing to pay the extra financial cost to keep Canada together. It is not a question of the extra financial cost on either side. I believe that Canadians everywhere respect the aspirations of the people of Quebec. The question is whether the people of Canada have the will to accommodate those aspirations. I believe they do.

Important corollary questions are whether the people in the rest of Canada fully understand those aspirations and whether the people of Canada are willing to pay, not the financial price, but the social and economic price, of the changes we must have in this country. I still fundamentally believe there is that kind of strong, unseen Canadian patriotism, that pride in this sometimes crazy, but always unique, nation which gives our people the commitment not only to accommodate those aspirations, but to make those social and emotional changes and accommodations to satisfy those Quebec aspirations.

One of the things we see in this country is that we don't have the base of understanding and experience of many other countries. How many Ontarians have visited Edmonton and Victoria? How many have been in Quebec City and how many in Charlottetown? How many of those same Ontarians who haven't been to those places presume to be experts in understanding the aspirations of Canadians in those parts of Canada? One of the ways in which Canadians everywhere could show their renewed emotional and social commitment to this nation is by going to those places, listening, learning and understanding.

There has been much debate on constitutional rewriting. I, for one, am much more concerned about the spirit and commitment of our people underlying that rewriting in the next little while. The roller-coaster ride from May 20 on will be the key to the future of this nation. May 20 may be the watershed for this nation. This entire debate and discussion over the last period of years is a watershed for our nation. If our people can marshal the economic strength to react properly to the outcome of May 20, whatever it may be, then we won't have a roller-coaster ride that destroys our nation. That is why the spirit behind the people living and working in our country and living and working in our political system is more important to me, as one legislator, than the crossing of the t's and dotting of the i's on our new constitution.

It seems to me few Canadians really understand the implications of sections 91 and 92 of the British North America Act. Few have read or heard of the Rowell-Sirois report or the constitutional, linguistic and religious guarantees contained in the BNA Act or the equalization formula. Few have read or paid much attention to the Pepin-Robarts report. Few Canadians, it seems to me, direct their attention to the ideal numerical composition for a House of the Provinces or worry about balance-sheet federalism or balance-sheet separatism. The people who will eventually sit in the Senate or the House of the Provinces, the people those people speak for and represent in a Senate or House of the Provinces and the motivations of those people are far more important than the numerical breakdown of those assemblies. Balkanization and continued feuding will destroy a House of the Provinces as surely as it will destroy a Senate.

I believe Canadians are proud of their country and are looking for an opportunity to express that pride. The pride that built

a railway many years ago, in 1870 and on, can surely be mobilized once again to build bridges in 1980. Canada is not and has never been a melting pot. It has not been demanded by its legislators to be a melting pot nor thought by its voters to be a melting pot. We are two cultures and many cultures. We have two languages and many languages, but surely the base of support for this multi-cultural country comes from our unique roots in the two founding cultures of this nation. That is the base of the pluralism we have established in this country which surely we must jealously protect and maintain.

4:30 p.m.

The impact of French-Canadian culture and tradition, even for a person born, raised and educated in the city of Toronto, will be an integral part of him. Far beyond the balance sheets, I and all Canadians have been enriched by the constant presence of that rich and vibrant people. The impact of the French-Canadian culture, be it all the rich tradition or just the obvious things, the bilingual tensions, is a very real part of this country and has made all of us what we are here.

Be it simple but important things, like Hansards and anthems in two languages, be it the fleur-de-lis flying beside a red ensign, be it the Lesages, the Trudeaus, the Marchands, the Vaniers, the Lauriers, the Levesques, they are all as much a part of what has woven the Canadian fabric, the Canadian personalities that my children and I are and will be, as are the Sir John As, the Aberharts, the Lougheeds, the Frosts, the Bennetts, the Stanfields, the Smallwoods. They are all part of what has created the Canadian of today. Every Canadian, no matter where, has been shaped and created by these people and by the impressions they have made, the tensions they have somehow evoked and the trials they have put us to. The hopes, aspirations, satisfactions, defeats, successes, dreams and debates that all of these have caused are part of what has shaped us today.

This nation can and will rise strongly out of the current dialogue and trauma. Canadians have never, it seems to me, been able to turn to a single heroic time or turning point in their country's history. Each Canadian now addressing himself or herself to these tensions has an opportunity to focus on who we are and why we are what we are; to think, not for just a moment but for a long period of time, about what this unique Canadian culture is; to understand that we are not simply parka-clad Americans, but we are different and what we have is worth saving; and to

think for a moment about why that has made us what we are today.

The lives of Canadians across this country have been shaped by all the citizens of this country, by all the provinces and by the two founding cultures. The tensions and trials we go through now are simply, I believe, products of the time and mechanisms for bringing forward to all Canadians the fact that from this watershed on we do have the will and commitment not only to meet the aspirations of the people in Quebec, but to learn to accommodate and, more than accommodate, understand the motivations, aspirations, needs, wants, desires and cultural backgrounds of people throughout this country.

Those motivations, the spirit with which people get into that exercise are, it seems to me, far more important and will tell the truer tale behind our continuing country and our success as a country than the constitutional rewrites which are so important, but provide only a framework for what will be a truly strong, unique, fiercely proud and determined nation. We must be if we are to meet Laurier's view of the 1980s, the 1990s and the years following 2000. I am sure Canadians will meet that challenge.

Mr. Conway: Mr. Speaker, it is a pleasure for me, as I know it is for all members, to rise and participate in this unique debate. I do so with a great deal of interest and commitment. I have enjoyed in a very special way the contributions of each and every one of my colleagues who has preceded me in these last 24 hours.

Those of us who inhabit what Donald Creighton once called the empire of the St. Lawrence have come again to that seemingly ancient, but none the less basic question of our existence in this part of North America. How shall we, French and English, share in our common geography and history?

Once a generation, it seems, we must renew ourselves as a nation. On this occasion, our introspection comes as a result of the Quebec referendum debate and the vote to follow on May 20. This brings me to the resolution standing on the Order Paper in the name of the Premier, the Leader of the Opposition and the leader of the New Democratic Party. I can very easily support this resolution. I do so in the hope that it will signal to the people of Quebec and of Canada our collective resolve in this assembly to repudiate the semantic separatism represented by sovereignty-association and, as importantly in my mind, because I believe this resolution speaks to a genuine, if somewhat newfound desire, for meaningful reform in this

part of the country where our constitution is concerned.

This morning's mail brought to me a letter from an old friend and former teacher at Queen's University, Professor F. W. Gibson, from whom I have taken a great deal of guidance and instruction in matters of Canadian history. Professor Gibson's letter, signed by other members of the department, says more eloquently than I could put the case why we should be suggesting to our friends in Quebec that they vote no on May 20.

I would like to quote part of that letter, which was also sent to the public press in the province of Quebec. "It would be folly for anyone to think, as Mr. Levesque appears to think, that men and women who feel as we do are prepared to permit our government, whether federal or provincial, to sit down and negotiate the breakup of our country and, in the next breath, to work out some kind of amicable economic association with those who seek to destroy us. Let no one be deceived. We will not barter the integrity of our country for the mirage of association."

A little later on, the letter states, "That does not mean that we are in favour of preserving the status quo, nor does it mean that we, and a host of Canadians like us, would interpret a no vote on the referendum as a vote for the status quo. We want Canada to become not a broken country, but a better country for all citizens, francophone and anglophone, westerners and easterners alike. A better Canada, and indeed a better Quebec, will not be achieved by sovereignty-association, which is nothing more than separatism in disguise. It can only be achieved by reform, honest, creative, comprehensive reform, of our institutions, including as a very high priority constitutional reform."

That says it so very well that I'd like to join with my former friends at the Queen's history department in putting it on the record as a statement of how I feel about the referendum and the resolution before us here today. I would also like to bring a personal perspective to the debate, as so many other members have. Mine, sir, as you may know, is an Ottawa Valley experience. I come from a long line of Irish-Canadian forbears who from the mid-part of the previous century have inhabited the upper reaches of the Ottawa Valley. In that sense, I suppose it is important for me to say that the interaction of my forbears has been a particularly creative one with both founding peoples.

4:40 p.m.

If I might suggest, in reflecting upon family and regional history, it seems to be fraught with equal enthusiasm for the English and French of the Ottawa Valley. Out of all of that has come part of the creative and genuine dynamic that has made that region the very interesting part of Canada we all know it to be.

More directly, as a member of the assembly for Renfrew county, I can tell members and the people of Quebec that the separatism of sovereignty-association is indeed a dead letter for the people of Renfrew county and the Pontiac who have worked too well together for too long a period of time to allow or to easily accept the creation of new rigidities, the erection of new barriers which would disrupt the otherwise free exchange of people and ideas which has existed along that Ottawa River frontier for over three centuries.

I think it would be remiss, and I would be remiss, if I did not draw to the attention of members and to the attention of the people of Ontario the debt we owe our friends in Quebec for bringing into focus many of the present challenges which face this province and this nation today. The present challenges are indeed serious and immediate.

The challenge of dualism, the challenge of regionalism, the breakdown of our national party structure, spoken of by other members in this debate, the domestic and international energy situation are matters of urgent and pressing concern. To many in Ontario and in Canada, these would appear to be unusually troubled times and, I suppose, in some ways they are. I am, however, personally concerned, and increasingly so, by the mood of frustration and despondency which seems to be overtaking more and more of my fellow Canadians as they look out at their present and not-too-distant future.

I would like to put our current situation in something of an historical context. I have long believed that our past offers both guidance and courage, by means of which we can more adequately and more successfully meet the present challenges. I want to speak in this connection about our political and constitutional challenges and difficulties as we see them today.

First of all, it is well for Canadians here and elsewhere to remember that the Confederation of 1867 was the fifth constitutional arrangement by means of which Canadians sought to govern themselves. It was not a genesis. It was not then, and surely it is not now, a sacrosanct document. I think it important to underline that because I have

always been surprised by the number of people in this country who have a peculiar notion of this country's existence and constitutional arrangements prior to July 1, 1867.

Many see 1867 as the beginning, as the genesis before which there was some kind of an abyss in which only fur traders and selected others participated. The history is quite obviously different. Confederation was a difficult compromise, hammered out by very pragmatic, mid-19th century politicians who saw it as their only realistic hope for a new departure.

It is important, as well, to look at the why and the how that led the so-called Fathers of Confederation to their deliberations in the mid-1860s. The union parliament and the union constitution, which had been devised largely by Lord Durham after the rebellions of 1837-38, had provided a period of 25 years from 1840 to 1864 in which there were some considerable successes.

It was an arrangement which had provided responsible government at the general level and municipal government at the local level. Those are the principal achievements that are generally referred to as a constitutional arrangement that had been devised and was offered as the one which would solve our many and troubling difficulties. But there was a gradual disintegration and a tendency to deadlock, so much so that by June 1864 the government of the day had simply ceased to exist. If memory serves me correctly, no fewer than five different arrangements were attempted between mid-1862 and the early part of 1864. Every one of those so-called national governments ended in dissolution.

Leading politicians of that period, people like John A. Macdonald and George Brown, literally hated each other and the ground each other walked upon. My friend from York South spoke of that yesterday. One has only to examine the record very quickly to see the depth of animosity that characterized the differing personalities in that pre-Confederation period.

It is important to state that. It is important to convey to the people of this province and the people of this country the desperate political deadlock that existed on the eve of Confederation, the personal animosities which existed among the principals, particularly in old Upper Canada, because in very short order these men, George Brown and John A. Macdonald principally among them, set aside their old grudges and their personal animosities and in June 1864 forged the so-called great coalition. What really only existed as a government for about 16 months took this

country through that critical period and allowed the federalism that was incorporated in the British North America Act to be possible.

One interesting historical fact in that connection is that under the leadership and at the insistence of George Brown there was struck in the spring of 1864 a select committee of the union parliament to look at all of the options that existed at that time to deal with the constitutional problems. That select committee was very important in providing the articles of federalism upon which the various forces could agree. That select committee proved to have an extremely important role in that critical time period. That is why I was delighted to see a select committee included in this particular reference because I hope through that vehicle and through that mechanism we will find a George Brown and a consensus that will materially advance the constitutional debate in so far as this assembly is concerned.

There were some who talked not so very long ago in this debate about the timeliness or the appropriateness of this Legislature's participation. I would like to cite another historical point in this connection about what the Canadian politicians did after they formed their great coalition in June 1864. They heard of their British North American friends meeting in Charlottetown to discuss the entirely independent question of Maritime union. Without so much as any kind of an invitation, these so-called Fathers of Confederation hired the Canadian steamer *Victoria*, filled it full of spirit and goodwill and headed down the St. Lawrence to join their maritime friends. At Charlottetown in September 1864 under the very considerable influence of what one historian has called "cocktail diplomacy," we began to see the genesis of a new Canada. The circumstances of that intervention are really important and positive for us to reflect upon when we wonder as to whether or not a certain kind of intervention would be timely or appropriate.

4:50 p.m.

We need only to look at the Charlottetown intervention. We need only look as far as George Brown, John A. Macdonald and Georges Cartier to see what they thought were right and proper courses of action. From Charlottetown the group convened in Quebec some weeks later. There the resolutions were hammered out that provided the basis for the British North America Act some two years later.

I was rather interested to hear privately and from some publicly the concern expressed

about the timeliness and the usefulness of this debate. Some of my friends in the press even wondered whether or not it was a useful exercise. Again, history points a good lesson. The historic Confederation Debates of Quebec and the union parliament in February-March of 1865 were in some ways castigated by much of the public and many in the press who saw this as not altogether a necessary or useful enterprise. They worried about the unrelieved dullness and the dreary endless speechmaking that was making it difficult for the Speaker of the day to get a quorum. One need only look at the records to see the kind of commentary that existed. So we need not, here in 1980, worry as to whether or not our difficulties are new because they are surely not.

I recommend those debates to each member who has a special interest. They point out in a very telling way much of the good and compelling arguments that underlined the Confederation period. What is important is to understand those extremely difficult times and circumstances. We worry now, as we should, about international and internal problems, but think of those people who met in Charlottetown in 1864. They saw that very weekend the assault on Atlanta. They were watching the fiery furnace of the American Civil War. They were watching the greatest federalism that had ever been attempted go up in flames before their very eyes.

Those same people, our British North American forbears, who were trying to make a new departure were concerned about the end of the imperial preference and the devastating economic impact that would have on the young colonies in the northern part of British North America. They were concerned that the United States was becoming increasingly belligerent and was about to engage in economic sanctions ending, as they did in the mid-1860s, the reciprocity agreement of the previous decade that had brought significant material advantage to British North America.

Those were some of the economic, international and political problems in which the John A. Macdonalds, the Cartiers and the Browns found themselves. It is important for the record, as well, to understand that not all who met in those conferences saw this federalism as the best possible option. As most historians have pointed out, they saw it as the second best in most cases—the lowest common denominator on which Maritimers and Upper Canadians, French and

English, could agree to go forward and meet the new challenges.

It is important when we think about the present situation in Quebec to recall what one of the most prominent historians of French Canada said about the impetus that brought those people into the agreement. I would like to quote from Professor Bonenfant's article, *French Canadians and the Birth of Confederation*. He says: "Confederation was achieved because the English-Canadians needed to have the French-Canadians in it, and the French could not then become independent. The great majority of nations have been formed not by people who desired intensely to live together, but rather by people who could not live separately."

In conclusion, it is extremely important at this time of renewal for all of us to draw upon much of that historical experience, to take its benefit, to take its guidance, to be made courageous by it, to see how previous generations dealt with their equally difficult—in some ways, more trying—problems and to sort out of our current difficulties a new departure that can make this country the dynamic, positive and progressive place that each and everyone of us now and in years before felt it could be.

Ms. Gigantes: Mr. Speaker, in the history of government it is not every generation that is called upon to write a constitution. This is a rare time. Nor is it every person who is privileged in such a time to represent the views of fellow citizens and to try to express those views in such an important forum as this one. Nor have there been many times in history when a woman has been admitted to such a place of privilege to add a voice which sounds with a feminine timbre for the 50 per cent of our citizenry who have little official history of their own in the affairs of state, but which in a democratic society will find self-expression whether politicians are ready or not.

In the 20th century, most of the constitutions have been written by the victors of violent revolution. In fact, the histories of constitutions written by elected politicians are not inspiring. I think of the Weimar Republic and the provisional Kerensky government's proposed constitution. We must not be dismayed, because it is not only elected politicians who have been known to fail in this awe-inspiring task of establishing a workable constitution. Victorious generals of revolution and counter-revolution in both the 19th and 20th centuries have scored quite well in the failure count.

If we are absolutely practical about the art of historical analysis, the important lesson to be learned about constitutions is that a workable constitution can be created by people who know it can survive. It is the survivors who have the luck, because luck—or what we call luck—is the function of having a half-decent start. In spite of the hard lives of our ancestors, immigrants all, they had the courage to be immigrants to a harsh, unknown land which has rewarded their optimism in full measure.

We have to acknowledge our task with the same sense of optimism and with the recognition that we enjoy enormous good luck in the circumstances which surround us. We should let it be our challenge to know in our hearts how lucky we are. If we who enjoy so much cannot accept this challenge, then who can? The thought should both encourage us and make us bear a special burden of responsibility that we must be able to succeed.

To begin with, I believe we need to sense our roots. Like every other person who lives in Ontario, I have talked to people whose ancestors were here before the immigrants arrived. Before the Spanish and the Portuguese, the French and the English, this land was peopled by the people we now call natives. Then came the others to kill the natives whose land was taken, to farm the strips of river bed, to live in the circumscribed political rules that the foreign managers of the mercantile interests of Europe prescribed. When the foreign occupiers of this land decided it was not worth a European war, they handed it over to their branch-plant managers to rule. These managers became what is still known as the Family Compact. In Ontario, they rule to this day.

There are those of us in Ontario who oppose that rule, of course. The Liberal Party of Ontario, which currently has 34 seats in this Legislature, hit its stride in the farmers' rebellion against undemocratic government in Upper Canada. In the armed rebellion of 1837, southwestern Ontario farmers fought unsuccessfully for democratic reform and the power of the class they represented. They lost but their battle caused enough disturbance to force the British Privy Council to send us Lord Durham. The good lord in his wisdom recommended that the king should grant responsible government to the established farmers of Ontario and recommended also that Upper and Lower Canada should be married.

5 p.m.

It was a marriage of convenience for many. The lurking motive was that the French of

Lower Canada should be joined in a parliament with the English of Upper Canada where the French would soon be submerged by immigration from what the English called the mother country.

The Liberal Party of Ontario saw its victory 30 years after the farmers' rebellion when Sir John A. Macdonald wooed its participation in the British North America Act. Just to indicate how far the Liberal Party of Ontario, representative of the populist feeling of the property-owning farmers of Ontario, had come in its concern for a national constitution, let me quote from a letter, dated October 27, 1864, by George Brown, key Liberal Father of Confederation, to his wife:

"All right. Confederation through at six o'clock this evening. Constitution adopted. A creditable document. A complete reform of all the abuses and injustices we have complained of. Is it not wonderful? French-Canadianism entirely extinguished."

George Brown is of course known to all of us as the founder of the Liberal Party of Ontario and the founder of the *Globe*, the paper we now call the *Globe and Mail*.

All this historical anecdotalage is to note there is a large body of Ontario opinion represented by 33 seats in the Ontario Legislature of 1980 which was not represented in the land-owning rebellion of 1837, which was not represented in the founding of the *Globe and Mail* newspaper, which was not represented in the bargaining of John A. Macdonald about the BNA Act and which has survived to stake its claim as we enter the new and difficult period of writing a workable constitution for this country of ours.

A lot of us who now represent this province had no roots here in 1864. We weren't here when George Brown, founding father of the *Globe* and of the BNA Act, was representing what has now become Ontario. My ancestors can be traced to the original Spanish and French occupiers of this land, and I am proud to claim English and native blood in this country. My father came from a coal-mining family in Cape Breton and my mother, now dead, came from the hard-pressed middle class of Newfoundland. My stepmother was raised in the vulnerable farmland area just outside the city of Toronto.

When my father and family were scraping for an income in the early 1940s, we moved to the Ottawa Valley, to Aylmer in Quebec. An English-speaking teacher in those days in Quebec didn't earn much, though my father, I now know, earned more money in Quebec than if he had been a French-speaking teacher.

I still remember the outhouse and the pump in the kitchen sink from which my mother pumped the water to heat on the coal stove for the diapers. People like us didn't ask any questions about constitutions. We were surviving and we knew it was no small thing. Like thousands of other English-speaking Quebecers, we looked to the government of Canada as our true political representative. The same was true, of course, for most of the residents of Ontario.

The government of Ontario was not a government which played an active role in meeting the needs of the ordinary citizens of the province. It was *laissez-faire*. It was not socially progressive. It was the inheritor of the political mantle of the old Family Compact, but the province was rich in resources and was a natural location for the branch plants of multinational corporations. The economy was strong enough to provide employment to support a rising level of family incomes for most, even though development was uneven and the vast profits of resource exploitation were concentrated in the hands of the resource extraction industries, many of them foreign-owned.

The average Ontario voter expected little from his provincial government and got what he expected. He looked to the federal government for progressive social legislation. He supported the creation of the CBC and the Bank of Canada, as he also welcomed the federal development of income support programs. The attitude of the Ontario government towards progressive social moves at the federal level was usually passive, if not resistant, the crowning example being Premier Roberts' challenge that public medical insurance would come to Ontario over his dead body. It was, and continues to be, the kind of attitude that makes individuals and groups in Ontario concerned with social welfare programs react with fear to proposals that the federal government hand over funding for social programs without program strings to the provincial level of government. It is an honest fear, born of years of bitter experience with this government's indifference to the social needs of Ontario.

It is not only the social policy failings of the Conservative provincial government which are disquieting to the people of Ontario in 1980, but it is also the growing awareness that the lackadaisical economic approach of the past is penalizing us in the present and threatening our security in the future. As we reflect on the pattern of economic development which the provincial government has promoted, we understand the sources of our

current economic problems and we understand why Canadians in other provinces regard Ontario with such suspicion and bitterness. There is more than a hint of hypocrisy in this government's recent conversion to a position where it rejects the constitutional status quo. For years, the Canadian status quo has been what Ontario wished it to be. The government of Ontario has masked its own ideological preferences by pretending to be merely the willing follower of the federal government.

As province after province has struggled to assert a public claim on resource profits, Ontario has blithely continued to allow Ontario resources to profit the corporate exploiters rather than the public of this province and this country. While the federal government associated itself with court actions by private companies against other provincial governments, the Ontario government looked the other way. While the federal government acted out the charade of the Foreign Investment Review Act, the Ontario government continuously apologized for foreign takeovers of Ontario businesses.

The Premier (Mr. Davis) has even gone so far in pursuit of Ontario's subservience to international capital as to expose himself to a public attack by foreign investors on our hard-won legislation to protect the environment and the rights of Ontario workers. It is a wretched record and it hasn't gone unnoticed in such provinces as Quebec, Alberta, Saskatchewan, Manitoba and British Columbia.

This Conservative government has hidden its ideology under a cloak of pretended ineffectualness and, by doing so, has lent legitimacy to the aggressive actions of a federal government which has sought to cripple attempts by other provincial governments to make public claims on the profits from provincial resources.

The pattern of federal government misdeeds is unmistakable and Ontario's benign indifference to those misdeeds has implicated this province in the eyes of other Canadians. It is not as if the Ontario Conservatives have been ignorant of the implications of federal actions. Earlier in this century, the Conservative government of Premier Whitney passed legislation to protect public ownership of silver ore in the Cobalt area and enacted the establishment of the Ontario Hydro-Electric Power Commission. In both cases, the federal government threatened to disallow Ontario's legislation and publicly argued the case for the private companies which were opposing the public's right to reap the profits from resource development.

More recently, the federal government has resisted the attempts of Alberta and Saskatchewan to exercise public control over and reap the benefits from oil and potash developments. When the private companies dragged Saskatchewan into the Supreme Court, Alberta, Manitoba and Quebec associated themselves with the case of the Saskatchewan government, the federal government participated on the side of the private company, and Ontario looked the other way. 5:10 p.m.

The same pattern is asserting itself in Quebec's current attempts to assume control of the asbestos industry in that province. In this case, Asbestos Corporation has obtained an injunction in the Quebec Court of Appeal and is claiming Quebec's effort to force asbestos processing in that province, rather than the export of the raw material, is in contravention of the federal government's authority over federal trade. Again, there is not a peep of concern from the government of Ontario, even though there is similar legislation to require domestic processing on the Ontario books. The Ontario legislation is effectively useless because of the number of exemptions granted by our upstanding provincial government.

To hear the Premier now claim he rejects the constitutional status quo would be almost laughable if it weren't so irritating. The provincial Conservatives have permitted the mining of Ontario's forest resources and consciously passed the ownership of Ontario's mineral resources to the private corporations for a pittance in public revenue returns. The losers are not only the residents of Ontario, but all the residents of less fortunate regions of Canada. Ontario's refusal to generate appropriate public revenue from this province's resources has significantly lowered the national average of resource revenues. That, in turn, has meant equalization payments paid to poorer provinces to compensate for lower-than-average revenues have been less than they should have been. Thus, Ontario policies have deprived the Atlantic provinces and Manitoba of equalization grants they would enjoy if Ontario resource revenues were at a reasonable level and calculated into the national average of resource revenues.

This is the government which now expects the feds to ensure that the maximum amount of Alberta oil flows to the rest of Canada at a price less than world price. It is the government which is surprised and affronted when Alberta suggests Ontario minerals be

sold to other provinces at a Canadian price and that Ontario electric power exports be subject to federal export taxes. No wonder the rest of Canada is impatient when Ontario screams in pain about energy prices.

The government of Ontario has always turned a piously deaf ear to the pleas of other provinces for a fairer shake on federal tariff policies which benefit Ontario, federal freight rates which benefit Ontario and industrial development policies that benefit Ontario. The Ontario government is very righteous about the fiscal fallout of an Alberta heritage fund which removes billions of dollars from the national economy and hordes it within the boundaries of Alberta. But it has to answer for the fact that it has never been willing to create a public fund based on resource revenues generated in this province, let alone willing to share such a fund with other governments for the common good.

During the March school break I visited Alberta with three Ontario NDP colleagues. Our discussions with representatives of many sectors of Alberta society were quite enlightening. The common theme of those discussions was the clearly expressed judgement that Ontario had no right to be whining about oil prices and gas policies when its government continues to hide behind the aggressive exercise of federal government powers.

A couple of days after our Alberta visit, I listened with dismay to the same kind of discussion on CBC Radio's Cross-Country Check-Up. Many callers supported the notion that because the western provinces are not now and rarely have been adequately represented in the decision-making processes of the federal government, Ontario's contingent of MPs in the House of Commons should be reduced. The feeling was that Ontario had called the shots too long and that if proportional representation had to be sacrificed in order for this province to be put in its place, then so be it.

Mr. Speaker, it is one thing for us to be issuing ringing declarations about how we reject the constitutional status quo and beating our breasts about how the people of Quebec should join with us in the creation of a new constitution for Canada. But our credibility will be dubious in the eyes of other citizens of this country until we have a provincial government that starts to display by its own actions some sense of responsibility for the common good which it has so breezily counselled others to adopt in the past.

There has got to be a new attitude that puts the Family Compact view of government firmly behind, that grasps the need for economic development that brings the maximum public benefit and that expresses the real desire of the people of Ontario to co-operate with our fellow citizens in common efforts towards social progress, political vitality and economic sharing. I believe nothing less will do for the future of this province and the future of Canada.

Hon. Mr. Norton: Mr. Speaker, already during the course of the debate in this House we have heard some very eloquent observations and various personal perspectives on the state of the Confederation in this country and the role of Quebec and Ontario within that Confederation. I think that almost all members have distinguished themselves by rising above partisanship on this particularly important issue and on this particularly historic occasion.

Members of both sides of the House have described their personal commitment and the commitment of this province to Canada and to its people. It is evidently the wish of this House, as it is my own, to endorse a stable and equitable framework of government for our country within the federalist structure. I believe it is also a fair description of the aspirations of the people of Ontario generally for Canada.

If Quebec's future is not to be as a full member of Canada, then we as Ontarians will be diminished by that loss. In the public debate about Quebec's possible separation, some have questioned publicly whether we in Ontario care enough about this danger. Some accusations have been made during the course of the referendum campaign that we in this province are indifferent to Quebecers and to our historical ties to their culture. Those accusations have been a disturbing feature of what, in many respects, has been a sincere and a passionately debated campaign. The chance to deny these accusations and to attempt to set the record straight on the part of all of us during the course of this debate is, I think, an important reason for our participation.

I consider it a very real privilege personally and as a member of this Legislature to join with my colleagues in the course of this debate. Our discussions touch directly on issues of fundamental importance for us as individuals and as citizens of Canada. I hope sincerely they can influence positively the nature of the Canada we shall enjoy in the future and that they can contribute to the

secure sense of social justice for all Canadians which is an inseparable part of that goal.

Because of our concern about the referendum in Quebec, I believe it is important for us to acknowledge that a foundation of equitable social justice has not always been fully accessible to francophones in Canada and, indeed, within Ontario. Obstacles of both a personal and an institutional kind have existed historically.

I have chosen to make my home in eastern Ontario. That part of our province enjoys a considerable proportion of francophone residents. I know many of them have felt the special contribution their heritage can make to Ontario has been undervalued and rebuffed in the past. In some individuals that has produced a sense of personal grievance and frustration which is private, deep and sometimes bitter. Many others, I am happy to say, encounter now a fresher, more open attitude of respect among their fellow citizens, and an honest effort within government to ensure their fair treatment.

5:20 p.m.

Comme vous le savez, Monsieur le Président, j'ai choisi de m'établir dans l'est de l'Ontario. Cette partie de notre province est habitée par des francophones dans une portion considérable, et je sais que bon nombre d'entre eux croient que la contribution spéciale de leur patrimoine et que la culture ontarienne ont été rejetées ou sous-estimées par le passé.

Chez certaines personnes cette idée a donné lieu à un sentiment de frustration et à un certain ressentiment qui ne s'est peut-être pas manifesté ouvertement, mais qui n'est pas moins profond et parfois empreint d'amertume. Bien d'autres cependant, et je suis heureux de le constater, font maintenant preuve d'une attitude plus ouverte et d'un plus grand respect de leurs concitoyens. Il y a aussi des efforts sincères de la part du gouvernement pour qu'ils soient traités avec justice.

In part, that very welcome evolution of attitudes can be ascribed to the strengths we have gained from an increasingly multicultural environment. As a society, Ontario has matured dramatically in the past generation. The development of attitudes toward multiculturalism has permitted us to strengthen our support for our francophone population.

But I feel sure that an important part must also be attributed to the sincere concern that Ontarians feel about the future of Quebec and the difficult process of self-

examination in which Quebecers are now engaged. Even though I have no doubt about the choice I hope Quebecers will freely make, I think we should applaud their readiness to undertake such a difficult process; it is a gallant one.

We often hear from some sources that the majority of our citizens feel too removed from issues of constitutional and statutory change to be really concerned about them in any personal way. People who make this argument frequently conclude that these issues are not important to us, that we feel no attachment to them because they're obviously not directly impacting upon the daily routine of our lives.

I can accept that for many of us, perhaps most of us, constitutional matters seem too abstract and too complex to be comfortably grasped. Certainly, they are elusive of quick or easy solutions. I know as well from my own contact with people across this province that many of our people who wish to indicate to Quebecers their sense of national solidarity feel, with some discouragement, that too few avenues are open to them by which they can offer their contribution.

But I simply do not accept the sceptical conclusion that the results of the referendum campaign are of little concern to our people. People in Ontario do want the continued and valuable contribution of Quebec and the involvement of her people within an enriched Canadian federation.

Ontarians generally accept that there is a widespread agreement within Quebec that substantial changes are necessary to make that possible, and many of us agree with that conclusion. We are ready to listen and to work together to find the kinds of accommodations which permit all provinces, and our nation to flourish. We are ready to seek, with all Canadians, a renewed vision of this nation that will take us together into the future.

Ontarians worry that it's not enough, that the rich opportunities we have in Canada to build a splendid nation will not draw from contemporary Quebecers the deep response that the call to separate has developed in substantial numbers of them.

I believe Ontarians are prepared to urge on this House, and on the government of this province, that we aggressively articulate their support for constitutional change, which would ensure that we can have a stable and united Canada. They expect us to take an active and leading role in discussions to amend the constitutional structure of our

nation and to pursue their best interests vigorously during those negotiations.

They expect Ontario will acknowledge and help to safeguard the legitimate historic and cultural interests of Quebec and the other provinces of Canada, as well as advancing those prerogatives which are properly the jurisdictional purview of the federal government of Canada. They expect us to speak for Canada, and to make it our foremost priority to promote a vision of a nation which can be institutionally viable, while remaining sensitive to the cultural complexities and the strengths of our various regions.

I am very pleased to join with the members of this Legislature in giving my unqualified endorsement to the resolution before us. Let us indicate to the people of Quebec and the rest of Canada where our hearts lie on this most fundamental of national issues. Let us speak from this chamber with a united voice in support of Canada.

Mr. Stong: Mr. Speaker, it has been moved and unanimously accepted by this House that we commit ourselves, as our highest priority, to support full negotiation of a new constitution to satisfy the diverse aspirations of all Canadians and to replace the status quo, which is clearly unacceptable. We further affirm our opposition to the negotiation of sovereignty-association, and we appeal to all Quebecers to join with other Canadians in building this national constitution.

Of fundamental concern, as we deliberate the impending referendum in Quebec, is the preservation of Canada. So urgent is the issue which confronts us that this historic debate must resolve itself into two main purposes. The first is to expose the real intent of the Parti Québécois, that when they ask for a mandate to negotiate sovereignty-association, they premise their request upon the dissolution of this country. The second is to demonstrate to Quebecers that we in Ontario are prepared to work with them immediately to build a country in which each and every one of us can enjoy equal status, a country within whose boundaries, from sea to sea, we will all feel at home, and a country which we can hold out with pride to the rest of the world.

The term "sovereignty-association" means nothing more and nothing less than complete separation—the unequivocal dismemberment of Canada, a Canada whose co-founders were both good and proud people, French and English, who originally formed themselves into Upper and Lower Canada, subsequently to become known in Confederation as Ontario and Quebec.

I carry into this debate on Canadian unity a real sense of pride, inasmuch as I am a direct descendant of one Daniel Stong who, as a United Empire Loyalist, arrived in Canada in the late 1790s, and whose original homestead forms the nucleus of, and is preserved in, what is now called Black Creek Pioneer Village in this city. Just as my forefathers cleared the land by the sweat of their brow to build this country, I will use all my resources, including the honour of this elected office, to help save my country from destruction.

I cannot accept the protested innocence of Mr. Rene Levesque, the Premier of Quebec, when he asks his constituents for a simple mandate to negotiate sovereignty-association. He is steadfastly determined to destroy this country, Canada, which my ancestors and those of my French counterparts toiled so hard to build.

I say to Mr. Levesque and his followers that we in Ontario will not negotiate sovereignty-association, which is implicit in a yes vote. On the contrary, we regard a no vote as a signal to begin the process immediately of renewing Canadian federalism, the process which we are eager to undertake with Quebec, the other provinces and the federal government.

5:30 p.m.

To negotiate sovereignty-association is to negotiate after the fact, to dress the wound after the patient has died, to hold a trial after the accused has been hanged, or to close the door after the horse has bolted. We will negotiate a new constitution. We will not negotiate the dismemberment of this nation.

I have always regarded a strong Quebec in Confederation as indispensable to the rights of francophones in Ontario. I must admit, however, if I were a young male francophone in Quebec today I would be very angry. I would see my father and his father before him relegated to the status of second-class citizens even in the province I regard as my own. I would see them as having spent their entire working lives on an assembly line or pushing a broom in a factory without ever having been afforded the opportunity of becoming a foreman in the shop, much less being elevated to the board room where decisions are made.

Yes, I would want to resort to any method that would change that situation and I would be driven to exercise my inalienable right to vote to effect that change—and that at the first opportunity. But I hope that in the circumstances of this referendum I would realize that a yes vote will lead to the destruc-

tion of the very subject I would rather change and improve.

I do not believe the answer to the issue before us lies in lofty ideals, legalistic subtleties or philosophical idiosyncrasies. I believe instead that the basis of strength in this nation lies purely and simply in observing the principle that as co-founders of Canada, the French and English are equal in status. As Canadians they must enjoy, among other things, equal opportunities of cultural development, equal opportunities for economic achievement and equal opportunities to communicate in their own language in essential services. Surely this is the least the co-founders deserve in their own homeland.

I am prepared, as I am sure my colleagues in this House are, to use my office as an elected representative to assist in any way to pound out a new constitution that will guarantee these fundamental equalities to these two founding peoples.

It has been said that this referendum debate in the Legislative Assembly of Ontario is happening too late in the day, that the seeds of destruction of Canada have already been sown and the matter is all but accomplished. Quebeckers have not yet marked their ballots. As they weigh the alternatives, we must demonstrate our commitment to a new federalism, a commitment that involves a concerted effort from all quarters.

As I reflect on the crisis confronting our nation at this time, I am reminded of a report of an instance that occurred in a small town in one of the southern states of America about five years ago. The story centred on a desperate search by the entire population of that town for a missing four-year-old girl. It began when the little girl failed to come home for supper one evening. The young mother commenced her own search by calling on all the neighbours but without success. As darkness set in and the little girl had not returned, the town's single police officer was involved. He toured the streets and outlying roads but could not find her. By midnight the whole town of 200 had been alerted and a walking search was organized. As the night temperature dropped, the tempo of the search reached frantic levels with everyone covering his own area time and time again.

Throughout the entire next day the townspeople tramped through the bushes, over the fields, up the hills and along the bank of the river that flowed past the small community. Everyone thought the worst, but each went his own way covering and re-covering areas that had already been searched. Just before

sunset on the second day, a final desperate attempt was made by the exhausted searchers, only this time someone suggested they all join hands and form a human chain.

The line moved towards a clump of trees that had already been searched. Within half an hour of the forming of the human chain the little girl was discovered. She was huddled under a rock formation, but she had died of exposure. I will never forget the picture with the caption under it which accompanied that tragic story. It showed the townspeople leading the young mother away from the scene as she cried out in anguish, "Why didn't they join hands sooner?"

It is not yet too late to save Canada from dismemberment. If Quebecers vote to join with their sister provinces in Canada to create a new federalism, then such a common resolve will be accomplished. Ontario has unfolded its arms in the past in its relationship with its francophone population and now it is extending those arms in an open gesture.

As justice policy critic in the official opposition, allow me to illustrate the continuing commitment to unity in terms of the court services that this province has implemented and, more particularly, is offering in French-language court services. An important component of our democratic system is our judiciary and the ability of a citizen to exercise his or her legal rights before the courts.

Just as our two founding races form the cornerstone of our national cultural identity, so too do these legal rights provide the foundation for a society truly governed by the rule of law. In this context it is only proper that, concomitant with the right to a fair trial and the right to seek civil redress before the courts, access to these rights be provided in both of Canada's official languages.

I am honoured that my colleague the member for Ottawa East (Mr. Roy) has been at the forefront of the movement to establish French-language court services in Ontario. I also wish to commend the Attorney General (Mr. McMurtry) for the advances that have been made in this area over the last few years. Since December 31, 1979, any person charged under the Criminal Code of Canada has had the right to be heard by a bilingual judge and bilingual jurors where there is a trial with a jury. Ontario legislation now permits the transfer of cases to areas of the province where bilingual jurors are available.

French-language services are at present available in the provincial court, criminal division, in 11 communities, as well as in the

provincial court, family division, in 16 communities. In addition, the Attorney General has announced he expects that by the end of the year French-language services will become available in the small claims courts in appropriate areas.

Je suis encouragé par les récentes améliorations et je ferai tout en mon pouvoir que l'on continue l'expansion des services en langue française dans les tribunaux de notre province.

I would like also to address a few words about the role of the Supreme Court of Canada in a restructured federalism. The Supreme Court of Canada sits at the apex of our judicial system and not only presides over important constitutional issues but also deliberates with respect to our various civil and criminal laws. In so far as the interpretation of our laws and statutes affects the nature of the society within which we live, to that extent the Supreme Court of Canada has an important bearing on our everyday lives. For this reason, the nature of this court becomes an issue of importance in the context of constitutional reform.

Federalism by definition requires mechanisms for the resolution of disputes between federal and provincial governments. Federal-provincial conferences are one of those mechanisms. The Supreme Court of Canada is another. In this context, it is important that the Supreme Court of Canada be an institution that embodies its federal-provincial nature. It is for this reason that appointments to the Supreme Court of Canada should not be the sole prerogative of the federal government, as is the present case. Rather, appointments should be the product of a consultative process between the federal and provincial governments.

Such a process should not depend on the magnanimity of the federal government, but rather should be part and parcel of the new constitution itself. The present regional representation found on the bench should be continued. The tradition of one judge from the Atlantic region, three from Quebec, three from Ontario and two from the west, I would not want to see disturbed.

5:40 p.m.

On devrait également siéger dans une Cour Suprême réorganisée et lorsque l'appel implique seulement des questions se rapportant à la loi civile du Québec, la majorité des juges de l'audience devraient être de loi civile.

Our entire judicial system can be strengthened to reflect more equitably the different interests that form Canada if we are all prepared to work together to accomplish such

resolve. However, the judicial system is only one aspect of our constitutional makeup.

It is most important that, following the referendum in Quebec, the whole of Canada act with the utmost dispatch in convening constitutional discussions on a new federalism. If we join together in this great nation immediately and with a common purpose, our descendants will never be heard to ask, "Why didn't they join hands sooner?"

Mes compatriotes du Québec, on vous demande de voter sur une question de la plus grande importance. Si vous votez oui, donnant ainsi le mandat à votre premier ministre pour négocier la souveraineté-association, vous accepterez en même temps le démembrement de notre grande nation. Si vous votez non, vous direz au reste du Canada que vous nous prenez au mot, et que vous voulez commencer immédiatement la négociation d'une nouvelle constitution. Nous sommes tout prêts pour la création d'une nouvelle constitution.

Notre nation a été fondée par deux cultures différentes, par deux peuples bons et fiers, les Français et les Anglais. Cette nation a deux partenaires fondateurs, les Français et les Anglais. Ensemble nous sommes Canadiens et seulement ensemble nous formons le Canada. Sans les anglophones, le Canada ne peut pas exister. Sans les francophones, le Canada n'existerait pas.

Si motivés par un réel désir de réussir, nous joignons nos efforts immédiatement pour discuter une nouvelle constitution dans un but commun, un désir de préserver le Canada et d'en faire une nation forte et unie. Si nous joignons notre cœur et nos esprits dans une même détermination, nous sauverions notre pays. Le présent sera le nôtre, l'avenir appartiendra à nos enfants.

Mr. Wildman: Mr. Speaker, I am glad we are finally having this debate on the future of the Canadian constitution in this House. I am glad so many members are participating in the debate. I regret, however, that we have waited until the referendum campaign is in progress in Quebec to bring this matter before us.

Quebec nationalism is hardly a new phenomenon. It didn't develop after November 1976. The Quebecois long ago developed a strong sense of nationhood. This sentiment began with the conquest and has been nurtured by the many injustices experienced by francophones in Canada, such as the Manitoba and Ontario schools crises and the imposition of conscription in the First World War. It really flowered with the development

of the pride of the Quebecois in the quiet revolution of the 1960s and 1970s.

As nationalism throughout the world led to the emergence of small states after the collapse of the 19th-century European empires at the end of the First World War and the dismantling of Europe's African and Asian empires since the Second World War, it was almost inevitable that this Quebecois national sentiment should lead to demands for change in Canada, especially as Canada increasingly traded British colonialism for American economic and social dominance. The election of the PQ and the referendum must be seen in that context.

If anyone believes our debate this week will significantly affect the results of the vote in Quebec on May 20, he or she is woefully out of touch with the history of Quebec nationalism and the present situation in that province. We should have been debating the issue much earlier in this House.

However, I would hope that during our debate this week we will reaffirm our support of the basic democratic principle of the right of nations to self-determination. We must publicly recognize the basic right of the Quebecois to decide their own destiny as a nation. I regret very much the inclusion in the resolution before the House of the second phrase, which I hope will not be seen as any attempt to coerce the people of that province.

I sincerely hope the Quebecois will decide that their aspirations can be met within a restructured Canada, and for that reason I support the sentiments expressed in the first and second statements in the resolution: "That we the Legislative Assembly of Ontario commit ourselves, as our highest priority, to support full negotiation of a new constitution to satisfy the diverse aspects of all Canadians and to replace the status quo which is clearly unacceptable." For that reason, I support the resolution and I am glad we are finally debating the matter in this House.

Whatever the result of the referendum, we in Ontario must be prepared to renegotiate the constitution and the relationship between Quebec and the rest of Canada in order to accommodate the aspirations of the Quebecois. We can, I believe we must, join together in building a lasting relationship based on mutual understanding, respect and equality.

I realize the Quebecois may feel Ontario has had to be dragged, kicking and screaming, to this realization, but the desire for constitutional change in this province is real. Movement has indeed been slow, and it has been blemished by the intransigence and

hesitation of local authorities and the provincial government in situations such as the Essex county and Penetanguishene school crises. For some reason, instead of leading local authorities to expand French-language school services in this province, the government has stumbled into a French-language school entity policy that really doesn't please anyone involved.

The necessary leadership hasn't been forthcoming from this government and I regret that. Much more has to be done to expand health, social and legal services for Franco-Ontarians in their own language, but I would be remiss if I didn't admit that progress has been made. However, these advances in education and other services in the French language in this province have been largely the result of developments in Quebec over the last 15 to 20 years. Without the growth of national pride in Quebec, I don't think progress here would have been possible.

If the Quebecois turned their backs on their francophone brothers and sisters here and in other parts of Canada, the effect on French-language rights in Ontario would be catastrophic. In my view, the white paper doesn't adequately discuss the methods for Quebec to deal with francophones in other parts of Canada once sovereignty-association were achieved. I would hope the people of Quebec would continue to support the aspirations of francophones in other provinces to protect their language and culture. It would be tragic if these minorities lost that support.

Mr. Speaker, with your indulgence, since it is close to six o'clock, I would move adjournment of the debate and resume at eight, if that is acceptable.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: It is not necessary to adjourn the debate.

5:50 p.m.

Mr. Wildman: All right. Thank you, Mr. Speaker. I will continue and I suppose will complete after eight o'clock.

I want to move to another aspect since I am a representative of a riding with diverse economic groups within it. I must say I am disturbed that neither side in Quebec's referendum debate has recognized adequately the desire of other groups who have contributed so much to Canada's life to maintain their culture and benefit equitably from the benefits of our society.

My colleagues in my caucus will be discussing the needs of other ethnic groups but I wish to deal with the issue of native rights in the negotiation of a new constitution, having recognized the right of self-determination for Quebec. I can't presume to speak for

Indian and Inuit communities in Canada, and I believe that none of us in this House can make that presumption. No Premier in Canada can presume to speak for the native communities in his province, nor for that matter do I believe the federal Minister of Indian Affairs can presume to make that claim.

In this country, native people must be able to exercise their right to choose their own spokespeople, who must be able to participate directly and fully in constitutional negotiations. In reading the white paper, I had to search through it for a reference to the native role in the process of constitutional change. When I found the short platitudinous comments about native rights, they sounded nice, but I suspected that the Parti Québécois really doesn't know how to deal with these complex issues.

It appears from the white paper that the decision on the future of Quebec, that is its relationship with the rest of Canada, should be decided before dealing with the aspirations of the native communities. The white paper really only deals with dualism in Canada and the development of sovereignty-association. In my view, that is unacceptable. Dealing with native rights must be an integral part of negotiations on constitutional change.

The beige paper for the no side does take a more generous approach than the white paper in that it recognizes the constitution should ensure native people a better status in Canada and calls for discussion and negotiations with representatives of native communities. It emphasizes that native people must be authors of their own destiny and suggests that the treaties should take precedence over legislation. I agree with that. However, we must be prepared to deal with native rights on an agenda determined by the Indians and Inuits themselves. We must not set out the principles and objectives of negotiations ourselves.

I emphasize that the agenda of what is to be discussed with the native communities must be determined by those people themselves, but I would like to list some of the things I suspect they would wish to discuss with us:

First, the whole issue of aboriginal rights. Aboriginal rights stem from the national rights enjoyed by the Indian tribes and Inuit groups that were established on this continent prior to European colonization. They were not granted, in my view, by the British proclamation of 1763. Canadian courts, throughout history, have failed to understand the origins of aboriginal rights. A new constitution should correctly describe and estab-

lish those rights and the federal government must be given the clear authority to negotiate the settlement of aboriginal claims throughout Canada.

Second, we must deal with treaty rights. The worst blemish on the history of Canada has been the failure of Canadian governments to live up to the rights given to native people at the time of the negotiation of the treaties. The treaties were political agreements between political groups, but they have not been given precedence by the courts over legislation passed by white governments.

The constitution must correctly describe the legal status of the treaties in Canadian law, and also, the terms of these treaties must be entrenched such that they cannot be abrogated by future Canadian governments. The new constitution must deal specifically with the continuing problems concerning Indian rights under those treaties. The obligations of governments for economic development of Indian communities and education and health services to natives must be clarified. The methods for resolution of treaty land claims must be incorporated in any new constitution.

Third, band membership: Because of the incomprehensible rules under the Indian Act there has been tremendous dissension throughout the Indian community over who is eligible for rights under the treaties in this country. Who is an Indian and who decides who is an Indian must be resolved in any new constitution.

Fourth, education: In the past, the types of education provided to native peoples have been subject to the caprice of white politicians and bureaucrats. Fortunately, there now seems to be general agreement that native people should have maximum control over their own education. I believe the only guarantee native people have of gaining ultimate control over such a culturally important area as education would be a constitutional guarantee of their right to exclusive jurisdiction over education of their children.

Fifth, resource rights: The series of constitutional cases in the 1960s and 1970s involving hunting and fishing rights have shown how inconsistently these rights have been accepted by the courts in Canada. Treaty and aboriginal rights to hunt and fish have been overridden by the Migratory Birds Convention Act (Canada), the Fisheries Act (Canada) and provincial law. The Supreme Court of Canada has agreed that treaty promises have been broken and injustices have been done, but these injustices have not been remedied. The logical answer is constitutional protection for Indian resource rights, not just in relation to hunting and fishing but also in relation to mineral and timber rights on reserves.

Since Canadian Indians are subject to different legal regimes than other Canadians because of their special constitutional status, their treaties and aboriginal rights and the Indian Act, this creates a difficult problem respecting proposals to entrench Canada's Bill of Rights in the constitution. If everyone is to be treated equally before the law, what does that mean for the special rights and privileges of native peoples under the treaties?

I believe Indian concerns in regard to a clear explanation of how the Bill of Rights is to apply to Indian communities must be negotiated under a new constitutional debate. We must assure our native brothers and sisters that we reject assimilation once and for all. We must recognize aboriginal and treaty rights and they must be entrenched within a new constitution. If we do that, it will be recognized internationally as a great achievement in the treatment of aboriginal peoples throughout the world. This must be part and parcel of a complete revamping of the Canadian constitution with participation directly by the leaders of the native communities.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: The honourable member has five minutes remaining in his allotted time.

The House recessed at 6 p.m.

APPENDIX

(See page 1512)

ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS ON NOTICE PAPER

USE OF ASBESTOS IN SCHOOLS

132. Mr. Cassidy: 1. Will the ministry provide, for each of the school boards noted in the reply to question 93, tabled April 3,

the date on which it received a report, or the dates on which it received multiple reports, of the visual inspection for possible hazardous asbestos, as directed in July 1979? (Tabled April 18, 1980.)

Hon. Miss Stephenson:

ASBESTOS SURVEY REPORTS SUBMITTED—Schools

Boards	Total Number of Schools	Number of Schools Reported: No Asbestos	Used in Exposed° Plenum	Other Uses	Date Report of Visual Inspection Received
Central—50 Boards					
Borden CFB	6				
Brant County	49	49	—	—	79 08 15
Brant County RCSS	10	10	—	—	79 08 01
Dufferin	15	15	—	—	79 08 02
Dufferin Peele RCSS	56	56	—	—	79 08 06
Durham	91	91	—	—	79 09 19
Durham Region RCSS	26				
East York	29				
Etobicoke	90				
Haldimand	22	20	—	—	79 08 29
Haldimand, Norfolk RCSS	13	13	—	—	79 08 28
Haliburton County	9	9	—	—	79 08 31
Halton	99				
Halton RCSS	25	24	—	—	79 09 04
Hamilton	103	55	12	—	79 09 07
Hamilton Wentworth RCSS	58				
Hastings County	57	57	—	—	79 09 04
Hastings Pr. Edward County RCSS	19	17	2	—	79 08 17
Lincoln County	77	77	—	—	79 09 04
Lincoln County RCSS	27	27	—	—	79 09 13
Metropolitan Sep.	203				
Metro Toronto	23				
Niagara Pen. Crippl. Ch. Ctre.	1				
Niagara South	100	100	—	—	79 09 04
Norfolk	29	29	—	—	79 09 07
North York	194	144	25	—	79 09 07
Northumberland and Newcastle	59	40	9	—	79 11 22
Ont. Crippl. Ch. Centre	1				
Oshawa Distr. Cer. Pals.	1	1	—	—	79 08 09
Peel	158				
Penetanguishene Protest. Sep.	1	1	—	—	79 08 17
Peterborough RCSS	48				
Peterborough, Victoria, North and Newcastle	17	12	5	—	79 07 27
Prince Edward County	11	10	1	—	79 08 22
Scarborough	153				••79 09 17
Simcoe County	95	41	3	—	79 09 14
Simcoe County RCSS	26	26	—	—	79 07 30
Toronto	158				
Trenton CFB	3	2	—	—	79 08 21

Boards	Total Number of Schools	Number of Schools Reported:				Date Report of Visual Inspection Received
		No Asbestos	Exposed*	Used in Plenum	Other Uses	
Victoria County	24	9	10	—	5	79 09 04
Waterloo County	120	117	3	—	—	79 09 20
Waterloo County RCSS	50	49	—	—	1	79 09 04
Waterloo North Ch. Centre	1	1	—	—	—	79 08 07
Welland County RCSS	32					
Wellington County	58					**79 08 10
Wellington County RCSS	21	21	—	—	—	79 11 26
Wentworth County	43	43	—	—	—	79 11 22
York Borough	35					
York County	95	95	—	—	—	79 11 22
York Region RCSS	28	28	—	—	—	79 08 21
Region Total	2,669	1,289	70	—	132	
* Asbestos content not confirmed.						
** Not complete.						
Eastern—21 Boards						
Carleton	68	46	6	—	15	79 09 01
Carleton RCSS	48	45	3	—	—	
Frontenac County	49	49	—	—	—	79 08 10
Frontenac, Lennox, Addington RCSS	16	16	—	—	—	80 01 14
Grattan Protest Sep.	1					
Kingston CFB	4	4	—	—	—	79 08 23
Lanark County	21	18	3	—	—	79 09 18
Lanark, Leeds and Grenville RCSS	15	—	15	—	—	79 09 21
Leeds and Grenville	46	45	1	—	—	79 09 24
Lennox and Addington	23	23	—	—	—	79 10 01
Ottawa	84	83	—	—	1	79 09 17
Ottawa CFB	3					
Ottawa Crippled Child. Centre	1					
Ottawa RCSS	64	64	—	—	—	79 08 15
Petawawa CFB	6					
Prescott and Russell	11	8	—	—	3	79 08 22
Prescott and Russell RCSS	29	24	1	—	4	79 10 05
Renfrew County	37	35	1	1	—	79 08 17
Renfrew County RCSS	30	30	—	—	—	79 08 17
Stormont, Dundas and Glengarry	56	55	1	—	—	79 09 26
Stormont, Dundas and Glengarry RCSS	42					79 09 14
Region Total	654	545	31	1	23	
Midnorthern—26 Boards						
Asquith—Garvey Distr.	1	1	—	—	—	79 11 30
Central Algoma	10	9	1	—	—	79 08 23
Chapleau	2	2	—	—	—	79 11 30
Chapleau, Panet and Caverley RCSS	2	2	—	—	—	79 11 30
Dubreilville RCSS	1	1	—	—	—	79 11 30
Espanola	7	6	1	—	—	79 07 09
Falconbridge CFB	1	—	—	—	1	79 08 24
Foley District	1	1	—	—	—	
Foley RCSS	1	1	—	—	—	79 08 17
Gogama Distr.	1	1	—	—	—	79 11 30
Gogama RCSS	1	1				79 09 17
Hornepayne	2	1	1	—	—	79 09 05
Hornepayne RCSS	1	1	—	—	—	79 11 30
Manitoulin	7	7	—	—	—	79 11 30
Michipicoten	2	—	—	—	2	79 09 04

Boards	Total Number of Schools	Number of Schools Reported:		Used in Plenum	Other Uses	Date Report of Visual Inspection Received
		No Asbestos	Exposed*			
Michipicoten Distr. RCSS	4	3	1	—	—	
Millforest DSA	1	1	—	—	—	79 11 30
Missarenda DSA	1	1	—	—	—	79 11 30
North Shore	11	11	—	—	—	79 07 16
North Shore Distr. RCSS	11	11	—	—	—	
Oba DSA	1	1	—	—	—	79 11 30
Sault Ste. Marie	44	44	—	—	—	
Sault Ste. Marie Distr. RCSS	28	28	—	—	—	79 07 17
Sudbury	69	51	18	—	—	79 07 17
Sudbury Distr. RCSS	79	79	—	—	—	79 09 06
Sultan RCSS	1	—	—	—	1	79 11 30
Region Total	290	263	22	—	4	
Northeastern—28 Boards						
Airy DSA	1	1	—	—	—	80 02 14
Bicknell DSA	1	1	—	—	—	80 02 14
Canfield DSA	1	1	—	—	—	80 02 14
Cochrane Iroquois Falls	10	8	2	—	—	79 10 16
Cochr. Iroquois Falls Dist. RCSS	6					
East Parry Sound	13	13	—	—	—	79 10 16
Hearst	3					
Hearst District RCSS	6	6	—	—	—	79 10 16
James Bay Lowlands	1	1	—	—	—	80 02 14
Kapuskasing	7	7	—	—	—	79 10 16
Kapuskasing Distr. RCSS	12	12	—	—	—	79 10 16
Kirkland Lake	8	8	—	—	—	79 10 16
Kirkland Lake Distr. RCSS	8	8	—	—	—	79 10 16
Moose Factory Island	2	2	—	—	—	80 02 14
Moosonee Distr.	2	2	—	—	—	80 02 14
Moosonee RCSS	1	1	—	—	—	80 02 14
Murchison and Lyell Distr. A.	1	1	—	—	—	80 02 14
Muskoka	22					
Nipissing	30	30	—	—	—	79 10 16
Nipissing Distr. RCSS	19	19	—	—	—	79 10 16
North Bay CFB	1	1	—	—	—	80 02 14
Pinard (hydro)	1	1	—	—	—	80 02 14
Smoky Falls DSA	1	1	—	—	—	80 02 14
Timiskaming	20	17	2	—	1	79 10 16
Timiskaming Distr. RCSS	7	7	—	—	—	79 10 16
Timmins	14	14	—	—	—	79 10 16
Timmins Distr. RCSS	18	18	—	—	—	79 10 16
West Parry Sound	13	13	—	—	—	79 10 16
Region Total	229	193	4	—	1	
Northwestern—35 Boards						
Allanwater DSA	1	1	—	—	—	79 09 19
Armstrong DSA	1	—	—	—	1	79 09 19
Atikokan	5	4	1	—	—	79 08 10
Atikokan RCSS	1	1	—	—	—	79 08 13
Auden DSA	1	1	—	—	—	79 09 17
Caramat DSA	1	1	—	—	—	79 09 17
Connell and Ponsford	1	1	—	—	—	79 09 19
Dent DCA	1	1	—	—	—	
Dryden	20	4	15	—	1	79 10 18
Dryden RCSS	2	1	1	—	—	79 10 24
Ferland DSA	1	1	—	—	—	79 09 19

Boards	Total Number of Schools	Number of Schools Reported:			Used in Plenum	Other Uses	Date Report of Visual Inspection Received
		No Asbestos	Exposed*				
Fort Frances-Rainy River	18	18	—	—	—	—	79 07 31
Fort Frances-Rainy River RCSS		3	—	—	—	—	79 08 10
Geraldton	6	6	—	—	—	—	79 08 27
Geraldton Distr. RCSS	5	5	—	—	—	—	79 09 04
Ignace RCSS	1	—	1	—	—	—	79 09 19
Kashabowie	1	—	—	—	1	—	79 07 23
Kenora	13	13	—	—	—	—	79 09 06
Kenora Distr. RCSS	4	4	—	—	—	—	79 09 19
Kilkenny DSA	1	1	—	—	—	—	79 09 19
Lake Superior	8	8	—	—	—	—	79 09 22
Lakehead	57	55	2	—	—	—	79 09 24
Lakehead Distr. RCSS	24	23	—	—	1	—	79 08 20
Mine Centre DSA	1	—	—	—	1	—	79 08 19
Nakina DSA	1	1	—	—	—	—	79 09 19
Nipigon-R. Rock	5	5	—	—	—	—	79 08 13
North of Superior RCSS	6	5	—	—	1	—	79 09 05
Red Lake	5	3	—	—	2	—	79 09 07
Red Lake Madsen RCSS	1	1	—	—	—	—	79 09 19
Savant Lake DSA	1	1	—	—	—	—	79 10 25
Slate Falls DSA	1	1	—	—	—	—	79 09 19
Summer Beaver DSA	1	1	—	—	—	—	79 09 19
Umfreville DSA	1	1	—	—	—	—	79 09 19
Upsala DSA	1	1	—	—	—	—	79 09 19
White Otter DSA	1	—	—	—	1	—	70 09 19
Region Total	201	172	20	—	9	—	
Western—24 Boards							
Bruce	34	(survey incomplete)					79 08 13
Bruce Grey County RCSS	12	8	4	—	—	—	79 08 22
Elgin County	32	26	6	—	—	—	79 08 22
Elgin County RCSS	5	5	—	—	—	—	79 08 22
Essex County	37	31	6	—	—	—	79 08 30
Essex County RCSS	30	28	2	—	—	—	79 08 17
Essex County Children Rehab. Centre	1						
Grey County	37	37	—	—	—	—	79 08 23
Huron County	32						
Huron Perth County RCSS	19	17	2	—	—	—	79 08 09
Kent	41	41	—	—	—	—	79 08 22
Kent County RCSS	24						
Lambton County	57	(survey incomplete)					79 08 20
Lambton County RCSS	20	19	1	—	—	—	79 09 07
London and Middlesex RCSS	31						
London	74	56	7	3	8	—	79 08 29
London Distr. Crippled Children's Centre	1						
Middlesex	35						
Oxford	46	45	1	—	—	—	79 08 22
Oxford County RCSS	13						
Perth County	31	23	2	—	6	—	79 10 26
Sarnia and District Crippled Children's Centre	1						
Windsor	53						
Windsor RCSS	18						
Region Total	684	336	31	3	14	—	
Grand Total	4727	2798	178	4	183	—	

STO/WK/bs

Architectural Services Grants Policy Branch, April 9, 1980

DINNER FOR HAROLD ADAMSON

134. Mr. Nixon: What was the guest list for the provincial dinner in honour of Metropolitan Toronto Police Chief Harold Adamson? (Tabled April 22, 1980.)

Hon. Mr. McMurtry: The guest list for the dinner to honour Chief Harold Adamson was composed almost entirely of individuals, and their spouses, who have had a close working or personal relationship with the honouree. The list is as follows:

Chief and Mrs. Harold Adamson, Honourable Pauline and Mr. Donald McGibbon, Honourable William Davis, Honourable and Mrs. R. Roy McMurtry, His Eminence Gerald Emmett Cardinal Carter, Honourable and Mrs. Robert Welch, Honourable Tom Wells, Honourable and Mrs. James Snow, Honourable Margaret Birch, Honourable and Mrs. Claude Bennett, Honourable and Mrs. Frank Drea, Honourable Bette Stephenson and Dr. Pengelly, Honourable and Mrs. Dennis Timbrell, Honourable and Mrs. Larry Grossman, Honourable and Mrs. Gordon Walker.

Judge and Mrs. Philip Givens, Rabbi David Monson, Mr. and Mrs. Arthur Maloney, Mr. and Mrs. John MacBeth, Mr. and Mrs. Archie Campbell, Mr. and Mrs. Blenus Wright, Mr. and Mrs. George Kerr, Mr. and Mrs. Rod McLeod, Mrs. Margaret Scrivener and Mr. Scrivener, Mr. and Mrs. Frank Wilson, Mr. and Mrs. Barry Percival.

Deputy Chief and Mrs. Jack Ackroyd, Deputy Chief and Mrs. Tom Cooke, Deputy Chief and Mrs. James Noble, Deputy Chief (ret.) and Mrs. Andrew Hamilton, Deputy Chief (ret.) and Mrs. Bernard Simmons, Deputy Chief (ret.) and Mrs. Victor Telford, Judge and Mrs. Garth Moore, Mayor and Mrs. Dennis Flynn, Mr. and Mrs. Paul Godfrey, Judge and Mrs. Tom Graham.

Mr. and Mrs. Shaun McGrath, Mr. and Mrs. W. T. McGrenere, Mr. and Mrs. E. J. Shoniker, Commissioner and Mrs. Harold Graham, Assistant Commissioner and Mrs. Murray Sexsmith, Mr. and Mrs. Ed Then, Mr. and Mrs. John Clement, Dr. Reva Gerstein and David Raitblat, Mr. and Mrs. Ted Griffith, Mr. and Mrs. Jack Baker, Mr. and Mrs. Larry Needler, Mr. and Mrs. C. O. Bick.

Chief W. J. Shrubbs, Chief and Mrs. Robert Cook, Chief and Mrs. J. Wales, Chief and Mrs. Gordon Torrance, Chief and Mrs. T. E. Welsh, Chief and Mrs. B. A. Crawford, Chief and Mrs. J. Jenkins, Mr. Justice and Mrs. Donald Morand, Judge and Mrs. E. Houston, Judge and Mrs. K. Flanagan.

Mr. and Mrs. S. W. Raike, Mr. and Mrs. W. Johnston, Mr. and Mrs. F. Davies, Mr.

and Mrs. H. Crothers, Mr. and Mrs. H. Bruce, Mr. and Mrs. John Hilton, Mr. and Mrs. Allan Leal, Mr. and Mrs. Sidney Linden, Mr. and Mrs. John Ritchie, Chief and Mrs. H. Basse, Mr. and Mrs. Douglas Drinkwalter, Judge and Mrs. E. D. Fanjoy.

Mr. and Mrs. John Takach, Mr. and Mrs. Robert McGee, Mr. and Mrs. Norman Matusiak, Mr. and Mrs. J. Dunlap, Mrs. Diane Stratas and Mr. Stratas, Mr. G. Dobbs, Mr. and Mrs. A. Scott, Mr. and Mrs. Rick Allen, Inspector and Mrs. George McGowan, Judge and Mrs. Arthur Klein, Inspector and Mrs. E. Ewan, Mr. and Mrs. Irving Ungerman.

Mayor and Mrs. Mel Lastman, Controller Brian Harrison, Mr. Richard Horkins, Mr. and Mrs. William Allen, Mr. and Mrs. E. Jackson, Lord and Mrs. Athol Layton, Mr. and Mrs. Dave Groombridge, Mr. and Mrs. G. McConnell, Mr. and Mrs. G. Cummings, Mr. and Mrs. Moe Greenbaum, Mr. and Mrs. Nelson Grozier.

Mr. Doug Creighton, Mr. and Mrs. Jack Callen, Mr. Clare Westcott, Dr. and Mrs. Ulo Ambus, Mr. and Mrs. Norm Lindsay, Mr. and Mrs. Eddie Adamson, Mr. and Mrs. Willis Blair, Mr. and Mrs. Victor Liska, Mr. and Mrs. Howard Tate, Deputy Chief (ret.) John Murray, Dr. Norma Bowen, Mr. and Mrs. James McCallum.

Assistant Commissioner and Mrs. Archie Ferguson, Mrs. Gloria Noyes and Lisa Noyes, Superintendent and Mrs. Frank Barbeta, Mr. and Mrs. Robert Binnendyk, Mr. and Mrs. Roy Sople, Mr. and Mrs. Walter Borosa.

DEFERRED TAXES

135. Mr. Young: Will the ministry table the amounts of deferred taxes owed the province of Ontario up to and including 1979 and also table the amount of deferred taxes owed by the following companies: Abitibi-Price Corporation, Domtar Incorporated, E. B. Eddy Forest Products Limited, Spruce Falls Power and Paper Company Limited, Great Lakes Forest Products Limited, Ontario Paper Company Limited, Bell Canada, and Shell Oil? (Tabled April 24, 1980.)

Hon. Mr. Maeck: There are no deferred taxes owed the province by any corporation. All corporations are required to pay their corporations taxes in accordance with the provisions of the Corporations Tax Act which in turn embodies many of the provisions of the Income Tax Act (Canada). Collection action is taken against any corporations which fail to pay their taxes as they become due.

It is common to find in the balance sheets of large corporations the item "deferred income taxes." This term is an accounting term,

not a taxation term. The value of "deferred income taxes" does not represent taxes owing by the corporation to any jurisdiction. Taxes paid during the year are shown separately in the financial statements, or in the notes thereto, and taxes on current taxable income which will become payable subsequent to the end of the accounting period, are shown as a liability in the balance sheet.

The accounting concepts which give rise to the accounting term "deferred income taxes" are supported by the Canadian Institute of Chartered Accountants which recommends in its handbook that the deferral method of income tax allocation should be used. It further recommends that appropriate terminology to identify accumulated tax allocation amounts would be "deferred income taxes."

The purpose of income tax allocation is to match the income tax liability for an accounting period to the accounting income for the same period. To do this the corporation takes into account the differences in the timing of certain costs deducted from its accounting income and the corresponding costs allowed from taxable income.

All corporations which have invested in assets such as machinery, equipment, motor vehicles, buildings, et cetera are permitted to write off a percentage of the cost of these assets each year. The rates are set by regulations under the Income Tax Act (Canada), which Ontario has followed. This is a general provision available to all corporations, without exception. Similar provisions are available in all other jurisdictions, being the tax recognition of normal accounting practice.

There is, however, one difference from normal accounting practice. The rates are set by law whereas in their own books, corporations can use any rate which suits their purpose. Provided it is reasonable, consistent and any changes in method are disclosed, their auditors would not likely object. What a corporation calls its "deferred income taxes" is the difference between the tax it pays each year as required by the income tax laws and an "assumed tax" which results from the application of the income tax rules to the particular depreciation method which it has employed for its own financial reporting purposes.

The management of a corporation may consider that an asset will be written off the books over five years. For tax purposes it may be written off over two years. Therefore, the

tax in the first two years will be lower, and in the next three years it will be higher than it otherwise would be. They use the device of "deferred income tax" to reflect the tax burden more evenly over the five years and permit a more accurate comparison from one financial year to another. This is usually done only in large corporations.

To the ministry, the position is not the same. The corporation has paid its taxes in full for the year when it has correctly calculated its capital cost allowance for that year. In the first two years in the life of the asset one-half of its cost will be correctly deducted from taxable income and in the last three years of its life nothing will be deducted from taxable income.

The very large figures that are recorded in the financial statements of some large corporations as "deferred income taxes" reflect the degree to which the capital cost allowances under the Income Tax Act (Canada) and the Ontario Corporations Tax Act are successful in encouraging investment and reinvestment in Canada. That they are growing indicates that the reinvestment is continuing. In the taxation years of corporations ending in 1977, the most recent year for which these details are available, the total addition to "deferred income taxes" for corporations using this accounting concept is \$435 million; this is a projection based upon a statistical sample.

In reply to the second part of the question, there are no "deferred income taxes" owing by the companies listed in the question. All except two are public corporations which are required to publish financial statements annually. The extent to which they use the tax deferral concept is indicated by the existence or otherwise of a "deferred income taxes" amount in their balance sheets.

INTERIM ANSWER

141. Mr. Cassidy: Will the minister table the complete terms of reference for the review of kindergarten programs announced on February 29, together with the schedule of research which has been commissioned in connection with this review? (Tabled April 29, 1980.)

Hon. Miss Stephenson: We require additional time to prepare our response to the above question. The answer will be ready for tabling on or about Friday, May 16.

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SPEAKERS IN THIS ISSUE

Bennett, Hon. C.; Minister of Housing (Ottawa South PC)
Birch, Hon. M.; Provincial Secretary for Social Development (Scarborough East PC)
Breau, M. (Oshawa NDP)
Brunelle, Hon. R.; Provincial Secretary for Resources Development (Cochrane North PC)
Campbell, M. (St. George L)
Cassidy, M. (Ottawa Centre NDP)
Conway, S. (Renfrew North L)
Davis, Hon. W. G.; Premier (Brampton PC)
Davison, M. N. (Hamilton Centre NDP)
Di Santo, O. (Downsview NDP)
Drea, Hon. F.; Minister of Consumer and Commercial Relations (Scarborough Centre PC)
Edighoffer, H.; Deputy Speaker (Perth L)
Gigantes, E. (Carleton East NDP)
Grossman, Hon. L.; Minister of Industry and Tourism (St. Andrew-St. Patrick PC)
Hall, R. (Lincoln L)
Henderson, Hon. L. C.; Minister of Agriculture and Food (Lambton PC)
Isaacs, C. (Wentworth NDP)
Johnston, R. F. (Scarborough West NDP)
Laughren, F. (Nickel Belt NDP)
McClellan, R. (Bellwoods NDP)
Nixon, R. F. (Brant-Oxford-Norfolk L)
Norton, Hon. K.; Minister of Community and Social Services (Kingston and the Islands PC)
Parrott, Hon. H. C.; Minister of the Environment (Oxford PC)
Reid, T. P. (Rainy River L)
Roy, A. J. (Ottawa East L)
Smith, S.; Leader of the Opposition (Hamilton West L)
Snow, Hon. J. W.; Minister of Transportation and Communications (Oakville PC)
Stephenson, Hon. B.; Minister of Education and Minister of Colleges and Universities (York Mills PC)
Stokes, Hon. J. E.; Speaker (Lake Nipigon NDP)
Stong, A. (York Centre L)
Swart, M. (Welland-Thorold NDP)
Turner, J. (Peterborough PC)
Wells, Hon. T. L.; Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs (Scarborough North PC)
Wildman, B. (Algoma NDP)



Legislature of Ontario Debates

Official Report (Hansard)

Fourth Session, 31st Parliament

Tuesday, May 6, 1980

Evening Sitting

Speaker: Honourable John E. Stokes

Clerk: Roderick Lewis, QC



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Published by the Legislature of the Province of Ontario.
Editor of Debates: Peter Brannan.

LEGISLATURE OF ONTARIO

TUESDAY, MAY 6, 1980

The House resumed at 8 p.m.

DEBATE ON CONFEDERATION

(continued)

Resuming the debate on the constitutional resolution.

Mr. Wildman: Mr. Speaker, when we adjourned the debate before the supper hour, I was concluding my remarks with regard to native rights and the negotiation of a new constitution. I would like to quote from a position taken by the National Indian Brotherhood and point out some of the major concerns that are raised by the protection of native rights in a new constitution.

"While Indians can constitute a distinct racial or national group within Canada, their unique legal status is seen not as a kind of racial discrimination, but rather as an essential protection of their cultural integrity. The entrenchment of the equal-before-the-law provisions of the Bills of Rights in a constitution could, therefore, threaten this situation by invalidating the Indian Act and the other sources of Indian rights on the grounds that such special legislation violates the equality-before-the-law principle of the Bill of Rights."

Obviously if that contradiction is to be dealt with, it must be dealt with through direct negotiations with Indian and Inuit leaders chosen by their communities. As a social democrat, I accept the principle that the Bill of Rights should be entrenched within the constitution. At the same time, if we are to deal with the genuine concerns of the native people in that regard, we must be prepared to negotiate those matters directly with them.

To conclude my comments, I want to emphasize again that if we believe in the basic democratic principle of self-determination, then we must be prepared to accept whatever decision the Quebecers make with regard to their future and to negotiate whatever accommodation we can within that context.

The same is true with regard to the rights of the native people in this country. I would hope that both groups' aspirations can be accommodated within a restructured Canada in the negotiation of a new Canadian constitu-

tion. Whatever the results of the referendum and the subsequent negotiations, as an elected representative within Ontario, I pledge myself to be prepared to negotiate an agreement with the people of Quebec to deal with their concerns, and with other groups within Canada, including the native people who contributed to the development of this country, in such a way that their aspirations can be met through conciliation and goodwill.

It is not acceptable from my point of view for us in Ontario to attempt to coerce other members of this nation to agree with our views on what the future of this country should be. Our attempts must be genuine in dealing with their concerns as they see them and presenting to them our concerns as we see them in an open discussion and negotiation. If that is what the thrust of this debate is about, then I am pleased.

I support the resolution's commitment to a renegotiation of a new national constitution. I reject, as the resolution states, the status quo in this country. I believe that the constitution must satisfy the diverse aspirations of all Canadians, but I cannot accept the position that we must go into these negotiations with any preconceived notions or ironclad positions. We must be open-minded and willing to deal with the positions as they are presented to all the nations within this country.

I hope the debate this week not only will attempt to tell Quebecers that we are concerned about their desires for the future of their nation, but also will tell all the other groups within Canada and within this province that the negotiation of a new constitution will genuinely deal with their aspirations in such a way that the constitution will serve all the peoples of Canada.

Mr. Kennedy: Mr. Speaker, I feel and I hope that this debate, perhaps not this week, but in the final analysis, will have proved meaningful. I am optimistic.

At the outset I want to emphasize that I do not wish to see Quebec separate from Canada, as I fear this will lead to the breakup of our country. We now have 10 provinces—10 minus one equals nine, naturally—but if Quebec left, I believe the laws of politics and economics would take precedence over the laws of arith-

metic and, in fact, 10 minus one would equal zero. I hope and pray we never see that day.

We live in perilous times. This, in my view, is gradually being recognized by Canadians. It is not only a Quebec problem. The present federal government has only two members from western Canada. Here is further evidence of the gravity of the situation and particularly of the well-founded alienation of the west. The problem we face is not just Quebec, it exists Canada-wide. Many provinces are now demanding constitutional change. I firmly believe we can find within ourselves the understanding and goodwill to overcome the current crisis.

And now a word from personal experience. Thirteen years ago, I attended John Robarts's Confederation of Tomorrow conference, as did some other members of this House. Ontario took the lead in English Canada in discussing constitutional change. I remember so well the courteous, thoughtful and productive contribution made by the then Quebec premier, the late Daniel Johnson. Even then, Ontario showed it was not satisfied with the status quo. Subsequently, there was the Victoria conference and there were meetings in the interval.

The other point I wish to make at the outset is that no matter how he presents this issue, Rene Levesque is dedicated to separatism. He stands for the division and the ultimate destruction of our country. Mr. Levesque and his fellow separatists are willing to do almost anything to achieve their political goals. In particular, they have rewritten Canadian and Quebec history to prove two things: first, that Confederation is and has been a failure by hindering Quebec's development at every turn, and second, that the separation of Quebec is inevitable.

I spent some time reading the separatists' arguments and it's just like shovelling fog. Their points consist of myths, distortions and half-truths. The time is right, because I do not believe it is too late, to take a stand, to challenge the many myths put forward by the separatists over the last decade and to indicate to them that certain basic fundamentals are not negotiable. In a recent article in the *Globe and Mail*, William Johnson wrote, "Myths, as a guide to public policy, are a respected tradition in Quebec's political life." So let's take a look at some of these myths and see what the truth is.

Separatists claim that federalism is an inflexible, uncompromising system of government. To the contrary, there are many examples of how the federal system has modified itself to accommodate particular Quebec demands and aspirations. The distinct Cana-

da and Quebec pension plans, the different approach to family allowance, opting-out provisions of major shared-cost programs are a few examples.

Nor is Confederation contributing to the assimilation of Quebecers by English Canada. William Ormsby, writing in 1979, reminded us that Lord Durham was convinced that French Canada must eventually be assimilated. He was entirely mistaken. Ormsby stated that a rough working harmony between the French and the English began to evolve in the 1840s, and has continued. There is no evidence that this social transformation will result in assimilation. French Canadians are more determined than ever to preserve their separate cultural identity and I understand this.

In the early 1960s I attended a Canadian education conference in Quebec. I asked a leading academic from Laval University what exactly Quebec wants. His answer was simple: Quebec does not want to lose its identity. I argued that Quebec's identity was still very much in place and would continue to be, long into the future. No Canadian, as far as I knew, wished to see that identity, which enriches our country, or the legitimate aspirations of Quebec diminished in any way.

8:10 p.m.

Another myth arises from the separatist view of Canadian history as one-sided and negative, a tragic succession of failures and setbacks for French Canadians and for Quebec. Although our past is not all sweetness and light, no one could deny that under Confederation we have all made great progress and achieved numerous successes. Separatists never mention the positive side of the Canadian story. They prefer to ignore the phenomenal growth of our economy, development of our social and educational institutions, freedoms and liberties, democratic system—the list goes on.

Generations of Canadians have worked hard to make Canada a success story. To use a business analogy, we all have an equity in our country, no matter what language we speak or in which province we live. That is the essence of being Canadian—to share our hard-won prosperity and together build the successes of the future.

I would like to discuss one last separatist myth. Of all the arguments used by Levesque and the separatists to buttress their case, none is more dangerous, nor more divisive, than the myth that the Confederation of 1867 was a compact between the two founding races. Nowhere in my reading of the

British North America Act have I seen a reference to the founding races. According to my understanding of the act, it is a legal agreement between the provinces, including Quebec, not between founding peoples. In my opinion, this is as it should be. It underlines the wisdom of the Fathers of Confederation.

In this Legislature in 1971 I stated the provinces put Confederation together, so all the provinces and the federal government must agree on constitutional changes. There cannot be change through unilateral action by any one province if Canada as a nation is to survive. It would be profoundly wrong to design a constitution on a single principle, linguistic or cultural, as the only basis for the design of our political institutions.

I have not agreed very often with Pierre Elliott Trudeau, but in his book, *Federalism and the French Canadians*, he says: "A state that defined its functions essentially in terms of ethnic attributes would inevitably become chauvinistic and intolerant. The state, whether provincial, federal, or perhaps supranational, must seek the general welfare of all its citizens, regardless of sex, colour, race, religious beliefs or ethnic origins." I might add in passing that many federalists fear that an independent Quebec might well become an intolerant and chauvinistic state.

For the constitution to be a workable document, we must not give special status, whether ethnic or regional, to any part of Canada. No matter how the separatists read our history, Quebec should receive no more, no less, than the other provinces.

Many members here have spoken about their own families. My uncle—if I too may make a personal reference—was a Premier of this province for a time. I know one of the things to which he was dedicated, in peace and in war, was this great country. I know there are other members who have great political backgrounds, such as the member for Brant-Oxford-Norfolk (Mr. Nixon). We know that they too, if they were here, as they were when they were passing the stage in this great Ontario mosaic, this great Canadian scene, would be most supportive that our country should continue and thrive.

In conclusion, I am reminded of D'Arcy McGee's words in his last public speech before his tragic murder when he was only aged 43 in 1868. This leading Father of Confederation spoke of the ability of Confederation to preserve the rights of all its citizens and provinces, and I quote:

"Our friends need have no fear but that Confederation will ever be administered with

serene and even justice. Its single aim from the beginning has been to consolidate, with the utmost regard, the independent powers and privileges of each province. And I, sir, who have been and still am its warm and earnest advocate, speak here not as the representative of any race or of any province, but as thoroughly and emphatically a Canadian ready and bound to recognize the claims of my Canadian fellow citizens from the farthest east to the farthest west."

The separation of Quebec is not inevitable. The spirit of tolerance and justice, as strongly proclaimed by D'Arcy McGee in 1868, still lives on. We must ensure that this spirit continues and preserves Canada so that, as a country, it does stretch from the farthest east to the farthest west.

Mr. Hall: Mr. Speaker, it is a pleasure for me to join in this historic debate on Confederation. Along with many others, I was on active service with the Canadian Navy in the Second World War. I was stationed at St. Hyacinthe in the eastern townships of Quebec for eight months while training to become a telegraphist. I played on the base basketball team and, on occasion, enjoyed the hospitality of unilingual homes as we had games in various communities. We were treated well.

To those of us old enough to remember the war years—a very real threat of a common enemy; at times it seemed that the allies could lose; the unity we all felt as Canadians in the service of our country—and thinking of those who died in that cause, it seems of vital importance that Canada remain one country looking ahead to greater achievements.

Tonight, in the time available, I want to focus on the question of minority language rights in Quebec and Ontario. As members are aware, my riding of Lincoln lies in the Niagara Peninsula. In Lincoln our culture has been enhanced by the presence of people of many ethnic backgrounds including Ukrainian, Dutch, Polish, Italian, Greek, Czechoslovakian, Yugoslavian, German and others whom I have probably forgotten. Since the building of the Welland Canal there has been a vital French-speaking population living and working in the peninsula. The city of Welland has had, and continues to have, a strong French-speaking presence and has French-language elementary and secondary schools.

8:20 p.m.

For this reason, I believe we who live in the peninsula have a sensitivity and an awareness about language questions that is perhaps more immediate than in other parts of southern Ontario. It is important for us to see what progress we are making in the provision

of French-language services in Ontario in relation to the situation of English-speaking Canadians in Quebec.

The linguistic duality of Canada is an indisputable historical fact, going back to the founding of our country by the British North America Act of 1867. Article 133 in the act states that either English or French may be used in the Parliament of Canada and in the Quebec National Assembly. This directive is valid also in any court of Canada established under that act. French and English must be used in the writing of parliamentary legislation, records and journals.

The linguistic duality of Canada has historically been interpreted as bilingualism in Quebec. Services not covered by article 133 were established over the years in both French and English, not as a result of any constitutional obligation, but rather for reasons of historical custom and daily practice. These stipulations in the British North America Act and over 100 years of daily practice have ensured that there has always been a much broader range of English-language services available in Quebec than there has been of French-language services in Ontario. What we have tried to do here in Ontario since the late 1960s is essentially to make up for lost time.

Given this difference in the historical situation of the two provinces, I believe it is inevitable that different approaches have been taken, and will be taken, to provide minority-language services. I believe that the majority of citizens in Ontario and Quebec share the belief that respect and opportunity for both major language groups is a basic principle of Canadian society. In my view, each province should develop a minority-language program which meets its own needs.

Ontario, Quebec and New Brunswick can all respect the common principle regarding linguistic duality but develop minority-language policies and programs that may be quite different, one from the other, in their implementation. In recent years there has been a clear thrust in this Legislature that French-language government services should be expanded in accordance with need and population distribution. Common sense is required as well as the clear goal of ensuring the provision of required services.

It is important for us in Ontario to understand what has been the reason for Quebec's desire, over the past decade, to strengthen and reinforce the role and place of the French language in Quebec society. Historically in Quebec, English had been the language of business and of economic dominance. Many French-speaking Quebecers felt they had

to be bilingual, and even assimilate into the English culture, to have a hope of success and promotion in business, although English Quebecers could quite successfully remain unilingual.

French Quebecers feared bilingualism was fast becoming an agent of assimilation that automatically would bring about the demise of the French language, culture and identity. Quebec language legislation in the 1970s was therefore designed to give government support to the resurgence and the ongoing vigour of the French language.

Nevertheless, we must recognize that while Quebecers of all political parties agree on the need to protect the French language, the English living in Quebec still have a very wide range of English-language rights and services. They have their own school system, including universities. Judicial services are in English as well as in French. A good range of radio and television programming, as well as newspapers, theatres and cinemas exists in English. Government agencies provide English-language services. English may be used in the National Assembly and statutes and bills are prepared in both English and French. Many centres have a complete range of English social and health services. This is important indeed.

The major difference that faces most English Quebecers today from the reality of 20 years ago is that there is a need to speak French and become bilingual if they are to participate fully in Quebec's society. This surely is the same reality that French-speaking Ontarians face when living and working in Ontario. They can and should be able to receive their education in French, but they know they will also need a solid grounding in English so they too will be able to participate fully in Ontario's society.

What then is the message we can take from the present minority-language situation in Ontario and Quebec? I believe it is a hopeful one and one which can result in ensuring that both the majority and minority language groups in our two great provinces are able to develop fully.

In Ontario we must continue in our efforts to ensure French-language minority rights and provide services in the French language. It is time to end all feelings of doubt and distrust and instead create and foster feelings of goodwill. We must prove to our francophone fellow citizens that English Ontarians are not indifferent, that we do not intend to stand idly by and slowly assimilate them into our culture. Let us continue to draft legislation that will guarantee French-

language minority rights in Ontario as proof of our good faith and commitment.

To Canadians in Quebec I say: "We recognize what you have done to protect English minority-language rights over the past century. The respect and tolerance you have generally demonstrated serves as a model for us. We ask you, however, to recognize the efforts that we have been making to improve the provision of French-language services in our province. We do not say our record is perfect, because it is not, but real progress has been made. Any objective comparison of minority-language rights in Ontario and Quebec will reflect a substantial lessening of the gap, and in 1980 it is no time to throw it all away, to render that progress of no avail."

The day must soon come when neither the Franco-Ontarian nor Anglo-Quebecker community feels that in any way its members are second-class citizens. We must enshrine minority rights in a new constitution. Our positive answer to the challenge of minority language rights will no longer create an ongoing antagonism and war of words, but rather a stronger linking an inseparable bonding together of minority and majority in all parts of the country.

Finally, in preparing for this debate on Confederation, I came across some observations by a young English-speaking Ontario university student writing more than 33 years ago. I have to ask myself, first of all, where all those years went. As a student in 1947, I put forward the following views on English-French relations. I quote in part:

"National unity can be achieved but not by any plan of assimilation, for the French Canadian will oppose any method which results in the disappearance of the French culture. It would be far better to preserve this rich culture, thus making Canada all the more wealthy. Canadian history did not begin in 1759, and future history books would aid in the understanding of the two races if more of the French regime, with its exploration and missionary endeavour, its seigneurs and pioneer settlements, were included in these texts.

"As it stands now, the French are more bilingual than the English. The English have unlimited facilities for study at their door and they would certainly be the gainers if they could interest themselves in their second national language, which is also a widely used international mode of speech. French study should begin in the primary classes while the imitative faculties of a child are still strong. Closer contact to Quebec,

through summer schools, exchange of teachers and extension lectures, could be arranged.

8:30 p.m.

"It can safely be said that stronger national unity will greatly enhance Canada's future. Violence can never be the answer, and so we must conclude that the solution lies in sincerity, tolerance and heightened interest in each of the two races, one by the other. For Canadian unity it is not necessary to have only one language, one religion, one ethnic group, but only a conscious effort by all to understand and appreciate the diverse cultures in our society."

On reflection, I find that many of the suggestions made years ago have come into being and are well accepted. The other solutions are still appropriate today and I urge every Canadian to consider them.

Mr. Renwick: Mr. Speaker, I rise to support this resolution as a Canadian representing the Toronto riding of Riverdale for the New Democratic Party in this assembly.

If I have a theme it is in the closing sentences of an essay written some years ago by the late Harold Innes, entitled, *An Introduction to an Economic History of Ontario from Outpost to Empire*: "The strength of Ontario may emphasize the weakness of the federation. An empire has its obligations as well as its opportunities."

To me, this resolution means a commitment to a new constitution for Canada. It means a commitment to negotiate a new constitution whatever the outcome of the referendum on May 20.

I specifically, but gently, want to disengage myself from the comments made by the House leader and Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs (Mr. Wells) in his opening remarks on behalf of the government and I want to end in this regard with a plea. If I understood the leading speaker for the Liberal Party, the critic for the Ministry of Intergovernmental Affairs and federal-provincial relations, the member for Ottawa East (Mr. Roy), correctly, I want to disengage myself from his remarks as well and ask him to join with us in our understanding of this resolution.

The Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs said yesterday: "They," meaning the people of Quebec, "have a very important decision to make on May 20. I would like to say to them it is a small but important semantic anomaly, but those who vote yes in the referendum will negate the thrust for constitutional change, while those who vote no will all but guarantee its success. In other words,

there is no better way of ensuring the certain preservation of the status quo in this country for years to come than a yes vote in the referendum." I disengage myself from that comment.

The member for Ottawa East, speaking to the same matter, said: "Will Ontario say yes? Will Ontario say that yes will be clearly interpreted by the Parti Quebecois as being yes for independence? It is for that reason, as the Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs has said, a yes would create and establish a status quo. It is for that reason that unanimously we reject the status quo and reject sovereignty-association at the same time—and it is unanimously."

To the extent that the member for Ottawa East was accepting that a yes vote would negate the impetus to constitutional change, I disengage myself from him as well. I ask them to consider that this assembly come together on the fundamental meaning of this resolution.

I have no illusions about the gravity of the problem faced by Canada and the challenge that is posed to it. I refer to the white paper that was introduced some time ago by the government of Quebec and I quote from that document:

"The government of Quebec has reached the conclusion that our development as a people requires the transformation of today's federalism into an association in which Quebec, as part of an economic and monetary union, would have all the powers of a sovereign country just like Canada. This new deal between equals is the only path leading from our past through the demands of the present towards a future which belongs to us."

I have no illusions about the seriousness of the challenge that is posed by that statement and by the white paper. But I say to my colleagues in the government party and in the Liberal Party, let us remember that the vote on May 20 will be a substantial yes vote and a substantial no vote. We are not engaged in mathematics about it or a discernment of what interpretation may be placed upon that vote in years to come.

I particularly draw the attention of the member for Ottawa East to the letter in the *Globe & Mail* Saturday by Scott Griffin, co-chairman of the policy committee of the federal Liberal Party, Ontario. In it he indicates that the result of the referendum will be unrelated to Quebec's independence or Quebec's commitment to a federated Canada. I think that is wrong. It will be directly related to Quebec's independence or Quebec's commitment to a federated Canada.

In part, and I accept this, it will also be an entirely different answer about a negotiating stance for Quebec in the upcoming federal constitutional negotiations. A no vote wins the sympathy and indebtedness of the rest of Canada. A yes vote would force Canada to take Quebec's demands seriously and to woo her back with a renewed and attractive constitutional proposal. So let us not try to interpret the result of the referendum; let us not engage in that kind of interpretation. Let us say clearly and distinctly and unanimously from this assembly that the meaning of this resolution is a commitment to negotiate a new constitution whatever the result of the referendum may be on May 20.

Mr. Speaker, I speak, even though unheard, to the people of Quebec who are descended from the citizens of New France. I extend to them and to their government full faith and credit and respect. I accept what was said in a few verses that were published in one of the earliest numbers of the first French-Canadian opposition newspaper, *Le Canadien*, in 1806.

8:40 p.m.

They were titled *Les moissonneurs*:

Faucille en main, au champ de la fortune
On voit courir l'Anglois, le Canadien
Tous deux actifs et d'une ardeur commune
Pour acquérir ce qu'on nomme du bien.

Mais en avant l'Anglois ayant sa place
Heureux faucheur, il peut seul moissonner
L'autre humblement le suivant à la trace
Travaille autant et ne fait que glaner.

For those who have perhaps not been able to understand my French, a rough and free translation would be: "The harvesters, sickle in hand in fortune's field we see them race, the Englishman and the Canadian, active both and with a common zeal to acquire what we call wealth. As the Englishman's place is out in front, he alone, lucky reaper, can harvest. The other, humbly following in his footsteps works just as much, yet does no more than glean."

I accept that, Mr. Speaker, and I accept as well that for the native peoples of Canada—extending as I do to them full faith and credit and my respect—what for the Europeans was the gradual growth of settlement, economic expansion and material success, was for the native peoples a slow contraction of their country, social disintegration, a growing subjugation and the erosion of hope. I pause to ask the assembly: Is that what is happening to the Inuit today, as happened to the native peoples and the Metis in the past?

Time does not permit me to speak greatly about Canada, but when people say to me, "What is Canada?" I say, "Of course, it is my birthplace." I say, "Yes, of course, it was the place to which my grandparents came for all the reasons that people emigrated to Canada during the last century." I say, "Yes, of course, it is my country, but more than anything else to me it is a story. It is a narrative, an epic. Some day that narrative and that epic will be written. Its end is not yet. Its end will not be in my time or in the time of any of us here, but in the unfolding of that story."

When people say to me, "What is Canada to you?" I simply say, "It is a story. It is a story that I live by. It is a story that contains all of the romance and the charm and the despair and the hopes and the fears and the triumphs and the disasters that form part of all of us." If somebody presses me a little bit further and says, "But what do you mean?" I say, "Canada is a storybook country." That is the way it is for me and that is the way it will be.

I want to move to the rhetoric—to which I will respond—in Quebec-Canada: A New Deal; in A Task Force on Canadian Unity, A Future Together; in A New Canadian Federation, the Constitutional Committee of the Quebec Liberal Party; and in The Time for Action Toward the Renewal of the Canadian Federation. To the extent that I respond to the rhetoric in each of those reports about Canada and about its future, I am equally tired with the tedium of the minutiae of constitutional debate among the lawyers, the political scientists and the bureaucrats. The logic of the lawyers, the logic of the political scientists and the logic of the bureaucrats is not the wisdom of politics. I ask each of the members of this assembly to consider my proposal, which is that a constitutional convention be mandated to write a new constitution and report back to the Parliament of Canada, the National Assembly of Quebec and the legislative assemblies of each of the other nine provinces for consideration and debate, in the belief that through that process a new constitution for Canada will come about.

I further propose that the select committee envisaged in our resolution be instructed to consider and report back with dispatch on this proposal and on the composition, method of selection and other details of the appointment of the Ontario delegation to that convention representing the many diversities of our full, diverse and widely different province.

I reject the British North America Act. It is no longer capable of dealing with the tensions and problems of the confederation; it is no longer possible, because we do not have the necessary modalities, for it to solve the constant tensions and frictions between this province and Alberta, let alone this province and Quebec.

I ask the members to reject it for another reason. The patchwork process of constitutional amendment which came to a halt in 1971 was a dead end. The last 10 years of no response at all by this province to constitutional change of any significance means the obstacle in the roadway in 1971 will never be dissolved and we must take a new path. I welcome the difficult challenge issued by Quebec that its people think about their future in Canada, think about their future as an independent country, because that poses for us the essential and dynamic requirement that we respond, in turn, in relation to the resolution before us.

That's a hall of many mirrors, and when one walks through that hall, one can see many reflections of the reality of the challenge facing Canada at this time. I have read these four basic documents and other documents that have come before us as have many of the members. They are interesting, they are helpful, but none of them persuades me as a Canadian where the country should be in the years to come.

Through a constitutional convention widely represented by delegations from each of the provinces and territories and from the federal Parliament, we can have the kind of consultation among the people of Canada that will, over the course of time, produce for us that new constitution.

I'm not satisfied to leave the fashioning of a new constitution in the hands of the first ministers of the country. That also is a dead end for any number of reasons. Their general preoccupation and responsibility is for the wide administration of all the provinces and of the federal government, whereas in our resolution we have said a new constitution will be our highest priority. I am seriously concerned with the mind-set of the leaders of the governments in this country about various constitutional matters. I am particularly concerned about the mind-set of the Premier of this province (Mr. Davis) and of the Prime Minister of Canada. I, for one, am not interested in humiliating my fellow citizens.

I, for one, am not interested in confronting them and saying to them that if they vote yes, we will maybe not even negotiate with them. That perhaps is what is coming

through from the Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs.

8:50 p.m.

In the time available, I come to a close with quotations from two poems, back to back, by Pauline Johnson. She was born in the last century and died early in this century. She wrote two poems: CPR Westbound No. 1 and CPR Eastbound No. 2. I quote only the first verses of each:

I swing to the sunset land;

The world of prairie, the world of plain,
The world of promise and hope and gain,
The world of gold and the world of grain
And the world of the willing hand.

And in CPR Eastbound No. 2:

I swing to the land of morn;

The grey old east with its grey old seas,
The land of leisure, the land of ease,
The land of flowers and fruits and trees
And the place where we were born.

I come back to what Mr. Innes said, that the strength of Ontario may be the weakness of the confederation. We have our obligations as well as our opportunities. We have our obligations to the east and to the west, but more particularly, we have our obligations to the people of Quebec. I have faith that we will discharge them.

Hon. Mr. Snow: Mr. Speaker, I am very pleased to have this opportunity to participate in this very important debate, a debate which, I believe, will not only affect the people of Ontario but all Canadians.

I am one who is very proud of my Canadian heritage. I may just be a farm boy from Halton, but I am very proud that I was born in Halton county, my parents were born in Halton county, my grandparents were born in Halton county. Before that, we were of English and Irish ancestry. Some of my ancestors travelled to Halton as United Empire Loyalists a great many years ago.

Mr. Speaker, I haven't mentioned this since I made my maiden speech in this House about 12 or 13 years ago. You were here at that time and you may remember. I mentioned that my middle name, one which I don't use very often, is Wilfred. I got that name from my father, whose name was Wilfred Oliver Snow and who was born in 1892. Those of you who are political historians may remember or be able to figure out where he got those two names. He was named after two great Canadians, one English and one French—two great politicians.

My father's family was of a different political faith than I happen to be, but dad got his names from Sir Wilfrid Laurier and Sir Oliver Mowat. I am very proud to carry one

of those names with me yet. I didn't see fit to pass one of those names on to my son, but maybe I should have.

With your permission, Mr. Speaker, I would like briefly to outline the critical role that transportation has played as a vital link binding this country together for almost 113 years. Those links, coupled with broad highways of water made up of the St. Lawrence River and the Great Lakes, have provided all Canadians with a natural east-west transportation corridor for the movement of people and goods that is quite unequalled anywhere in the world, a natural corridor that from our colonial days pointed to the essential need for a federated union of both the Upper and the Lower Canadas.

Despite current and recurrent political differences, such natural and man-made bonds have fostered national unity in the face of vast differences, low population densities and the so-called north-south geographical patterns of North America. No reasonable man or woman can doubt that they constitute the prime support in Canada's role as a trading nation, thus contributing to the creation of wealth, which in turn permits the achievement of broader social and cultural goals, be they provincial or federal.

Those man-made links, however, were not built by the federal government alone, nor by any provincial government. No, it was done with the co-ordination, planning and financial backing of all regions of Canada, whose citizens often sacrificed provincial and local needs to benefit our national goals. It is fair to say that we have all gained from such a joint achievement—the Prairies, the Maritimes, Ontario and Quebec.

Quebec is positioned at the centre of the system, a natural hub from which Canadian goods and people move easterly and westerly. Proof of this is amply demonstrated by the location of the head offices of so many important transportation concerns in la belle province, including Canadian National, Canadian Pacific, Air Canada and Bell Canada, all situated in Montreal.

I should not have to enumerate the benefits, but for those who doubt that statement, let them take CN for an example, Mr. Speaker. Canadian National's interests include trucking companies, hotels, real estate, telecommunications, marine facilities and a railway subsidiary in the United States.

Then there is the St. Lawrence Seaway, that combination of the majestic St. Lawrence and the man-made locks connecting it to the Great Lakes system. With the completion of the latter in the 1950s, Quebec's river

ports boomed, until today they account for about one half of the total marine traffic. A strong, prosperous economy has developed along Quebec's north shore.

This seaway, which serves the vast industrial heartland of Ontario and provides the vital water link to the Atlantic Ocean for prairie grains, is the father and mother of Quebec's shipbuilding industry, helping to create a demand for the construction of new lakings and coastal shipping worth tens of millions of dollars.

These advantages, both natural and man-made, give Montreal and the province of Quebec unlimited opportunities for growth and expansion in the transportation sector within a strong and united Canada. Therefore, it comes as a surprise to me that the current Quebec government persists in depicting the province as a self-contained entity. I would ask the question: Are these the true sentiments of the people in general?

Only by looking westward to the Rockies and Eastward to the Maritimes can Quebecers restate the old ideas of New France, of a culture on the St. Lawrence River. Today, the opportunity to be in the forefront of economic and transportation development is as fresh and real as it must have been to their forefathers. Ontario will also benefit when Quebec or any other province heightens its economic role because the fiscal facts are that good transportation facilities benefit all people served in the system.

9 p.m.

The Windsor-Quebec City corridor, for example, benefits the economies of both provinces, but its continued viability will depend to a high degree upon co-operation, especially with respect to the possible development of an improved freight and passenger rail service. Modernizing such facilities would improve the productivity and efficiency of the total system. The major objective would be a high-speed passenger service on an exclusive-track basis. The benefits would be obvious and would result in the immediate creation of thousands of jobs and large new industries, not to mention the creation of 1,200 jobs for the next five years.

Such projects demand Quebec's participation, which, in turn, suggests that any government in that province must think in terms of the building blocks that made this a united Canada. Those building blocks of Confederation are already in place—in the 401 between Toronto and Montreal, that concrete and asphalt artery which comprises the most heavily travelled route in Canada, in the

mutual acceptance of driver licensing standards, in reciprocity for commercial motor vehicles and in the co-operation in transportation law enforcement. Should Quebecers turn away and convert those building blocks into a wall, such a free exchange is hindered, to say that least. As desirable as it might be to maintain these close links and co-operative efforts, the challenge to do so would be monumental in the boiling wake of the break-up of Confederation.

As transportation links provided the steel and concrete spines which brought this great country together in the 19th and 20th centuries, so too will communication links provide the basic infrastructure of the 21st century. This area will require co-operation and co-ordination if Canada is to participate in the exciting developments associated with microelectronics and in the information revolution.

One example I can think of quickly is the development of complementary industrial policies in the communications sector. All governments, both provincial and federal, recognize the potential contribution of the telecommunications industry to the Canadian economy. Working together in this key area of technological importance, both provincial and federal governments will be far more effective than if anyone tried to act alone, each within its own sphere of jurisdiction. This is not to say that a renewal of our federation in the area of communications is not necessary. It has been, and continues to be, one of the items formally on the agenda for the constitutional conference and for constitutional change.

Since 1973, the Ontario government has taken the position there should be a realignment of authority in the communications sector in order to achieve a more appropriate balance of roles and responsibilities between the federal and provincial governments. As the technological, economic and social ramifications of the new information society began to emerge, Ontario became increasingly aware of the importance of communications in facilitating the flow of information for business and residential users. Ontario is no less aware of the cultural and educational importance of communications.

In the course of the past few years, I have become convinced that the centralization of authority over communications and the tendency of the federal government to seek total control in these areas is inconsistent with the basic nature of our diverse country.

As the flow of information between homes and between businesses takes on an even greater role in our society, it is essential that

a balance be struck between federal and provincial responsibilities, a balance that reflects the regional needs of our country as well as its federal nature. Because communications can be of such vital importance to a country as vast as Canada, it follows that communication links can serve as a unifying force.

Because communications can also serve as a powerful instrument for the development and expression of regional perspectives and cultural expression, it follows that the federal government should do those things which truly are national and the provincial government should do those things that are of regional concern. Therefore, Ontario views a transfer of authority to the provinces as not only a key element in the realignment of jurisdiction in the area of communications, but as the key element in strengthening Confederation.

I am not alone when I ask for such a resolution, for the first ministers reached a similar consensus at their meeting in 1979. Since that time, cable communications has been on the short list for consideration of the continuing committee of ministers on the constitution. I can only expect these discussions will resume at full speed following the referendum.

In this regard I am heartened by the recent speech by my federal counterpart, the Minister of Communications, Francis Fox, in which he expressed his support for shared jurisdiction in communications. In my view, his approach represents a major departure from the traditional federal position, and offers significant potential to break the logjam in this area.

I am confident we can bring these negotiations to a successful conclusion within the existing federal framework in the near future. I, like my provincial counterparts, firmly believe that provincial regulation could well be more responsive to the needs and concerns of both the industry and consumers.

We are also convinced that no matter what kind of constitutional realignment the future brings, provincially regulated cable systems can only strengthen the bonds that tie this country together. Any discussions of constitutional realignment should include the telephone carrier sector. Most provinces in Canada regulate the major telephone system in their territory. However, in Ontario, Quebec and British Columbia, the primary telephone carrier, in our case Bell Canada, is federally regulated.

This item is on the constitutional list for consideration in phase two of the discussions. Here again, Ontario will be an active parti-

cipant in looking for effective ways of achieving constitutional change, for the same reasons I have already expressed.

In summary, I would like to confirm my commitment to achieve constitutional change as soon as possible in the area of cable television, to investigate ways of achieving a realignment of authority in the area of common carriers, and to continue to work with my colleagues and all other governments to achieve the many goals and objectives that we as Canadians hold not only in common but in trust for future generations of Canadians.

Mr. Nixon: Mr. Speaker, like all of us here I want to express my sincere hope and conviction that our fellow Canadians in Quebec will vote for continued and renewed federalism. I realize my words will have little or no effect on that goal, but I feel compelled, as a citizen of Canada and a member of this Legislature, to express my views in support of the resolution that rejects sovereignty-association as proposed by the Parti Quebecois and balances that with a firm commitment to a reform of our Canadian Confederation.

9:10 p.m.

I have been very much impressed with the quality of the speeches that have been put forward in this chamber up until this time. The approaches have been varied but in each instance sincere and in my opinion useful and very interesting—even that of the Minister of Transportation and Communications, who has just resumed his seat.

Many of the French-speaking families in Quebec can trace their ancestry back to the earliest settlements, even to Champlain himself. The community on the banks of the St. Lawrence was well established and thriving with a prosperous commercial development based on fur trading, fishing and farming long before my ancestors ever came to North America.

Still, our family has lived and farmed in Ontario for 200 years. When they came to this country it was as refugees from the United States. They had fought on the losing side of the revolutionary war and suffered many hardships both during the revolution and in the trek away from their homes, their farms and their belongings, into what they at that time referred to as British North America.

My family finally arrived in Canada by crossing the Niagara River in the 1780s. In those days this part of the world, now known as Ontario, was officially called Quebec. Its

governing law was the Quebec Act, passed by the Parliament in London, England, in 1774. That law wisely assured the rights of the French-speaking people in law, religion and language and was the basis upon which the French-speaking community of Canadians has grown in size and influence and respect in Canada and the world.

Students of history have often said that the Quebec Act was based on the fear of the colonial authorities in London, England, that the Doctrine of Manifest Destiny in the United States, following the revolution, would simply gobble up all of this part of British North America. The claim at that time was that the Quebec Act was passed to indicate that they wanted the French-speaking loyalty.

Whatever its motivation, it was a piece of broad-minded and effective legislation in its day. But under these circumstances, the refugees from the United States, calling themselves United Empire Loyalists—I was interested to hear in the various speeches that a number of members are descended from those people—found themselves in a marvelously fertile land. It had practically no population and was governed from the settlement on the St. Lawrence, where the large majority of people were French-speaking and used to the French legal tradition.

These new English settlers immediately petitioned for a division of the colony into two parts, roughly along the Ottawa River. Their petition was granted and Quebec was divided into Upper Canada and Lower Canada in 1791. Each side had its own Lieutenant Governor, its own assembly and council, and over all presided a single Governor General. From the very earliest times the French- and English-speaking communities in Lower and Upper Canada had many political, commercial, legal and personal connections that bound the two provinces right from the start.

The point of my brief address this evening is to emphasize my feeling that the people in what now make up Quebec and Ontario have, from those very early beginnings, co-operated through necessity and through good sense in the establishment of a working political arrangement that evolved through Confederation and now is at this special testing time. In my opinion it can continue to evolve into perhaps a new nation, a new jurisdiction with these shared responsibilities.

But I am talking about the problems well before Confederation. Not the least of these ties that bound what is now Quebec and Ontario and go so far back in Canadian history was the shared problem of political development under the direction of the Parliament and the government across the Atlantic in

London, England. Among other things, the powers of the governors were very large and only a few of the upper class of commercial, military and religious leaders had the right to advise the governor. The farmers and small businessmen, particularly, felt excluded from the real power of government in both provinces, since the governors tended to favour a few families and a few backgrounds almost to the point of developing a colonial aristocracy in Upper and Lower Canada.

In this province, of course, that aristocracy was called the Family Compact, and the member for Carleton East (Ms. Gigantes), who is paying such close attention to my remarks, indicated in her view the Family Compact still exists. I was interested in her contribution to the debate because I do not believe those people who were under the heel of the Family Compact in those days have much to be ashamed about. Perhaps they did not mount a very effective rebellion—I will refer to that briefly in a moment—but they did achieve their aim of establishing responsible government here in what is now Ontario, and their counterparts in Quebec did the same.

The British governors, while they still exist and we honour them, certainly, had their power stripped away and given to those people who could command the confidence of the elected assembly. That is responsible government. We fought for that in Ontario as it was fought for in Quebec, when they were Upper and Lower Canada, and we did so co-operatively, with the same aim and goal, and we were successful together.

The dissatisfaction in both provinces rallied around this cry for responsible government. It meant the governor would be required to take his advice from an executive council drawn from the elected assembly and having the confidence of the assembly, instead of ruling autocratically only with the advice of those appointed favourites whom the governor from time to time preferred.

In their effort to take more control of their own political destiny, the people not only rallied around the cause of responsible government, but rallied around the leadership of Louis Joseph Papineau in Lower Canada and William Lyon Mackenzie in Upper Canada. During those days, there was real co-operation between these two dissident political groups, with communication and friendship strengthening between the reform forces in Upper and Lower Canada. Those were difficult days indeed.

Mackenzie, who was a member of this House in one of its previous conditions, found that the people opposed to him burst into his

office—he was editor of a small local newspaper, the *Colonial Advocate*—and they took his printing presses out and threw them in the bay. We might even be able to find them down there yet. He was on three occasions expelled from the Legislature by orders of the executive council, and on three occasions was re-elected because he spoke for those people who were not satisfied with the government of the day.

Papineau experienced similar situations in Lower Canada, but they shared the same goal, and there is ample evidence in the history books and the correspondence of the day of their close association, striving towards the goal that was shared in both provinces.

These matters came to a head in both provinces in 1837 with rebellion. The one in Upper Canada was, according to some people, almost a joke. It was put down quite easily. There were two deaths, it is admitted. The story of the march of the farmers led by William Lyon Mackenzie down Yonge Street is worth reading any time you want to delve into the interesting past of our province. The rebellion in Quebec was more serious, more bloody and, in fact, also unsuccessful in the short term. However, the reformers in both areas won their goal of responsible government, and the Parliament and government in London, England, allowed this to come about after the reforms of 1841 in which the two provinces were united as the colony of Canada.

A special stress of tension was added to the French-English relationship in those days because the unification of the two provinces was a futile and ill-advised effort to submerge the French community in the growing tide of British immigration. The strength and tenacity of the people, the politicians and the clergy of Quebec enabled them to withstand this additional pressure, resulting in the nation as it is today with two founding races, two founding languages and a bilingual tradition that can be a strength and an advantage, particularly for our young people.

I was deeply impressed by the speech made by my colleague the member for Lincoln (Mr. Hall). He was quoting one of his own term papers or essays from the days when he attended the University of Toronto, in which his phrases, much more eloquently than mine, indicated the same view, that bilingualism in this nation, far from being divisive, far from being a problem, political and otherwise, should be and can be and, I believe, must be in the future, a definite advantage—although perhaps not to those of us who are old dogs, who never took advantage of the education

system for learning French in Ontario as so many young people are taking advantage of it now. In the future, surely bilingualism can set us apart from those people in the rest of the world who have a less interesting background and fewer advantages as far as culture and language are concerned.

9:20 p.m.

During those days of special stress back in the 1840s, the government of a newly created province of Canada had what amounted to and soon was seen to be historically an insurmountable political problem, but it also set an example of personal co-operation between the two founding races that must still be important to us today and certainly impresses me deeply.

Probably the best example was the political careers of two great performers, Louis Hippolyte Lafontaine and Robert Baldwin, who were the co-leaders of the one great reform administration of this period. The politics in those days were about as tough and vicious as anything we have ever experienced and yet the loyalty of the politicians to their cause and to each other continues to amaze readers of history.

The capital of Canada, in order to accommodate the diverse language and ethnic background, moved from place to place during these years. At one time it was in Kingston, in Canada West, and moved at different times to Montreal, to Quebec City and even to Toronto. It's an amazing thing when one considers that the elected members from both the English- and French-speaking communities would have to travel great distances to conduct the business of the province without the benefit of simultaneous translation or any kind of reasonable transportation, and they suffered the hardships of being away from their homes and families, their businesses, farms and professions for long periods of time.

We can only imagine the close personal connections that were established, and the co-operation that resulted in the achievement of substantial accomplishments in this experiment in bilingual and bi-cultural government in this part of the world.

In one instance, the electors of Terrebonne in Canada East rejected Lafontaine, who was defeated in the election. I should add parenthetically that I think some English-speaking goons attended the poll and pounded the electors over the head with sticks, interrupting the election, to the point where the great Lafontaine was defeated.

His partner in government, Baldwin, who had been elected in two constituencies, as was the custom in those days, invited his colleague and co-Premier to come up into Can-

ada West, and got him the nomination in one of the York constituencies. It wasn't York South, I think it was called York 3 or York 4, but perhaps it is the very constituency or the territory where the present member for York South (Mr. MacDonald) lives. He was elected by the good burghers, the good farmers, from that part of what is now Ontario and returned to Parliament under those circumstances.

I am pleased that the portraits of these two great reform leaders, who should be political examples to us all in more ways than one, hang directly outside this chamber, one on either side of the entrance. They are a fitting reminder to all of us of the benefits in the art of public administration and the development of responsible government which must be credited to these great Canadians.

The point is obvious; I simply say it again: This was personal and political co-operation between the leaders of what is now Ontario and what is now Quebec in the grand tradition from the earliest of times.

After Confederation, the political leaders of Quebec and Ontario traditionally have kept close counsel and personal friendship as an effective balance to federal power. I was pleased to note that the Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs (Mr. Wells), in his remarks earlier in this debate, described the role of Oliver Mowat—the namesake of the father of the present Minister of Transportation and Communications (Mr. Snow)—the Liberal Premier of Ontario, during the years when federal and provincial powers were being delineated by the courts.

We are committed to a strong central government and believe this is going to be an essential part of the debate that follows the referendum when we are attempting, I hope successfully, to renew Confederation. As far as I am concerned, there would be a personal commitment to maintain the strength of the central government, but the powers of the provinces must still be recognized and maintained.

Political co-operation has been the hallmark of the relationship between political leaders of Quebec and Ontario since Confederation. In the 1930s, even Premiers Duplessis and Hepburn had a close personal alliance which stopped the attempt by Prime Minister King to remake Confederation by removing from the provinces most of their basic taxation rights and replacing them with block grants payable from the federal government. We should discuss that more fully.

I was interested to hear the Minister of Industry and Tourism (Mr. Grossman) refer

to the Rowell-Sirois royal commission. Newton Rowell was one of our predecessors as leader of the provincial Liberal Party. His offspring have gone on to become extremely influential Tories in the city of Toronto, but that is another thing. This royal commission, established during the hungry '30s, made an elaborate series of recommendations that would have transformed the taxation base of Confederation.

Whatever we may think as individuals of the position taken then by Premiers Duplessis and Hepburn, they rejected it out of hand, marching out of the railway committee room in Ottawa during the final hearing so that the efforts undertaken by Prime Minister King came to naught. Frankly, I happen to believe the decision taken by the two provincial leaders, for whatever purposes, was correct.

I simply want to emphasize the point that it was this balancing of the federal power brought about by the co-operation of Ontario and Quebec which in my view has maintained the viability of Confederation then and should be maintaining it now.

As recently as 1971 in Victoria, the Premiers and the Prime Minister of Canada got very close to an agreement on the redistribution of powers and reforming the bases of federal representation and the Supreme Court. For the member for Carleton Place to indicate Ontario has never had a commitment to the reform of the constitution really means she does not understand the significance of that conference.

Perhaps I would join her in criticizing the leader of the government of Ontario in those days. He happens still to be the leader of this province. I believe we could have achieved the kind of constitutional reform in 1971 that would have made all of the problems we are now experiencing unnecessary if there had been stronger leadership from Ontario. We were very close to an agreement. As a matter of fact, all of the Premiers had accepted the new distribution of power. It was not over until the Premier Ministre of Quebec went back to Quebec and found his cabinet would not go along with him.

My recollection is that the real problem was based on our unwillingness to support Quebec in its view that it had to have provincial control over social and welfare programs and at least some jurisdiction over communications, the very matter the Minister of Transportation and Communications was referring to only a few minutes ago. This could have been accomplished a decade ago if Ontario had taken a stronger, more positive and supportive position of leadership.

That opportunity was missed 10 years ago, but we now have a new chance for reform. All provinces are now committed once again to a rejection of the status quo and a full commitment to a reformed Confederation that will be a fair basis for a continued Canada, a Canada which will, we trust, include Quebec as a cornerstone of the nation.

9:30 p.m.

Mr. Isaacs: As you are aware, Mr. Speaker, I frequently rise and express pleasure to be able to participate in the ongoing debate in this House. In respect of this particular debate, probably the most important debate that has gone on for the past 25 years and possibly for the past 113 years, my feeling transcends that of pleasure to a feeling of duty. My only negative comment about this debate is that it should have occurred months and possibly years ago.

I believe discussion and negotiation are the fundamentals to a democratic society. Discussion, negotiation, open lines of communication can lead to resolution of all disagreements, disputes or differences of opinion between sane and rational people. The people involved in our present national debate, those involved on both sides of this issue in Quebec and the people involved in the debate outside Quebec, are all sane and rational. The aspect I deplore is the lack of sane and rational debate that has taken place in the past in this House.

I accept the right of the people of Quebec to decide their own future. I believe all people have the right to discuss, to communicate among themselves and to take decisions among themselves. The answer from the May 20 referendum in Quebec will be an important process in the evolution of this country and of this continent. We must talk to the people of Quebec, whatever the result on May 20, but the result on May 20 is an important step in the ongoing constitutional work. The approach taken in the discussions that follow the May 20 referendum result will very clearly depend on the result of the referendum.

In 1862, Thomas D'Arcy McGee, a member of the then Legislature, called for and I quote: "That catholicity of spirit which embraces all creeds and all races so that we might be enriched by known and unknown resources and become a great new northern nation."

I am, I believe, the newest of the new Canadians in this Legislature. I arrived in Canada in September 1969 and from that day I have found this country and this province to be challenging, exciting and full of

opportunity in the way that Thomas D'Arcy McGee, intended, not just for myself and for my wife, but for all the people of Ontario and Canada. But there is always room for improvement, there is always room for change, and that change can only come about as the result of an expression of free choice upon all the people of Canada.

I hope very sincerely that the people of Quebec choose renewed federalism rather than modified separation as their basis for negotiation, but whatever they choose, we should be ready to sit down, to talk, to negotiate and to find workable solutions, because workable solutions there will be. Those workable solutions, while they may be something arrived at by negotiation, will be something that can be made to be satisfactory for us and for those who are voting on May 20.

A fundamental question in any review of constitutional matters is the handling of individual and collective rights. This country has no Magna Carta, we have no civil code to define the freedoms we all enjoy. Unlike our neighbours to the south we have no constitution, no amendments to guarantee the rights and responsibilities of our citizens. I believe some of the problems we now face arise from that lack of clear definition of the rights of all of us as individuals, the rights of all of us collectively and the responsibilities we all have to our society, to our province, to our country.

Our present Canadian Bill of Rights was passed by the Canadian Parliament in August 1960, but that Bill of Rights is hopelessly inadequate. Its scope is limited, in terms of both the rights and freedoms that it protects and the ways that certain legislation transcends the Bill of Rights. We are all aware of unfortunate events, of unhappy events, of clouds on our past horizons. Many of those clouds would not have been there had we had in place a guarantee of the constitutional freedoms of Canadian peoples.

Indeed, even our own federal government admits the Bill of Rights has been ineffective in protecting human, individual and collective rights. In most cases where the Bill of Rights was involved, our courts have held that it does not apply and that other legislation has supremacy. That situation is completely unacceptable to me.

Even the Ryan beige paper—which is seen as being one side in the present debate, though I will submit in a moment that there is far more than one side—while it proposes a charter of rights and liberties, leaves much to be desired. The beige paper takes up less than four pages on the matter of a charter,

a charter that we desperately need to define and guarantee the rights and responsibilities of all citizens, all communities, all organizations and all gatherings of the people of Canada.

The Ryan charter uses the definite only in terms of the entrenchment of legal rights—the right of equality before the law, the right to public impartial hearings, rights of citizens following arrest, and the rights to protection from unreasonable seizure and search. Those are important rights, but they are not the most important, the most fundamental rights of human beings in our society.

In all other respects, the Ryan charter uses less definite language. Of the seven provisions proposed in the Ryan beige paper for a charter of rights and liberties, one route that I have already described relates to legal rights, four relate to the very important area of language rights, one relates to freedom of movement throughout the country, and one, only one of seven, relates to our fundamental rights as members of a free and democratic society. Even the Ryan beige paper is not going far enough in its presentation of a proposal to protect civil liberties, to protect us all, and to define our responsibilities to each other.

In December 1966, the United Nations General Assembly approved the international covenant on civil and political rights and an optional protocol. Ten years later, when that came into effect, Canada acceded to the covenant and its optional protocol. But to this date, we do not see legislation in place which assures all Canadians that the United Nations covenant will be implemented in this country and is available to protect our citizens. That's just not good enough. We need much stronger action, we have needed much stronger action to protect the rights of all Canadians if all parts of this country wish to remain in the Canadian jurisdiction. 9:40 p.m.

It is that fundamental issue of civil rights, of our rights and responsibilities as individuals, that is so important to so many groups within Canada, and that is so important in the debate that is at present going on, because so many of the concerns the people of Quebec have about the activities of the federal government and about the activities of the other provincial governments can be traced to a lack of definition of the role, the rights and the responsibilities of the people of Quebec and of the people of all parts of Canada.

Earlier today, the Minister of Community and Social Services (Mr. Norton) made remarks that gave me, at least, the impression that he felt that all members of this Legislature and indeed all citizens of Ontario should be speaking with one single voice. I want to suggest that that is not reasonable. It is not reasonable to suggest that this issue rises above politics, which is the statement the minister made.

The situation we find ourselves in now is politics. It is a situation that arose because of a lack of political activity in areas that are so important to so many people in this country. It is very important that we address those needs now and that we indicate to the people of Quebec, before and after the referendum, that we will be willing to make the changes now that are so desperately needed in our Canadian constitution.

Mr. Speaker, as I believe you are aware, I have agreed to share the time allowed to me with another member of this caucus, in order that that member will also be able to participate in the debate. I am therefore going to wind up my remarks, but I want to wind them up with the single thought that if we give the impression that we refuse to talk in any one of the many circumstances that could arise in the months and years that lie ahead until this matter is finally resolved—and I hope it will be finally resolved—we are implying that our reluctance will impose itself in a mirror-like fashion on those on the other side, who will use it against us in their quest for things which may or may not be desirable from the point of view of the people they represent and from the point of view of all of us in this country.

If there is one thing that is important, it is that we get the message across that we are always open to suggestion, we are always willing to talk and we are always willing to negotiate from the position that we hold on behalf of the people of Ontario. Lines of communication are desperately important. Lines of communication must be kept open.

Mr. Villeneuve: Mr. Speaker, I am very grateful to have the opportunity to take part in this debate, since, as I see it, there is a threat hanging over all of us: the breakup of our country. It is our country, and when it hits home it is very serious. Contrary to the opinion of Mr. Levesque's followers, a breakup would be a tragedy.

Since Confederation, 113 years ago, there have been periods in history when certain events have taken place that have caused divisions in thinking in this great country of

ours. From the time of the execution of Louis Riel and the conscription issue in the First World War there have been wounds in the minds of French Canadians in Quebec that have been exploited to the fullest by some politicians and have all but annihilated the Conservative Party in that province. Democracy continued to function and the people turned to another party whose belief is that the flowering of French civilization in North America can only occur in the context of an independent nation or state.

Unfortunately, this is placed in the minds of the younger element who do not read much about the history of this nation. There has been a breakaway faction in French-speaking Quebec for many years; it has not been because of the recent Penetanguishene publicity. While one hesitates to generalize, I think it is true to say that French Canadians have a long memory for history.

Many people are well aware there was once a French empire in North America. In the 17th and 18th centuries, stretched from Hudson Bay to New Orleans and from the Maritimes to the Prairies. It is this vision, the revitalization of the new-world French civilization, that spurs Parti Québécois supporters. Yet how well I remember only 13 years ago when the English, the French and everybody else in Canada joined hands to celebrate our first 100 years of partnership as a country. At Expo 67 we celebrated our partnership by inviting the entire world to a marvellous party. Visitors from many lands came to see our immense, mysterious country, 100 years young and stretching across an entire continent.

I joined with many other Canadians in feeling a strong rush of patriotic pride and emotion at the 1976 Olympic Games in Montreal. Most people probably remember the moment when those two youngsters ran into the Olympic stadium carrying the torches to light the Olympic flame. One was from this great province of Ontario, the other was a Quebecois. Again we were linking our energies together. We showed the whole world an example of the benefits of peace and fraternity.

The separatists in our wonderful country are saying, "Forget it." They claim that in spite of what anyone may have observed to the contrary, Confederation remains imposed on them by force, not by choice. They claim Confederation threatens the survival of the French community as a distinct cultural entity. Let us not forget that the majority of people in Quebec do not hold that position, even today.

While I agree with the Premier (Mr. Davis) that May 20 is potentially the gravest day in Canadian history since the outbreak of hostilities in 1939, it is nevertheless the result of a minority viewpoint that has managed to get itself entrenched in power in the government of Quebec. Most reasonable people of goodwill, on the contrary, believe the hope for the future lies in working towards unity, solidarity, peace and understanding. Many people, and I am among them, believe the history of this country, far from being one of unjust exploitation, is by and large the story of people working quietly and peacefully to find links and overcome the tensions caused by national and racial differences.

9:50 p.m.

Monsieur le Président, je suis sûr que je ne suis pas le seul dans cette Assemblée à le trouver difficile de m'exprimer sur ce sujet —la désintégration possible d'un pays, mon pays, la terre qui m'a vu naître, la terre où mes ancêtres se sont installés il y a plus que trois siècles, la terre où j'ai vu grandir et mûrir mes enfants dans la paix et l'abondance.

Monsieur le Président, les séparatistes répondront que les Français du Canada vivent dans un état d'humiliation à cause de leur statut minoritaire. Dans une ancienne colonie britannique, ils prétendront qu'aux yeux du monde ils n'atteindront jamais la maturité en tant que collectivité tant qu'ils n'auront pas réussi leur statut d'Etat.

Je crois plutôt que la maturité se manifeste par une capacité de s'entendre avec les autres peuples, de vivre en paix avec eux.

Les pères de la Confédération ont bien vu les avantages de la possibilité d'une coexistence paisible de divers peuples. Des hommes comme Louis Lafontaine, Joseph Hull, George Cartier et John Macdonald sont assis autour de la table de négociation pour arriver en paix, et pour la première fois dans l'histoire, aux compromis politiques nécessaires pour résoudre le problème difficile et frustrant d'arracher une colonie de la mère-patrie.

Sans provoquer une violente révolution, nos pères ont réussi à élaborer des nouvelles structures. Ils ont légué au 20^e siècle le Commonwealth, l'une des quelques organisations internationales qui a réussi à fonctionner dans un monde libre.

Les pères de la Confédération savaient très bien qu'en Europe de nombreux groupes luttèrent pour créer des états nationalistes, fondés sur une notion de race. Ils savaient qu'ils mettaient maintenant sur pied quelque chose de nouveau. Ils ont cherché un terme approprié pour décrire ce nouvel Etat. Certains ont vu dans le terme "Canadien" une

nouvelle nationalité. Sir Georges Cartier parlait d'une qualité politique.

Our Confederation was based on a new nationality which sprang, not from racial or cultural inheritance, but from allegiance to virtues that go beyond barriers. My ancestry landed in Canada over 310 years ago and for some 160 years my family has lived in Upper Canada, which is now Ontario.

I do not know whether it was a moccasin route at that time, but my great-great-grandfather moved into Glengarry and he married a MacDonnell. His first language was Gaelic and French, long before he could speak English. My grandfather could speak better Gaelic than he could French or English. My father could speak Gaelic, French and English.

Unfortunately, it is a forgotten art in the county of Glengarry today, but nevertheless, these people who did not have the opportunities that we have today had something about them which enabled them to get along and live together in harmony. Today, with our better standard of education and when everything should be in favour of understanding, it seems we are drifting apart.

The idea that our country was founded on belief in toleration and with dialogue is something that could reconcile social, cultural and religious plurality with political unity. Perhaps it was the spirit behind that dialogue that ensured that we could become a country with no history of violence. To my mind separatism, no matter what claims it may make in the direction of liberating the creative energy of a supposedly oppressed people, speaks of unhappy things. It is a negative prognosis for human history. Separatism says that even though by and large we have lived in peace, that is not good enough, we must go for more.

The Bible tells us, "Blessed are the peacemakers." Many men and women who will act as peacemakers are going to be needed. Surely, no matter how many generations it may take us to get there, as a species the ideal situation for humanity is to live in a world where people live in co-operation, in brotherhood, with bonds akin to those of a family linking them together. Surely, we in Canada have in fact made a giant step towards achieving that. I find it very sad that some of my own countrymen disregard this achievement.

Mr. Ruston: Mr. Speaker, it is a great honour for me to participate in the Confederation debate taking place in this chamber. Let me begin by saying that I am proud to be a Canadian. That is a phrase we have already heard often this week, but it bears repeating. As Canadians I include all of us who worked and fought to establish our identity in this

vast and sometimes harsh land. I include those who were born in this country and those who chose this country as a place to raise their children and develop their lives. I include the unemployed men and women struggling to maintain an existence as well as successful businessmen running from project to project. Most of all, though, I think of the average working man or woman in our country, for it is this group to which I belong and it is to this group I wish to make my appeal.

We have had, from some of those who have been speaking in the last two days, a very interesting debate. After listening to what the previous speaker just said, I guess our family could be considered newcomers to this country. I think my great grandfather moved into Essex County in 1830. He came across the Detroit River to what is now Amherstburg. We settled in the county and ever since have engineered, built and grown with the county. From being lumber mill operators—I happen to have a grandfather who built one of the first threshing machines used in south western Ontario—we have grown with the growth of Canada in Essex county.

For many years now all Canadians have debated and discussed just what it means to be a Canadian. Strongly influenced by our neighbours to the south, we have tended to lose sight of the means by which this country was formed and the understanding that was to be the source of our unity. It has been stated that Confederation was brought about to safeguard the permanence and to promote the expansion of two national cultures. The British North America Act of 1867 dealt with this reality by dividing powers between the federal government and the provincial governments. The provinces were given jurisdiction over cultural matters as well as in education, but both these areas were accepted as vital to maintain Quebec's destiny for the French culture. Also, Quebec was allowed to use a civil code of law rather than the English common law that the rest of the country used.

10 p.m.

All these provisions resulted from an agreed-upon and accepted cultural duality in Canada. Compromises had to be made so that both cultures could develop and grow. However, time has shown us that the British North America Act did not settle all our conflicts. Federal government involvement in areas previously deemed to be provincially affected the independence of the province, thus seeming to threaten the French-Canadian culture and identity.

It is important to note that Quebec was not the only province that objected to deeper federal involvement, but as a result of its cultural concerns was for some time the loudest in its protests. However, it is really only within the last 20 years that problems have developed which the present constitution cannot adequately settle. Conflicts over energy pricing and policy, concerns about shared-cost programs and the perennial question of areas of jurisdiction have put us in a position in which a renewed federalism is legitimately sought.

To be fair, the federal government has not been totally insensitive to the changing needs of the provinces. Both the white paper published in 1978, entitled *A Time for Action Towards the Renewal of the Canadian Federation*, and the 1979 Task Force on Canadian Unity report made recommendations which were designed to renew our federation by eliminating hostilities between regions and cultures, and forging a constitution more attuned to today's needs. Both reports stated that a bill of rights and liberties should be entrenched into the constitution. I believe this is clearly needed, in order to guarantee the right to freedom and liberty as well as to protect the vulnerability of minority groups.

Both reports stated that the Senate should be abolished and suggested that the division of powers between the federal and provincial governments should be clarified to state clearly the powers of the provinces and the central government. Both reports were the topic of much discussion. What made them particularly relevant and vitally important to all Canadians was the fact that Quebec, for the first time in its history, was governed by a party whose aim was the separation of Quebec from the rest of Canada. On November 15, 1976, when the Parti Quebecois was elected, we had reached a stage in our history when we could no longer delay dealing with the inadequacies of our present constitution.

Now, less than four years later, a critical point has been reached in this process. The people of Quebec are being asked to decide whether they wish to take a giant step along the road to separation. Indeed, when Premier Levesque speaks of negotiating sovereignty-association we know what he really means, separation. Certainly this is a decision that will affect all Canadians.

As a former customs officer on the Canadian border with the United States, I would hope we will never have to have someone working as an immigration and customs officer on the border between Ontario and Quebec.

The case for a renewed federalism has been strongly made. Therefore, we will regard a no vote as a signal to begin the process of renewing Canadian federalism, a process that we are eager to undertake with Quebec, the other provinces and the federal government.

Claude Ryan, the leader of the Liberal Party in Quebec and the head of the no committee, has also presented a proposal to the people of Quebec and the rest of Canada. Though not in total agreement with the federal papers presented, he starts from the premise that a renewed federalism is needed in this country. The no committee agrees on the need for a bill of rights entrenched in the constitution.

It agrees on a need for a redefinition of the Senate structure, aiming for greater provincial involvement. It agrees on a need for a clarification of the division of powers between the federal and provincial governments. Most important of all, it has provided a basis for discussion with the rest of the country with federalism as the core.

As stated in Ryan's proposal, the Canadian federal framework provides Quebec with two major advantages: the chance to develop freely in accordance with its own nature, and at the same time participate, without renouncing its own identity, in the benefits and challenges of a larger and much richer society.

I believe that comment states the case well. However, it also applies to those of us residing outside Quebec. By understanding and accepting the duality of our country as it was originally intended, we gain immeasurably by our contact with Quebec and all its residents. We remain a country in which the freedom to develop as a people is maintained—a freedom, may I say, that applies to all of us.

The sovereignty-association plan proposed by the Parti Quebecois is a cruel hoax that attempts to disguise the true meaning of the Parti Quebecois program. It is important, therefore, for those of us participating in the Confederation debate this week that we stand up and be counted.

I am a Canadian who feels that Quebec is as vital to this country as Ontario or British Columbia or the Maritimes. I agree that a renewed federalism is a crucial element in the continued development of Canada. I believe we can and indeed must do this together. Today, the cameras are rolling as history is being recorded, but when the lights go down and the referendum is over, the issue will still not be settled. We must be prepared to deal with the realities of Canada in the years ahead.

I am prepared, as an average man, as a member of the Ontario Legislature, to continue to remain involved in the cause of federalism. I know that I speak for the people I represent in Essex North when I say that it matters to me what happens to this country. If this message in any small way affects the outcome of the referendum later this month, I will feel extremely proud. I believe that to care is to be involved. Therefore, I am not afraid to say today that I care.

Mr. Swart: I must start my comments, Mr. Speaker, by saying that I, like everyone else in this House, desperately want to keep this nation intact. I cherish the Canadian uniqueness of the two founding and continuing cultures, augmented over the years by cultures of so many other immigrant groups.

The area I represent probably far exceeds the average in Ontario in the percentage of its identifiable French community and the mosaic of its ethnic groups, but there can hardly be a village, town, city or rural area where the citizens do not recognize and experience the tremendous cultural, linguistic and economic richness provided by this composition of diverse national origins in this province.

In the face of the current crisis, it's also well to remember the natural wealth of this nation. Though this wealth has not reached its potential because of economic mismanagement, this still is a nation that has more resources per capita than any other in the world, bar none.

With economic planning and with fair sharing, together we can have the highest standard of living in the world! that is the future together. But if we divide, we in Ontario and the people in Quebec and in all the rest of Canada will suffer dramatic economic, cultural and social consequences. What I have said is trite, but it is true.

10:10 p.m.

There are three or four somewhat disconnected observations I want to make quickly before dealing with the main issue I am going to cover. First, even with the best of intentions on all sides, there is no way Quebec can separate without extreme bitterness and hostility being created. Trying to reach agreement on division of assets and liabilities by itself could produce a massive confrontation. For instance, how is the national debt of some \$70 billion going to be divided? How would one divide the equity in Canadian National Railways or in Air Canada or a thousand other things? I would

admit that a new constitution, a revised constitution, is going to be really difficult to bring about, but it would not be nearly so difficult as the problems involved in separating Quebec from this nation.

If Quebec separates it is unlikely the nine other provinces will continue as one nation. The geographical division between the maritime provinces and the rest of Canada would be too large an obstacle to overcome. There is the real possibility some or all of the remaining provinces would become part of the United States.

I want to say, as many others have said, this first referendum is the key to what happens with Quebec. It is simply wishful thinking by Ontarians or Quebecers to interpret a yes vote as just authority for the Levesque government to negotiate a better deal for his province. Levesque's intent is to separate, and a yes vote is the first major step on the way. From then on, his hands will be on the controls.

If the federal government and the other provinces refuse to negotiate sovereignty-association, as our resolution here states we will—and I support that resolution if sovereignty-association is interpreted as separation—he will be able to say to the Quebecois, "We can't get anything unless we separate. You will have to vote yes on the second referendum too." Even if there is some form of negotiation, as I hope there will be, the first yes vote will be the base for impossible demands by the current Quebec Premier. Refusal to meet them will again be portrayed by Levesque as the need for the second yes vote. From the first yes vote on, the scenario will not only favour him, he will plan and control it.

I suspect our debate this week will not have any great impact on the May 20 vote in Quebec. I share with the member for York South (Mr. MacDonald) and the member for Wentworth (Mr. Isaacs) the feeling we should have been doing this, taking part in these sorts of debates, two or three years ago and last year as well as now. But it is an effort we must make at the present time, even though it should have been done before, and make as effectively as possible.

While not telling the Quebecois how to vote, we must make sure they know we want them as full partners in this nation, that we are willing to make the changes so that they can achieve their legitimate culture and linguistic aims within this nation, and that we will assure they can function and feel at home from Bonavista to Vancouver Island.

There is a real need for those of us who may be of Anglo-Saxon extraction to expand our sensitivity and recognition of the meaning and the value to the French and to the ethnic groups as well, of their language, their culture, their traditions. Revisions to the constitution must provide the framework and the obligation to maintain and strengthen those qualities.

Needless to say, the all-party select committee set up by the resolution before us is going to have a tremendously important and time-consuming task, perhaps more so than any other committee of this Legislature during this century. I would anticipate and urge that among its many responsibilities the committee must visit and consult with every geographic section and cultural group in the province. It must create a highly participatory process, for it won't just be the federal constitution under review. By the very nature of things, we will be adjusting the provincial jurisdictions, the policies and the attitudes of people in our society as well.

There is not one of us in this Legislature, I am sure, who doesn't feel our first obligation is to Canada, to keep it intact. This supersedes, although it is complementary to, our provincial and constituent responsibilities.

We realize we are all going to be hurt if Canada breaks up, but if Quebec should secede there is one group that is going to be hurt more than any other. Those are the francophones in this nation outside of Quebec. For the sake of the 500,000 in Ontario and the 1.5 million or so in Canada, our efforts in keeping Canada united must not be anything less than successful.

Canadians are as tolerant towards one another, I suggest, as the people in any other nation, but it is inevitable that some of the bitterness against a Quebec that separates would spill over to the Franco-Canadians in the rest of Canada. My guess is there will be no violence, but the warmth that currently exists will be cooled substantially. However, it will not be from animosity that francophones will suffer most in the rest of Canada; it will simply be because they have lost their clout.

A new Canada without Quebec, if one exists, won't be a bilingual nation. The francophone services which have been provided outside of Quebec, often belatedly and reluctantly, have come about largely for four reasons. First, there has been a recognition of constitutional implications, perhaps even constitutional law. Second, there have been pressures from Quebec mostly indirect; third, relating to the minority anglophone population in Quebec with similar needs of the

francophones here and, fourth, political voting clout in the respective provinces.

If Quebec goes, all but the fourth leverage disappears. Because of the fewer numbers of francophones and the greater numbers of the ethnic groups in many provinces, such as the Italians in Ontario, which are at least now equal to the French population, the clout will not be sufficient to maintain present French services let alone produce new ones. Surely the French fact in a Canada without Quebec will be nonexistence.

This has been recognized by the francophones outside of Quebec. A Canadian Press story from Gravelbourg, Saskatchewan, carried in the St. Catharines Standard, April 26, 1980, says this in part:

"Gravelbourg, Sask. (CP)—This community, sometimes called the French capital of Saskatchewan, is only beginning to wake up to the May 20 referendum in Quebec now the polls suggest a yes vote could result." I skip some passages here and go on:

"While that would be only a mandate to negotiate, Mayor Dauphinais, a lawyer, agreed many English-Canadians would see it as a vote for separatism. 'Without a large French population in Canada, Gravelbourg will find it hard to maintain its character. About 70 per cent of the estimated 1,500 residents consider French their mother tongue,' he said.

"Real Forest, director of College Matthieu, a local resident French high school, said: 'We are a part of a substantial minority. If Quebec ever separates, we will become a very insignificant minority.'

"A group of Forest's students were split in what they hoped to see come out of the referendum. While some wanted a yes vote to lead to a revamped Confederation, others feared it would lead to Quebec separating and their community being lost in the shuffle. But there was general agreement that other Canadians need to be more aware how much language means to those who speak French."

That story and that fear can be repeated in almost every French community in nine provinces of this nation. It has been a long uphill fight to get even minimal francophone services in all of these provinces, except New Brunswick, which has by and large provided equality.

With Quebec separation the life support devices for the francophones will quickly or gradually, but inevitably, be shut off. Let me make it clear that this is not my wish nor the wish of this party, but it is unfortunately a realistic assessment and a realistic assessment by the francophones in the rest of this nation.

10:20 p.m.

I want to enumerate some of these crucial public services now in place, and use Welland as an example. The Unemployment Insurance Commission and Canada Manpower Centre provide a full service in French. So does Canada Post. There is a French library. The local sales tax office is bilingual in both written and oral service. Many hospital services are provided in French. Certain workers in the family benefits section of the Ministry of Community and Social Services are French-speaking, as well in the children's aid society. In addition, the city of Welland provides many municipal services in French.

Most critical to the perpetuation of the French community, of course, are the French schools. Between the public and the separate school boards there are six standard elementary schools, one senior and one secondary French school. Some of these schools service something more than the Welland area; even more important, they service more than the traditional francophone community. Children from any national background are accepted into the system, provided they have the minimum facility in French.

About a year ago, I was invited to attend a protest meeting because the school board proposed to cut off French immersion in kindergarten. It wasn't a French school, and hardly a parent there was French. In fact, the parents were English with a large smattering of Italian, Hungarian and other ethnic backgrounds. There were about 100 of them present. Parent after parent rose to say they had been hesitant at first about their children being enrolled in the immersion French course, but after visiting the school classes and seeing their children so interested and adaptable and, yes, even so fluent at five years of age, they were enthusiastic about continuing the course and the school board backed down.

The goal of those parents was that their children go to one of the French elementary schools after kindergarten or continue the immersion course there so they would become fully bilingual adults. I say to the people of this province today, are we prepared to see these programs go by the board? Don't we realize we have a fuller and more meaningful society because of the French presence?

I believe we, as legislators of this province, have an obligation to the francophone community in Ontario to continue and to enhance these services. We have an obligation to the francophone constituents and the other constituents in our ridings who realize

the worth of bilingualism and multiculturalism as a dimension of our community.

Finally, the most effective way we can accomplish this and maintain this is through the kind of resolution we are going to pass here on Friday, and all other sorts of efforts to make a workable constitution and persuade Quebec to continue to be part of this nation.

On motion by Mr. G. Taylor, the debate was adjourned.

Mr. Speaker: Under standing order 28, the member for Wentworth (Mr. Isaacs) has expressed his dissatisfaction with the answer to a question asked earlier of the Minister of the Environment (Mr. Parrott). I will hear the honourable member for up to five minutes.

LIQUID INDUSTRIAL WASTE

Mr. Isaacs: Mr. Speaker, I asked that this matter be debated on adjournment today because I believe the Minister of the Environment was missing the impact of the supplementary question that I posed to him this afternoon because of some confusion that had been put into his mind by the question that was originally asked by the member for Hamilton West, the Leader of the Opposition (Mr. S. Smith).

I believe the original question contained some misinterpretation of the situation as it at present exists, which could do nothing but get the Minister of the Environment on the wrong track. When I posed my supplementary question to him, I think he was still somewhat confused by the situation in which he found himself. I hope he will now have had the opportunity to review the supplementary I put to him, and will answer that supplementary in the direct way in which I hoped I would get an answer.

I want to add to that supplementary to ensure that the minister is up to date on the information I requested of him. I'm not sure whether he realized at the time he was answering that the solidification plant at the Upper Ottawa Street landfill site is now being reopened by the regional municipality of Hamilton-Wentworth. That action has been taken very recently and is in response to a situation which exists in the city of Hamilton, where, according to the minister's own figures, something close to half a million gallons of liquid industrial waste are being produced every month.

In January 1980 a total of 411,000 gallons of liquid industrial waste was generated in the area of the city of Hamilton. In December 1979 the figure was 546,000 gallons. The

solidification plant was operating under a permit from the Ministry of the Environment that the minister described this afternoon. That permit was the topic of many press releases that came from the office of the Leader of the Opposition, including one that appeared on April 30 1980 consisting of 26 pages of review of past history, and wrapping up with a call for a judicial inquiry, a call which that honourable member has made on a number of occasions. In my view, while it was something that could be undertaken, it is not something that would go anywhere to solving the very serious problems that exist for the people who live in the immediate vicinity of the Upper Ottawa Street landfill site.

But there have been millions of gallons of liquid industrial waste going into that site over the past years. The Minister of the Environment, through his ministry, was responsible for closing down the magic box in December 1978. That problem is now fortunately behind us, though I do believe it is absolutely essential that we put mechanisms in place to ensure that it can never happen again.

I asked in my supplementary question that we put mechanisms in place to ensure that the public can find out at any time what it is that is going into that landfill site. We have seen the hundreds of thousands of gallons of various chemicals going into that site, and we have found in recent months that there may have been other similar problems at the Upper Ottawa Street site, but we really don't have access to information about them.

In summing up, I want to quote very quickly from a letter from the president of Frontenac Chemical Waste Service Limited, dated April 18, 1980, with regard to the reopening of the solidification process. In it, the president said: "The mixing tank currently on the site" currently being in April 1980—"will be replaced with a new one. The old one is leaking." That's the kind of problem we have at Upper Ottawa Street.

Mr. Speaker: The honourable member's time has expired.

Mr. Isaacs: That's the kind of problem I hope the minister can respond to.

Hon. Mr. Parrott: I'll try to be direct in response. I think we could do it better in estimates, and they're soon upon us. Surely the member accepts that the region does operate the site. Agreed? I'd like a little dialogue, but just a nod of the head would suffice.

Having agreed that they run the site, a good deal of the information would come from them. Second, I can tell the member

that any operation of that solidification process will be on a very short-term basis. If there is any doubt in the member's mind that this might go on he can forget it.

10:30 p.m.

As soon as the other solidification processes are in place we will close that site down. It might reopen on another occasion after it has gone through a full environmental assessment, but not before. We are insisting that any treatment facilities in this province that will receive a certificate of approval must receive that only after a full environmental assessment. We are closing down the past operations. They do have a certificate there for the landfill site that expires at the end of June. They have a new site about to come on stream.

There might be, of necessity, an extension on a short-term basis again—I am talking about a very short term—of that landfill site. If the region, in its wisdom, choose to have the solidification process go on past the June 30 date, I suspect our ministry would not object. But I want it unconditionally understood that solidification project at the Upper Ottawa Street landfill site has a very limited life.

I hope that confirms and assures the member that the solidification process at the Upper Ottawa Street landfill site has a very limited life. Is the member relatively satisfied with that aspect of it, that he knows it has a limited life, it is very short term?

Mr. Isaacs: That is a start.

Hon. Mr. Parrott: If the member wants information about the amount of material going into that site for solidification purposes, I think he should get that from the region.

We will have a waybill system that will be able to track the waste, but by the time the member gets that information back I believe the site will have closed. If we were talking about a two- or three-year operation then I could understand what the member is saying and at least agree with him. But we are not. It will be finished, completed, done. I do not think in that short term he will really have too many concerns, nor do the residents of that area have any concerns.

Mr. Isaacs: But there is waste from outside the region going in there now.

Hon. Mr. Parrott: That is something the region can choose to control. The region has that power and if it wishes to enforce it, God bless. I will not object.

I would conclude simply by saying that eventually we are going to need facilities to treat our liquid waste. We are going to have

to have support from all sides of the House, because if we do not then I guess it will be time for me to start asking some questions rather than always trying to answer them. The really important question that must be asked is this: Do the members want the environment of this province, as great as it is right now—I do not mean the member personally, and I do not mean his party personally—destroyed because we have not accepted treatment facilities? That is the question that is going to have to be asked of all of us in the very near future. I hope the members will support solidification processes through

the full environmental assessment hearings. The members should come and hear and then make up their minds.

Mr. Speaker: Before we leave, the following members have indicated they would like to participate in the debate tomorrow:

Mr. G. Taylor, Mr. F. S. Miller, Mr. Riddell, Mr. Bounsall, Mr. McMurtry, Mr. Sweeney, Mr. Martel, Mr. Sterling, Mr. McGuigan, Mr. Samis, Mr. Brunelle, Mr. Eakins, Mr. Warner, Miss Stephenson and Mr. Mancini.

The House adjourned at 10:34 p.m.

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No. 42

Legislature of Ontario Debates


Official Report (Hansard)

Fourth Session, 31st Parliament

Wednesday, May 7, 1980

Speaker: Honourable John E. Stokes

Clerk: Roderick Lewis, QC



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Hansard subscription price is \$15.00 per session, from: Sessional Subscription Service, Printing Services Branch, Ministry of Government Services, 9th Floor, Ferguson Block, Parliament Buildings, Toronto M7A 1N3. Phone 965-2238.

Published by the Legislature of the Province of Ontario.
Editor of Debates: Peter Brannan.

LEGISLATURE OF ONTARIO

WEDNESDAY, MAY 7, 1980

The House met at 2 p.m.

Prayers.

ORDERS OF THE DAY

DEBATE ON CONFEDERATION

(continued)

Resuming the adjourned debate on the constitutional resolution.

Hon. F. S. Miller: Mr. Speaker, I am delighted to speak to the members of this Legislature and to Canadians everywhere about the future of my country. As Treasurer and Minister of Economics I will naturally talk about the economic benefits of Confederation, but I want to begin on a more personal note.

I lived in Quebec for nine years. I visit there often. I was married there. I feel at home in Quebec, both with the land and with the people. I want to continue to make those visits as a Canadian, mingling with Canadians.

Je porte dans ma mémoire des images de cette province et de ce peuple. Ces images remontent à quand j'avais 15 ans et quand je me promenais dans les montagnes de St-Sauveur-des-Montagnes, alors que je travaillais au Young Men's Christian Association. C'est à ce moment-là que j'ai appris mes premiers mots de français, que je les ai prononcés avec hésitation et avec une mauvaise prononciation.

J'ai également des images de quand j'étais étudiant à McGill University, pendant ma première année à St-Jean d'Iberville sur la rivière Richelieu. C'est là où j'ai eu mes premiers contacts quotidiens avec les Québécois dans leur propre langue. Et c'est là où j'ai appris à aimer et à respecter leur joie de vivre et leur amitié.

Une autre image est celle de mon premier voyage à ma nouvelle maison à Arvida au Québec, alors que je conduisais à travers les montagnes sur la route 54, à travers le magnifique Parc des Laurentides au nord de la ville de Québec.

Les souvenirs des grands sapins couverts de neige me rappellent les mots de cette chanson québécoise,

Mon pays, ce n'est pas un pays
C'est l'hiver.

Mon jardin, ce n'est pas un jardin
C'est la plaine.

Mon chemin, ce n'est pas un chemin
C'est la neige.

Mon pays, ce n'est pas un pays
C'est l'hiver.

De mon grand pays solitaire, je crie
Avant que de me taire,

A tous les hommes de la terre
Ma maison c'est votre maison.

Entre ces quatre murs de glace
Je mets mon temps et mon espace

A préparer le feu, la place
Pour les humains de l'horizon.

Et les humains sont de ma race.

Pour que notre pays survive, il faut que tous les Canadiens croient en son avenir. Il survivra parce qu'on est fier d'être Canadien.

As Canadians, we are allowed to share in a richness that cannot be measured in dollars and cents. I am speaking of our cultures, our languages, our unique view of the world. These have been nourished by our history and guaranteed by our national will and our economic strength as a nation. Break us apart, and we all lose. That is reality, no matter what we hear in the war of statistics.

Canada is more than a simple sum of costs and benefits. It is more than a language. It is an affection for and understanding of the land and the people, developed through generations. It is history and traditions. I believe these traditions forge much stronger links between us than our differences.

Quebecois and Ontarians fought for responsible government in 1837. We worked together for Confederation in 1867. We now face an uncertain future. Change is inevitable and necessary for all of us, but can there be co-operation and friendship in a country that has been divided? No. Just as Quebecois want change, Ontarians do too. But we want it done within Confederation and with Quebec.

In helping that change occur, we in Ontario, like Quebecois, have a special role to play. That is to a large degree because of our close and long-standing relationship with the people of Quebec. We are neighbours in the valley of the St. Lawrence. Ontarians and Quebecers have shared in the development

and growth of Canada. As the needs and aspirations of our people in Canada have changed, we here have accepted and endorsed the need for constitutional change. There is a basis for change within Confederation. There is a deeply felt commitment to our Canada and to understanding each other.

As Sir John A. Macdonald once said, our country is a triumph of politics over geography. He could have added, and over economics. But perhaps our true feelings and our commitment to change have not been understood in Quebec because we have exhibited our normal reticence here in Ontario about expressing our strong emotional feelings about our country and its future.

As I listened to speaker after speaker in the last few days saying sometimes the things I am trying to say, it struck me that perhaps for the first time we here were trying to express our feelings as a group and perhaps repetition is a very important part of this process.

I am talking about a continuing process of change in Canada—not just a new suit of clothes, but a new style of dressing. Canada is going to survive as a nation because we accept each of our founding nations' rights and aspirations and because we accept the need and inevitability of the change in these rights and aspirations.

Je ne dis pas qu'il n'y aura pas de discussions futures, que l'engagement des Québécois envers le Canada dans une référendum réglera tous les problèmes. Non. Nous sommes beaucoup trop réalistes ici pour croire ça: d'ailleurs vous l'êtes également au Québec.

La guerre des chiffres peut continuer, et continuer, et continuer. Les ministres peuvent se lever et refuter d'autres ministres avec d'autres statistiques. L'Ontario peut prouver qu'il le Québec perdra plus d'emplois que l'Ontario s'il se sépare. Mais qu'est-ce que ça signifie? En fait, nous serons tous perdants avec un Québec indépendant et un Canada séparé et divisé. Mais il y a autre chose qui est beaucoup plus difficile à décrire qui sera perdue avec une séparation, et ce sont les liens qui existent entre les citoyens et les liens qui existent entre les régions. Je dis ça parce que nous avons présentement un pays qui est viable et prospère économiquement et qui serait affaibli par le souveraineté-association. Séparer le Québec du Canada ne pourra permettre que de limiter l'économie du Québec. Toutes ces discussions de changements constitutionnels, de gains et de pertes économiques ne signifieront rien quand viendra le moment où les Québécois devront faire leur choix le 20 mai.

Ce qui comptera, c'est qu'ils ressentent profondément leur engagement à leur identités canadienne et québécoise, et qu'ils sentent qu'ils sont désirés, qu'ils sont nécessaires, et qu'ils sont protégés à l'intérieur de l'économie canadienne.

2:10 p.m.

I love my country. I do not want to change it through division. I want the people of Quebec to know that I respect and accept their culture and their language. I want them to know that I believe we are all richer for that culture and language and that I will do what I can, as a Canadian citizen, to protect them, knowing that they in turn will protect my rights as they have done in the past when I lived in that province.

Je fais appel à tous les Canadiens de prendre la voie plus élevée de la compréhension et de l'amitié, pour que tous les Québécois sachent que le pays a besoin d'eux, pour que ce pays soit plus prospère et plus épanoui, et je veux qu'ils sachent que, s'ils votent non le 20 mai, ça ne signifiera pas que le reste du Canada se détendra et croira que le danger est passé et qu'on peut les ignorer.

Je veux qu'ils sachent qu'à ce moment-là, en tant que frères canadiens, nous travaillerons ensemble pour régler les nombreux problèmes des dix provinces canadiennes dans la coopération et dans l'unité.

I am going to repeat those last few words again in English. I appeal to all Canadians to take the higher road of understanding and friendship, to let Quebecois know that our country needs them in it to be the great place it is. I want them to know that if they vote no on May 20, it does not mean that the rest of Canada will suddenly take them for granted and say, "The danger is past; let's ignore them." I want them to know that we will then, as fellow Canadians, work together to solve the many problems of the 10 Canadian provinces in co-operation and in unity.

Mr. Riddell: Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to have this opportunity to participate in the Confederation debate and to start my remarks by saying that I am not only proud to be a Canadian, but I am also proud to be a Canadian farmer. It should not come as any surprise that I am going to talk about the farmer and sovereignty-association. I wish to pay recognition to a former leader of a strong national farm organization, Mr. Gleave, for contributing to the thoughts which I wish to express at this crucial time in our history.

Canada is one of the most fortunate countries in the world today when it comes to

food production. There are only four countries in the world that export more food than they import, and we are one of those countries. We have five times more farm land per capita in Canada than the world average. Although we have only about three per cent of the farm land, we produce up to six per cent of the world's wheat and barley, almost 12 per cent of the oats and a solid two per cent of the meat and milk.

There is no question that agriculture is the backbone of the Canadian economy. Canada produces almost 100 per cent of the pork, beef and poultry consumed by Canadians. We are not only self-sufficient in dairy products, but a major exporter as well. Agricultural products account for 12 per cent of Canada's exports. In 1978, it amounted to more than \$5.3 billion.

Agriculture is a common heritage shared by all Canadians regardless of where one lives in this great country. We all know that Alberta has oil, Saskatchewan has potash and Ontario and Quebec have industry, but agriculture has no provincial boundaries. It spans the country and, as such, it represents one very basic and essential thread upon which our nation not only was founded and settled but also continued to grow.

Each region in Canada produces in kind and amount what its soils and weather will permit. Canada is one of the five leading wheat producers in the world and the second largest wheat exporter. Most of this production comes from the Prairies, which contains 79 per cent of Canada's farm land. The annual wheat production of the Prairies of between 600 million and 700 million bushels is approximately three times more than Canadians consume. Potatoes are the most important vegetable crop produced in Canada, and here the maritime provinces are the major producers, accounting for 43 per cent of the Canadian potato harvest. Ontario has specialized crops, such as fruit and vegetables, in the more southerly regions and has, by far, the largest number of commercial livestock farms, as well as being second only to Quebec in the number of dairy farms.

In 1977-78, Quebec produced two billion pounds more of dairy products than it consumed.

In the Atlantic region, mixed farming in general and forage crops support a healthy livestock industry. The Annapolis Valley in Nova Scotia is famous for fruit, particularly apples.

The most westerly region, British Columbia, has only two per cent of its area in

agriculture, but it is Canada's largest producer of apples. The Okanagan Valley is also noted for tree fruits, such as peaches, plums and cherries.

The result of this production, for the country as a whole, is a range of agricultural products that satisfies practically all the food requirements of the Canadian people. The fact that Canadians spend only about 14 per cent of their income on the food they eat at home is a big tribute to how good our entire food system is in Canada.

The Canadian farmer is perhaps the most unifying common force throughout this land. It was the farmers who first settled this country. Agriculture, and the agricultural way of life, have provided the stabilizing and constructive force in society. Canadian farmers and Canadian agriculture make up a vital part of the fabric of what we call Canada.

We have every nationality represented. We have the Irish, the English, the French, the Germans, the Dutch, the Ukrainians, the Jewish people and most other nationalities. All of them speak one language, and that language is food. No matter whether you are talking to a Quebec farmer, an Ontario farmer, or an Albertan, they all have similar concerns. They are worried about bad weather at harvest time, rising inflation, high input costs, low prices and the increasing difficulty of making farming a profitable business.

No matter how tough times may be, however, the farmer will fight to keep his farm because it is still the best way of life.

Within Canada, the gradual move from free agricultural trade to managed trade has raised the farmer from the poverty level, but the transition has been a difficult one. It could be even more difficult to hold the gains if Canada divides into associated states.

In developing the option of sovereignty-association, the Parti Quebecois and the Quebec government have been talking mostly about maintaining the high level of merchandise and other trade between Quebec and Ontario. There has been occasional mention of the interest of the west, in particular, in retaining agricultural markets in Quebec under sovereignty-association in return for western markets for Quebec manufacturers.

In terms of a few major products, let us take a look at what the option might mean to the farmers of Canada and what adjustments might have to be made.

We are a country of 23 million people, and that is small as a consumer market for agricultural produce as for other things. Public policy has responded with federal marketing commissions and agencies charged with

sharing the available market opportunity for much of our Canadian farm production.

The Canadian Dairy Commission, for example, was created in the early 1960s and administers a system of market sharing between producers and provinces across the country.

At Confederation, agriculture was a resource to be exploited. As it developed, it would provide markets for Canadian manufactured goods protected by the tariffs. It would provide exports to complement the fish, fur and lumber of earlier economic development. It would provide manpower for military forces if it should become necessary to protect the country against the United States. Creating a pool of manpower for defence has been part of the purpose of agricultural settlement right back to the early times of New France.

We have moved forward to ideas that give farmers a larger say in what agriculture is about.

In the Quebec white paper, for a new deal between equals, we read that Quebec "will insist that the protection and development of its agricultural production be the object of special agreements. Finally, the two states will take the necessary steps to guarantee free competition within their market and will abstain from any discriminatory fiscal measures towards each other's products."

How that statement can be reconciled within itself, I leave to its authors. The real problem in building the sort of association that is talked about would come in the adjustments that have to be made.

Free competition combined with mechanization in the post-war years resulted in disastrously low incomes for dairy farmers in Canada. That is why the dairy commission was created. The national agency brought market sharing and price stability.

2:20 p.m.

In 1978, Quebec supplied 48 per cent of the industrial milk market. Of the subsidy of more than \$250 million paid by Canadians to the dairy industry, almost one half went to Quebec farmers, in line with their production. Under the new association, within the narrow market that is Canada, it is unlikely that 48 per cent of the dairy markets could be left in the hands of a foreign country. Some adjustment would have to be made for sharing the market and cutting back the cost of subsidies.

Farmers on both sides of the sovereignty line would find it painful. The white paper complains that not sufficient effort was made towards expanding dairy exports for the

benefit of the Quebec farmer. But as the federal Minister of Agriculture (Mr. Whelan) has said, it is difficult to increase exports of powdered milk in the face of the surplus conditions of recent years.

Canada has developed national marketing schemes for eggs, chickens and turkey broilers. The reason is the same as for dairy products: a limited market that has to be shared Canada-wide if production is to be distributed across the country. It took time and effort; it was not easy. But eventually the necessary legislation was put in place, federally and provincially, and associations of producers worked out procedures.

With Quebec out, the fabric will be torn. How would it be put together again? Will all the provinces be ready to share part of the remaining Canadian market for eggs, chicken and turkey broilers, and dairy products, for which export markets outside Canada are either very limited or nonexistent?

Quebec farmers, like all Canadian farmers, have benefited from the market-sharing agencies. At times there are breakdowns in the present system. At the moment, for example, Alberta producers are refusing to join a national agency to market chicken broilers because they see an advantage in keeping the expanding provincial market to themselves.

The problem for Quebec, after it had separated, would be to deal with a central Canadian government, whose authority and power over the remaining provinces would have been weakened by the very act of separation.

If a province like Alberta is today unwilling to sacrifice local advantage for co-operative sharing, it would be much less likely to accept the products of a foreign Quebec into a then much smaller Canadian market. Ontario farmers, with the largest urban market for farm production, could claim with reason that their local markets should not be exposed to unrestricted penetration from a Quebec which was outside Confederation.

With only two nations bargaining, one on one, there would not be the balance of several countries with a community of interests and vast consumer markets, as there is in the European Economic Community.

The white paper charges that Quebec has been made the victim of the grain trade, that production of feed grain in Quebec has been discouraged so that western grain producers may have an advantage. But do the facts bear out that contention?

Western feed grain was shipped into Quebec and the Maritimes and eastern On-

tario during the Second World War as part of a policy to increase food production in eastern Canada and to supply Great Britain and the armed forces. Federal transport subsidies were paid on feed grains. At the same time, however, subsidies were paid on fertilizers and lime to encourage farmers in those regions to increase their own production of cereal and forage crops. The transport subsidies on grain were continued after the war, largely at the insistence of dealers and livestock and poultry producers in Quebec and the Maritimes.

The Canadian Livestock Feed Board was established under the Department of Agriculture to ensure feed supplies and services to Quebec and the eastern provinces. Freight subsidies have been reduced in recent years. At the same time, the federal government established subsidies to assist Quebec, Ontario and the Maritimes to increase their feed grain production. Over five years, \$48 million was provided to develop grain production, storage and elevator facilities in order to complement provincial efforts to expand local production of feed grain. Of the total, \$33.5 million is going to Quebec, \$13 million to Ontario and \$1.5 million to British Columbia.

In 1976-77, Quebec depended on sources outside the province for 67.1 per cent of its feed supply, compared to 73 per cent in 1972-73. Feed grain production is increasing with the help of provincial subsidies, as well as newly developed cereal and corn varieties. Hog production has grown rapidly in Quebec. The province has replaced Alberta as Canada's second hog producer after Ontario. This would surely indicate that Canada's feed grain policies have not discriminated against Quebec producers.

With feed production also increasing in Quebec, the province is close to the major urban markets in central Canada. Its farmers do not face either tariff or transport barriers. It is difficult to see how the relatively open market operation that now exists could be improved by new political arrangements.

I have attempted to deal with only a few of the many items that would be considered in sovereignty-association negotiations. Agriculture in Canada, in some of its aspects, such as dairy and poultry, has moved past the stage of control at the border through tariff and nontariff barriers. We are in an area of quotas and supply management agencies operating throughout Canada for some products. How or whether these could be adjusted to the sovereignty-association concept is crucial.

The marketing of farm production has been one of the most difficult problems of the common market countries of Europe. Even with their balance in numbers and their huge internal markets, surpluses in dairy products have been unmanageable at times. Millions of dollars have been spent subsidizing exports of milk powder, and more millions on exports of grain. The United States has complained bitterly that the international trade in grain is distorted by the levy and subsidy system used by the European Economic Community to dispose of its surplus grain.

There is no reason to suppose that agricultural arrangements in a Canada divided by a sovereignty-association state would be easier to reach, or more effective when reached. There is reason to believe that the balance of the Canadian association and the sharply different political composition of the two partners, a unitary state and a federation, would make agreements more difficult. The problem for Quebec would be to deal with a central government whose authority and power over the remaining provinces would have been weakened by the very act of separation.

The other provinces, which contain some of the largest urban markets for farm production, could rightly argue that they did not want their local markets to be exposed to a Quebec which was outside of Confederation.

During the past 10 years, Canada has been able to provide agricultural assistance to 72 needy countries. We have established a reputation for ourselves as a leader in the vital task of feeding a hungry world. World population is rising at an annual rate of 2.5 per cent. While it took man more than a million years to reach the one-billion mark, it took only 15 years to reach the four-billion mark, and a world population of five billion is just around the corner. We are entering a decade in which food will be as important an issue as was energy in the 1970s. In the 1980s we will fully appreciate, for the first time, how much of the prosperity of this country we owe to our agricultural base. Countries such as Canada, which manage to produce more food than they consume, will have an increasing role to play in determining future world food security, and a moral role in removing famine from the face of the earth.

It is imperative that the people of Canada stay together and work together, not only for the common good of Canada, but for the very major role which we have to play in bringing about world peace. Sovereignty-association is not in the best interest of Quebec or Canada. We stand firm in our resolve that we will not

negotiate sovereignty-association and that we will regard a no vote as a signal to begin the process of renewing Canadian federalism, a process that we are eager to undertake with Quebec, the other provinces and the federal government.

Mr. Bounsall: Mr. Speaker, I rise to address this assembly this afternoon very conscious of both the unique opportunity and awesome responsibility that we, as legislators of Ontario, now have to make our contribution to preserving the unity of Canada.

I fully endorse the first major clause of the resolution here before this chamber: "That we the Legislative Assembly of Ontario commit ourselves, as our highest priority, to support full negotiation of a new constitution to satisfy the diverse aspirations of all Canadians and to replace the status quo which is clearly unacceptable."

In this high resolve to which we are committing ourselves, this debate is the beginning, the first tentative step. But I feel pessimistic; I think it is too late to influence the outcome of the referendum vote in Quebec, and our actions here in Ontario in the past and, indeed, to this day, have been too little and too grudgingly taken

2:30 p.m.

The Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs said in the opening address of this debate: "Actions and deeds are more important than words." If we hoped by our actions and deeds to assure our sisters and brothers in Quebec that they could retain their language and culture within Canada and feel at home outside Quebec, Ontario should already have made unequivocal and dramatic gestures. These gestures that have not been taken, but should have been taken, are the declaration and adoption of French as an official language in Ontario, the formation as a right of French-language school boards in Ontario, and an assured end to the length of the struggles to obtain French-language secondary schools which have occurred in Penetanguishene, Essex, Sturgeon Falls and Cornwall.

These gestures, had they been taken, would have touched the hearts and souls of our brothers and sisters in Quebec and shown them that we are serious and sensitive in embracing their hopes and their aspirations. In Penetanguishene, the agreement—in principle only—was reached on April 23 last, so short a time ago and with so many questions still unanswered and so many questions yet to be negotiated.

Is the cafeteria to become a lunchroom only? In what year will the music program become operative? There is already agreement to share the expensive facilities of the electronics, machine and auto mechanic shops with Penetanguishene Secondary School, but will industrial arts in the lower years be granted to Ecole Secondaire Penetanguishene? By that, I mean the drafting, metalwork, electricity and woodworking shops and home economics and food service facilities. All these are necessary for a viable secondary program in the new French school.

As well, will the Simcoe County Board of Education be allowed to persist in offering the existing French courses in the mixed program in Penetanguishene Secondary School as announced by the principal on May 2, just last Friday? The continuation of this bilingual program could undermine and seriously threaten the future success of Ecole Secondaire Penetanguishene.

It is difficult to lift our sights beyond the immediacy of the Quebec referendum of May 20, but I feel very strongly that we must now think beyond that day and propose what we, as Ontarians, wish to see in a new Canadian constitution, a constitution that will serve us for another century and beyond. Our proposals will be negotiable, of course, but we must decide in as many areas as possible what we wish to place on that negotiating table. No doubt this will be one task of our select committee.

As education spokesman for the New Democratic Party in this chamber, I venture to suggest what I and our party wish to see concerning education and language rights in that constitution, which we hope will stand the test of time. First of all, it is essential to recognize the reality of today and the future, that Canada is multicultural with two national languages. It is the right of every person, therefore, whenever people constitute a sufficiently large group, to receive an education in the language of his choice at the primary and secondary level under the jurisdiction of the provincial educational authority.

It is the right of every person to receive post-secondary education in either English or French. To further elaborate, any child may attend a school in his mother tongue for three years, receiving intensive instruction in either English or French, and thereafter must choose to continue his education in either French or English. Their children, however, may attend a school in their mother language without time restrictions.

English- and French-speaking communities, where the need is substantiated, have the right to administer their own educational institutions under the overall jurisdiction of the provincial educational authority. By this I mean the establishment of French- and English-language school boards. The boundaries need not be contiguous; in fact, I would be surprised if they were, and I would expect the geographical size of some French boards to be much larger. For example, should the need arise in Essex county to have a French-language school board, I would expect it would be very reasonable to expand into Kent county to embrace the Painscourt area.

Our native peoples too must retain their language and culture. The Indian chiefs of Ontario propose that jurisdiction over Indian education remain with the federal government, but with ever-increasing local control by the band councils over educational moneys. The chiefs suggest the establishment of Indian educational authorities, similar to school boards with all their powers, within Indian communities. These authorities may bargain with appropriate provincial school boards to ensure that Indians receive the facilities which these boards can provide and to ensure that they receive proper representation on these school boards.

These proposals that I am suggesting should go into a new, revised federal constitution, what would they mean, in effect, for Ontario and for Quebec? These proposals would mean, for Ontario, a commitment to truly expand our French-language educational facilities and to begin and eventually complete those same facilities in all our heritage languages. For Quebec, it would mean a change from the present situation. As a right, a child could choose an education in Quebec in French or English as well as a mother tongue.

On language rights, I would propose that the legislative assemblies recognize English and French to be the official languages of the province, its Legislature, courts, schools and government services. Linguistic rights expressed in provincial statutes would include, as well as educational rights, the right of every person to receive essential health services in his or her principal language whenever numbers warrant, and the right of an accused in a criminal trial to be tried in his or her principal language whenever numbers warrant. Every English- or French-speaking person should have a right of access to educational television services in his or her

mother tongue whenever the number of people seeking such services justify it.

My mind turns to the mechanism of achieving the agreement on a new federal constitution. I am mindful of the 1865 pre-Confederation debates that occurred when the assemblies of Upper and Lower Canada met and discussed every possible topic related to their union, which finally resulted in our country, Canada.

I would suggest, and it may not be unreasonable, that the assemblies of all our provinces and territories meet in a joint session, possibly in the summer of 1981, probably at the Winnipeg Convention Centre, to discuss and negotiate our new constitution. If the size of such a meeting would be too cumbersome, there could instead be a committee from each jurisdiction fully representative of the various political parties from that jurisdiction. Because we need to become intimately acquainted with each other and fully understand our various views, I can think of no better way to resolve the differences that appear to separate us than a meeting of this sort in order to reach a new understanding of our constitution.

2:40 p.m.

I understand and appreciate very well the feeling of many Quebecers who are voting oui in the referendum, because they have experienced economic discrimination over the years. I know of the situation that existed in the industrial plants of the 1950s and the 1960s in Quebec, where all the management was of English background and all the hourly paid plant workers were of French background. No French-speaking person could rise above the rank of foreman, no matter how bright, how capable or how responsible he was. We can all well imagine the sense of bitterness, frustration and injustice that was felt.

We can also imagine the conflict within the hearts of the young French-Canadian women who had aspirations for the better, more economically secure life that came from marrying into the English management class. Yet to do so meant joining fully the English-speaking community. To remain in their French-speaking milieu they had to marry someone who was destined to remain forever a labourer in the plant.

While studying for my PhD in London, England, I became very friendly with a French-Canadian student who was also studying for his PhD in electrical engineering and who yearned, like myself, to return to Canada upon graduation. He had received various job offers from France, Britain and the United

States, but none from anywhere in Canada. I will always remember the day he burst into my lab with the news that Quebec had nationalized the hydroelectric companies in that province. Hydro-Quebec would be formed and now, finally, he would have a job prospect in Canada. Subsequently he enthusiastically accepted the only Canadian job he was offered, with Hydro-Quebec.

J'ai fait, personnellement, quatre séjours d'un à deux ans à l'étranger. Ces séjours m'ont permis de mieux apprécier le Canada et de ressentir pour mon pays un attachement profond. C'est pourquoi je désire que le Canada survive.

En 1976 et 1977, j'ai été le seul parmi les membres élus du comté d'Essex à l'Assemblée législative à appuyer publiquement sans équivoque et sans réserve, la construction d'une école secondaire de langue française.

Mes enfants sont tous bilingues, car ils ont fréquenté l'école d'immersion, dès le début. Les deux plus jeunes, Jimmy et Becky, sont encore à l'école élémentaire Lucien Beaudouin, et Christine fréquente Lessort, la nouvelle école secondaire de langue française du comté d'Essex.

Habitant la ville frontalière de Windsor, je suis particulièrement conscient du fait que c'est surtout grâce à vous, les Québécois et les francophones de l'Ontario que c'est grâce à votre langue et votre culture que nous sommes si différents, si uniques. C'est pourquoi je vous demande, frères et sœurs du Québec, de rester parmi nous dans un Canada uni, et de continuer à enrichir notre vie.

I do not wish to negotiate sovereignty-association with Quebec, which would be a sad discussion of how we would become divorced. Rather, I would prefer to join with Quebecers and all other Canadians in a discussion on how to create a new, revitalized Canada. Judging from our deeds and actions in Ontario to the present, I fully understand that it will be a tremendous leap of faith for Quebecers now to put their trust in us, but I sincerely appeal to all Quebecers to do just that and to join with us in the challenge of building and shaping a new national constitution satisfying all our diverse and many aspirations.

Hon. Mr. McMurtry: Mr. Speaker, let me begin by saying je suis Canadien and by expressing the pride I feel at being able to make that statement as being one of the foundations of my journey through life. I am as proud to make that statement today as I have ever been. Yet, at the same time, that pride is touched by grave concern. As I rise to have the privilege of taking part in this

historic debate, I realize too that in the long, distinguished history of this chamber no group of men and women have discussed a matter of greater importance to our province and our nation.

Canada today is at the crossroads. Do we persevere in our paramount task of working together in our quest for the best possible life for those of us privileged to live in this most civilized of countries, or do we stand back and watch the dismemberment of our country and the destruction of our nationhood? The questions before us are profoundly affected by our deepest personal sentiments about our country.

The real challenges we face are the human questions of nationhood and not the dry issues of law. On a strictly legal basis, any form of unilateral secession by a province would be unconstitutional and unlawful, but it would be fruitless to approach this challenge to our nationhood on the basis of legal technicalities. Rather, we must meet it, as a challenge to our personal commitment to nationhood and our political will to survive as a united country. The issues facing Canadians in the months and years ahead will not be settled in any court, but must be resolved politically on the basis of goodwill, sensitivity, tolerance and a clear understanding of the legitimate aspirations of all the regions of our great country.

The government of Ontario continues to be willing and anxious to pursue a strong and viable Canada with our Quebec colleagues and representatives of other governments to forge a new Confederation within our existing nation.

En tant que Procureur Général et Solliciteur Général, je me réjouis d'abord de pouvoir renouveler avec les représentants de Québec et avec nos autres provinces du Canada, les discussions sur des sujets constitutionnels ou même sur n'importe quoi d'autre qui soit d'un intérêt mutuel.

Depuis l'élection du Parti Québécois en tant que représentant de la population du Québec, de nombreux exemples de coopération intergouvernementale sur des sujets communs de préoccupation ont vu le jour.

En ma qualité de Procureur Général et de Solliciteur Général, j'ai eu nombreux échanges fort utiles et ouverts avec les membres du gouvernement du Québec.

2:50 p.m.

J'ai rencontré mon collègue, le Ministre de la Justice du Québec à maintes reprises au cours des dernières années. Ensemble nous nous sommes efforcés de mieux reconnaître la suprématie provinciale dans des matières affectant l'administration de la justice. Il y a

à peine un mois, Monsieur le Président, des membres de la Commission de la Police de l'Ontario et moi-même, nous nous sommes rendus dans la ville de Québec, où nous eûmes toute une série de réunions très positives avec la Commission de la Police du Québec sur des sujets d'intérêt mutuel et des accords bénéfiques.

Il faut que le peuple du Québec sache et comprenne que nous sommes désireux de négocier une nouvelle confédération. Que nos amis au Québec comprennent aussi que le seul point qui ne soit pas négociable est la souveraineté-association. Car nous sommes profondément convaincus dans cette province que la souveraineté-association conduirait au démembrement de notre nation.

Monsieur le Président, c'est là un chemin qu'aucun de nous dans ce parlement n'est prêt à suivre. La mise en oeuvre de services en langue française dans le domaine de la justice est un exemple frappant de notre volonté d'effectuer des changements, de notre volonté de nous départir du statu quo.

En automne 1975, quelques semaines après ma nomination au poste de Procureur Général, j'ai pris l'engagement au nom de mon Ministère de développer les services en langue française devant les tribunaux. Priorité fut donné au droit pénal qui met en jeu la liberté même d'un individu. On commença par un projet pilote à Sudbury en 1976 devant la cour provinciale division criminelle. Une proclamation des amendements au code criminel couronnait notre action en 1979. Il s'agissait d'amendements qui donnaient le droit à un accusé francophone d'être jugé par un juge ou par un jury parlant sa langue partout en Ontario. Ce principe fondamental est déjà consacré par le code criminel du Canada. Dans ce parlement même, nous avons passé des dispositions législatives décernées à promouvoir et à assurer l'utilisation du français devant nos tribunaux. Les lois mêmes de cette province sont en train d'être traduites pour renforcer notre système judiciaire et donner à nos citoyens francophones un plus grand accès à nos lois. Ce ne sont pas des privilèges, ce sont des droits.

En dehors des dispositions qui s'appliquent au procès criminel, il existe aujourd'hui des services en langue française auprès de la division des droits de la famille de la Cour provinciale dans 16 communautés. Et nous prévoyons que ces services s'étendront bientôt vers la fin de cette année au Cour des petits litiges civils.

Monsieur le Président, nous qui habitons l'Ontario sommes légitimement fiers de notre système judiciaire, notre programme des ser-

vices en langue française devant les tribunaux a été traité dès le début comme partie intégrante de ce système. Nous avons étendu ces services d'une façon graduelle afin de nous assurer de leur bon fonctionnement dès le début et de façon durable. On m'a souvent demandé pourquoi j'avais pris cet engagement en 1975. Permettez-mois de souligner, Monsieur le Président, que cet engagement et la mise en oeuvre de ces services ont eu lieu avant même de l'action du Parti Québécois. Il ne s'est pas agi d'un geste grandiloquent n'ayant qu'une valeur de symbole. J'ai tout simplement pensé que c'était l'action juste et appropriée à entreprendre.

Mes collègues et moi-même sommes conscients et reconnaissons que de nombreux Franco-Ontariens se préoccupent de leur assimilation par la communauté anglophone dans l'Ontario et de l'érosion de la langue et de la culture françaises. Je tiens à assurer nos citoyens franco-ontariens que nous continuerons d'apporter le soutien qui non seulement constituera une reconnaissance du fait francophone en Ontario, mais encore contribuera à l'épanouissement de la langue et de la culture française. Quoiqu'il arrive au Québec, notre engagement à cet égard, Monsieur le Président, ne diminuera pas.

The question facing the people of Quebec on May 20 goes far beyond legalities and constitutional concern. It is very much an affair of the soul and of the heart. I believe that men and women of goodwill can cast aside factionalism, regionalism, petty differences and work together to ensure that all men, women and children can enjoy the bounties of this nation. We do that by talking to each other as Canadians, not only on the level of government, but also on a person-to-person basis whenever we have the opportunity. Time and time again we have demonstrated in this nation and in this province what people of goodwill can accomplish when they put their minds to it. If there are obstacles, they are to be surmounted; if there are stumbling blocks, they are to be removed.

As one who was born and raised in Toronto, I came first to appreciate Quebec during a summer I spent as a university student living and working with a francophone family in Quebec City. I acquired a sense then, and have renewed it since, of the fragile question of cultural survival. The experience gave me an appreciation of the cultural and emotional explosion that burst over Quebec in the Quiet Revolution of the 1960s.

While the two founding cultures of this country are distinctly different, there is much that we still share. Together we face the need

to develop a new model of Canada which allows each region enough flexibility to nurture its own special identity and culture, and which maintains a strong central government fully capable of pursuing the national interest.

3 p.m.

We and the people we represent are participants in a drama of law, of politics and of commitment, a commitment to something intangible—perhaps a spirit—something called Canada. Let me end, Mr. Speaker, with the words of Professor Jacques Monet, a distinguished Canadian historian and a Quebecois. "The challenge of brotherhood, of an experiment that bursts through the limits of nationalism to embrace men of diverse ways and diverse tongues is what it means to be a Canadian. You see, it is not a question of economics, or even of common sense, it is a question of the heart."

Mr. Sweeney: Mr. Speaker, it is both a privilege and an obligation for me to participate in this Confederation debate. I am most mindful of the unique significance of the fact that this Legislature has never before in its history set aside the regular business of the assembly for one full week to debate a single important issue.

I am also mindful that our words alone, this week, in this assembly, will not solve the perils and the problems that we face, but they can speak clearly to our fellow Canadians all across this country, and in Quebec, and say that we the members of this Legislature and the eight million Ontarians, Canadians, whom we represent are willing and ready to co-operate.

We are fully aware of the cry for change that is sweeping across this country, Canada, from our Atlantic maritime provinces right through to our western provinces. We are most especially aware of the cry coming from our sister province of Quebec. It is a cry of the moment which must be heard and a cry that cannot be ignored.

Mr. Speaker, let us not have any misunderstanding of the purpose of this debate. It is to say two things to our fellow Canadians, particularly our fellow Canadians in Quebec. The first is our recognition of the need for change in the federation of Canada, and the second, our deep, sincere and genuine commitment to participate in that change.

I recently had the opportunity to send out a questionnaire to my almost 70,000 constituents and, on the basis of the answers received, I believe that on their behalf I can make that commitment today. If we are prepared to embark on that change, as we have

so often in the past, particularly in the past decade, there can be no turning back. This time we cannot falter.

I recognize that we need a strong central government for Canada, a government that can speak for all Canadians in world affairs, a government that can defend our country from external attack, a government that can guarantee the free movement of people and of goods from sea to sea, a government that can protect the basic human rights of each and every Canadian.

At the same time, we need strong provincial governments who can speak for and act for the needs of their people within their own domains, strong governments that can be equal partners with each other and with our federal government. That was surely the intent 113 years ago, when the federation of Canada was first agreed upon by three independent groups of people in this country who came together and wrote out a contractual arrangement.

But times have changed. Over 113 years the world around us has changed. Our country has changed. The needs of our governments have changed. Our peoples have changed. Now we must change.

Beginning in 1841 with the Act of Union, strengthened in 1867 by Confederation, Quebec and Ontario have grown and worked side by side. As we hear the concerns of our brothers and sisters in Quebec, it is incumbent upon us in Ontario to recognize a special responsibility in helping to meet those needs and concerns. Let us not forget that outside the boundaries of Quebec there are more French-speaking Canadians in Ontario than in all the rest of our country put together. That imposes on us a very special responsibility.

Let us also, particularly in this province, recognize that the first half of our history in this country, the first half of our heritage, is owed to—and there is a responsibility on our behalf to recognize that—what was done by our French forbears. Men like Cartier, Champlain, Maisonneuve and Etienne Brule led the way to settlement in all parts of eastern Canada. The great explorers like La Verendrye moved across the great sweep of our western regions.

French-speaking Canadians in this country have never been bound geographically in Quebec. They have lived, settled, explored and worked in every part of this country from the Atlantic to the Pacific. Every part of this country has been, and must continue to be, their home.

Unfortunately, it is a tragedy of our people, not just in this province but in most of the provinces of Canada, to be ignorant of our history. It is a further tragedy that what history is taught in our schools varies in content, accuracy and objectivity from province to province.

It would be my hope and my strong recommendation that the 10 Ministers of Education in this country would be able to meet and to agree upon a common course of Canadian history and that program would be mandatory at least for all our high school students. Maybe then that generation of Canadians would have a deeper and a clearer appreciation of what Canada has been, and on that basis, of what it can be. Through the medium of television, by using such a common course as the basis for an exciting series of programs, we might even be able to rival what our American cousins south of us are often able to do in the way of historical drama.

3:10 p.m.

But that is for tomorrow. What of today?

First, let us be sure that French-speaking Canadians in Quebec and English-speaking Canadians in Ontario thoroughly and clearly understand what is made available to the language minorities in both jurisdictions.

Mes amis au Québec. Pendant quatre ans, j'ai eu l'occasion d'habiter le Québec et d'y faire mes études. On m'y a accepté avec plaisir et beaucoup de bonne volonté. J'ai eu l'heureuse occasion d'y poursuivre mes études dans ma langue maternelle, tout en apprenant aussi bien le français. L'été passé, ma famille et moi avons visité le Québec. Dans vos magasins, vos restaurants, vos hôtels, on a écouté notre français hésitant avec patience et courtoisie. Même vos agents de la police qui essayaient de régler la circulation aux heures de pointe ont apprécié nos efforts de communiquer. Nous avons l'intention d'y revenir cet été. Je ressens que le Québec fait partie de mon pays. On m'y a accepté. J'espère que vous, mes compatriotes québécois, ressentirez aussi que vous faites partie de mon pays et que vous y serez acceptés partout.

Pendant les dernières années, j'ai soutenu activement les droits de nos Franco-Ontariens dans le domaine de l'éducation. J'ai ajouté mon nom pour obtenir un conseil d'éducation en langue française à Ottawa-Carleton. Je continuerai à poursuivre ces aspirations, mais ma tâche serait beaucoup plus facile et fructueuse si je pouvais compter sur le soutien actif de mes collègues au Québec, un Québec qui demeure au sein du Canada.

I spent four years of my elementary schooling in Quebec. I may have been too young to appreciate fully all that was going on around me, but I can say that to this day I have fond memories of that experience. Let Ontario-Canadians recognize that in Quebec English-speaking Quebecers have the option of offering their sons and daughters an education in their mother tongue at the elementary school level, at the secondary school level and in universities and colleges. Let them also know that the Protestant separate schools of Quebec get full funding support right to the end of secondary school.

We recognize that the present government of Quebec has placed some restrictions on English-language education, but we must also recognize that the options that are still available in that province to the language minority group are a model for the rest of Canada. Let my compatriots in Quebec also realize that here in Ontario we have much to be proud of. With very few exceptions, French parents who want their children educated in their mother tongue at the elementary school level can find that in literally every part of this province.

Despite the tortuous negotiations that have recently taken place in such areas as Essex and Penetanguishene, let it be known in Quebec that we have 26 French-language high schools in this province. In addition we have 35 bilingual or mixed-language high schools in this province and, like their counterparts in Cornwall, in Sturgeon Falls, in Essex and in Penetanguishene, as time goes on some of those bilingual schools will also become French-language high schools.

Our students at university and college have the option in a number of our bilingual institutions to take their programs in French, and we would recognize the recently organized French-language agricultural college.

Let our compatriots in Quebec also know that growing numbers of English-speaking students in this province are learning French as a second language. Since 1972 the participation rate in many grades has doubled. In grades six, seven and eight, almost 100 per cent of our students take French as a second language.

It was interesting to note in the February 1980 edition of Reader's Digest that Claude Ryan made the observation that if other provincial governments would make a clear and open commitment to French minority-language rights, that would be far better than 1,000 speeches made in the Chamber of Commerce in Montreal.

If there is one fault of this government in Ontario with respect to the provision for French-language education, it is that it has been too modest in proclaiming what it has done. Now is the time to say loudly and clearly to our own citizens and to our fellow citizens in Quebec what we do offer. We are far from perfect. There is still a long road to travel, but let us say what we have done, let us not hide the light under the bushel.

I am a Canadian. I am not an Irish Canadian because my great grandparents came from Ireland. I am not a maritime Canadian because I was born in New Brunswick. I am not an Ontario Canadian because I have spent most of my life here in Ontario. I am a Canadian, period. I recognize, as do many of my fellow Canadians, that our country really doesn't make sense economically, geographically or culturally. It would make more sense economically if we were a part of the United States; it would make more sense culturally and geographically if we were many independent states, but that is not the way we are.

Our forefathers and our ancestors for 113 years decided by an act of will, an act of desire, that we would be one country and one people, and that is what will keep this country together.

Our grandparents, our ancestors, through their wisdom, their courage, their determination held this country together. But what of us, what are we going to do when we talk to our grandchildren? Are we going to look them in the eye and say we took this precious gift and squandered it? Are we going to say that when the need was greatest we could not find Canadians to meet it?

3:20 p.m.

This cannot happen; this must not happen. We as Canadians must act now, together, in a spirit of goodwill, faith and trust in each other so that in the years ahead we can look in the eyes of our grandchildren and say that when Canada's need was greatest we found the Canadians to meet that need.

Mr. Martel: Mr. Speaker, the tranquillity and decorum around this building for the past three days has almost been nerve-racking.

Mr. Acting Speaker: Are you going to change it?

Mr. Martel: I probably would appreciate it more if someone would yell at me a little and make me feel at home.

I am pleased to take part in this debate. I happen to think it is probably the most important debate that has ever taken place in this Legislature. My concern, however, is that

it is too little too late, because in so far as the French fact is concerned, we have given 113 years of lip-service to it. We have come to this crossroads today.

I am not going to speak of constitutional reform. Other people have spoken about it and will continue to speak about it. Rather, I want to speak about what has happened and what will continue to happen if we do not move heaven and earth to make necessary changes. We will be faced with the assimilation of the French in Canada unless we change dramatically.

Assimilation, defined not by Webster or Oxford but by me as I understand it, is the absorption of one group by a larger group, stripping the smaller group of its language, heritage and culture. It occurs almost by a process of osmosis.

Lord Durham in his report in 1839 deliberately advocated a course that would have eliminated the French nation in Canada. In his report, Lord Durham said: "I cannot doubt that any power which they might possess would be used against the policy and the very existence of any form of British government. I cannot doubt that any French assembly that shall again meet in Lower Canada will use whatever power, be it more or less limited, it may have to obstruct the government. I believe that tranquillity can only be restored by subjecting the province to the vigorous rule of an English majority."

Thank God we have moved away from that to some degree over the years. However, with everything around us in English, we have to understand that the French nation is being smothered, slowly but surely. Assimilation will continue unless we make the supreme effort to prevent it.

Let me relate my own experience for a moment. I was raised in what was virtually a total English community in northern Ontario. It was a town called Capreol. We didn't have a French school in those days. Those days have gone now, thank goodness. In the Sudbury district there are five French high schools and a bilingual university. However, even there, if we don't change the type of funding that goes to that particular institution, there are dark days ahead for us, very dark, because we cannot offer the courses that are necessary to attract students there. In Sudbury we also have a community college which is slowly but surely offering the French courses necessary because of those five French high schools that are in place.

My own community, the town of Capreol, was totally English except for a few French families and, unknowingly, many of us be-

came anglicized. Upon finishing my high school education, I went to work for a while, then went on to North Bay Teachers' College, and the process of assimilation continued for me. What is so distressing is I didn't realize it. It wasn't until I started teaching at about the age of 25 that I realized and became aware that a time bomb was ticking away.

Let me tell you how that occurred, Mr. Speaker. I started to teach in a separate school which was half-English and half-French. That was when my education really began as to what was going on in Canada. My colleagues in the French staff advocated a separate recess. I thought there was something wrong. They advocated a separate lunch break. I thought, "My God, they want to separate from us." Then they wanted a different play area. This was causing some problems for me because I was interested in harmony, getting along together and doing it together. In fact, I was advocating the melting-pot theory of the United States. That is what was going on.

At that point I started to realize I had lost my mother tongue and that what my colleagues were attempting to do was to create a French milieu, which is what the government of this province must understand when we talk about an all-French high school. We have to create a French milieu. What my colleagues in that school were attempting to do was ensure that that would happen, that the language the children would hear would be French. I will come back to that in a moment.

The other thing I couldn't understand about my colleagues had to do with social studies. We all believed there was only one social studies course we could follow. They talked about Hébert, the first French farmer in Quebec. We talked about the fireman, the baker, the maps and the community. We talked about our community but they didn't. They talked about Louis Hébert. I couldn't understand that. There aren't two histories in this country; there is only one history in this country. Yet in fact there are.

Then they would put on their frequent little concerts. I didn't have time for that. I was too busy with the curriculum and making sure we followed through on the curriculum. Do the members know what was in their little concerts? It was their dance, their music, their plays about the French facts. I didn't understand it, and it bothered me. I thought it was a waste of time.

They were making sure they were getting their heritage and their culture across to those children. I am afraid we in English

Canada don't do that. I say that to those of us who are teachers in this Legislature. We don't do it. We are too busy with the fireman. Maybe someday Canadians will become proud of their heritage and culture in English-speaking Canada when we start to do that sort of thing. It took me a long time to understand that. What they were doing was teaching their heritage and enriching and fostering their culture. They were passing it on to their young people so that they would be proud of it.

3:30 p.m.

My colleagues were not as articulate in those days—I go back to 1961-62—as they are today. And I must confess I was not as receptive then as I am now. What we need is a total French milieu wherever there are French people brought together—not part in English, part in French, but total. It is only by that type of immersion they will survive; we can do no less, but we are not prepared to do it yet.

The environment to which these people go must be steeped in their culture and their heritage, and it cannot be done if we are going to throw English in at the same time. It has nothing to do with being separate with anyone else. It has to do with the realities of life. The Minister of Education has to understand that if we try to mix the systems, they will not survive because, beyond that milieu they have in school, everything else is in English. That is why it is important.

If the above is needed in a small community like the one I represent, in the town of Capreol, it applies too to wherever there are francophones. The same applies in New Brunswick, in Manitoba, in Quebec. Survival and advancement for French is guaranteed in a society and a country where all of the people understand and appreciate the diversity, the culture and the language.

Surrounded by more than 200 million English-speaking people in Canada and the United States, the best chance for equality for the French is when there are guarantees in law which will ensure that the language and the services in both languages are assured. Canada offers that hope today, 113 years after Confederation. I hope it is not too little, too late.

I have been amazed by some of the comments I have heard, such as, "No one is going to make me learn French." We have all heard it. The attitude has been prevalent primarily among adults, however—adults who fear they will have to learn French to gain employment or advancement. Many people have heard about such requirements and

have tended to apply them to jobs in all parts of Canada. I believe fear, a sense of insecurity or ignorance of the facts has led to this type of outburst, and I do not believe it reflects resentment towards the French language or culture.

Permettez-moi d'expliquer comme j'en étais persuadé en 1964, quand j'étais directeur à l'école Sainte-Marie. J'ai décidé qu'il était important d'enseigner le français dans mon école. J'ai écrit aux parents pour les aviser que l'on commencera d'enseigner le français oral. Vu que cette matière ne figurait pas au programme d'études, je voulais connaître leurs réactions. L'appui de quatre classes intéressées a été total. Deux ans après, sans l'approbation de qui que ce soit, et à cette époque, il fallait l'approbation du ministère, j'ai mis le français au nombre des matières à assigner à toute l'école. Tous les parents de quelque 400 élèves ont été enchantés. Je n'ai jamais reçu de plaintes. Les personnes qui s'imaginaient qu'on allait leur imposer le français et qui se sont opposés voulaient par contre que leurs enfants l'apprennent et étaient heureux.

Monsieur le Président, si nous introduisons tout de suite un programme de français nettement supérieur dans nos écoles anglaises, nous pourrions, en une génération, avoir le moyen de communiquer en deux langues, le français et l'anglais, préparant ainsi le terrain à une harmonie durable entre nos deux peuples fondateurs. A moins de cela, nous assisterons à la destruction du Canada, tel que nous le connaissons.

Les enfants adorent apprendre une autre langue. Ils n'éprouvent ni les craintes ni les inhibitions que les adultes présentent, ils n'ont pas le sentiment d'être mal vus. Ils ne s'embarrassent pas des fautes de grammaire ou de prononciation incorrecte. Je crois également, qu'une fois les enfants lancés dans l'apprentissage de la langue, la curiosité naturelle les amènera à lire et à se renseigner au sujet des Québécois. Ils liront leur histoire et leur œuvres littéraires, et s'identifieront ainsi à leur culture.

Je ne voudrais pas que l'on réduise mes vues à une solution simpliste; toutefois, lorsqu'une communication sera établie d'égal à égal, et que nous saurons comprendre et apprécier nos différences et respecter les aspirations et les vues de chacun, alors nous aurons jeté les fondations nécessaires à des relations durables entre les deux peuples fondateurs.

Le gouvernement fédéral doit mettre d'importantes sommes à la disposition des provinces pour l'enseignement des langues. Il est

inutile de consacrer des sommes fabuleuses à l'éducation des fonctionnaires. L'argent doit être employé là où il sera le plus utilisé, c'est-à-dire, auprès des jeunes. Munies de fonds additionnels, les provinces doivent veiller à intensifier les programmes et à augmenter le nombre de cours d'immersion. On doit améliorer de beaucoup l'enseignement du français dans les écoles anglaises au point où les jeunes sortant de l'école puissent parler français couramment. On doit élaborer des cours qui évoluent autour de la culture française.

Il y a beaucoup à faire et peu de temps pour convaincre le peuple québécois de la sincérité du Canada anglais.

Let me explain that I am particularly proud of this party, because over the years we have taken a tough stand. We have a program that says French will be recognized as an official language in Ontario. That is not always popular; none the less, since 1969 it has remained the policy of this party. About that same time, when this party said there had to be a special status for Quebec in Confederation, I regret to say there was all kinds of flak. Today more than ever I am convinced that if we want a Confederation there will be a special status in it for Quebec.

I hope I have been able to express clearly, staying away from all the discussion with respect to constitutional reform, what I believe to be the key underlying problem that leads to the discord between the two founding nations. How many English-speaking people are involved or how many French-speaking people are involved is unimportant. What is important is that we deal with each other as equals—I stress that, as equals—in all matters, working to ensure that our different languages, cultures and heritages are secure.

3:40 p.m.

I urge Premier Levesque to come to the bargaining table, whatever the outcome of the referendum down the road a way, prepared to negotiate a new deal. I also urge the Premiers and the Prime Minister of this country to approach that bargaining table regardless of the outcome in two or three weeks. Anything less will lead to the dismantling of this country.

Hon. Mr. Brunelle: Mr. Speaker, I am very pleased to participate in this very important and historic debate. I want to begin on a personal note, because I have had very close ties with the province of Quebec for many years. My parents were born and

raised in Tiny township, in a small hamlet called Lafontaine, where 90 per cent of the population at that time, as it is even today, was of French background.

In my bachelor days, I spent many happy winters working and skiing in the Laurentians and in the Eastern Townships, and it was there that I met my good wife, Andree Hebert, whose home was in Magog, at the foot of Mont Orford. Andree came from a very large French-speaking family. She was the youngest of 17 children, and her ancestors date back—as the member for Sudbury East mentioned—to Louis Hebert, who was the first settler who set foot on Quebec soil in 1607. However, he returned to France and it was the governor of the day, Champlain, who asked him to return. I must admit that several of my relatives in Quebec have said, "If Hebert had only gone to Florida, where the climate is much more temperate." Out of four children, two were born in Montreal and two were born in Toronto.

Plusieurs voix se font entendre dans le débat actuel de la constitution canadienne. Chacun de nous a le devoir, Monsieur le Président, de participer à l'introspection nationale et d'y apporter la lumière de son expérience. Il en va de même de l'avenir de notre pays. C'est à titre Canadien, de Canadien-Français, Monsieur le Président, que je prends la parole aujourd'hui, et c'est avec fierté que je le fais. Je suis fier d'être membre d'une branche importante de cette famille canadienne-française, celle de la francophonie ontarienne.

Je connais suffisamment bien mes concitoyens francophones pour croire que, comme moi, ils ne sont pas prêts d'accepter que le gouvernement d'une autre province se fasse leur porte-parole et se réclame le droit exclusif d'orienter et de sceller le sort même de la famille. Les retombées de la prise de conscience et de l'affirmation du Québec au cours des dernières années ont été nombreuses et bénéfiques. Elles ont contribué au bien être, non seulement des Québécois, mais aussi des Canadiens d'expression française à l'extérieur du Québec.

Je dis sans hésitation, Monsieur le Président, un Québec fort, une culture, une langue française qui s'affirmeront au sein d'un fédéral renouvelé, serviront mieux non seulement mes compatriotes du Québec, mais aussi ceux des autres provinces et le Canada tout entier. Nous reconnaissons tous qu'il y a eu lieu, et qu'il y a encore présentement des problèmes à régler. Mais ce n'est pas par la

voie de la séparation, de la fragmentation, de l'isolement, qu'il faut procéder.

Si je rejète la souveraineté-association, c'est-à-dire, l'indépendance, je ne préconise pas du même souffle le statu quo. C'est à l'instar de mon premier ministre que je le rejette parce que le statu quo est aussi inacceptable à l'extérieur du Québec qu'il ne l'est au Québec. Pourquoi procéder à l'amputation, à l'indépendance, quand les moyens sont maintenant disponibles pour éviter une intervention qui se pourrait être désastreuse.

C'est Boileau qui a dit, et je cite: "Souvent la peur d'un mal conduit dans un pire". Si je me porte à la défense de l'unité canadienne, je ne le fais pas seulement par souci des conséquences d'une séparation sur l'ensemble des Canadiens; je le fais, Monsieur le Président, parce que je suis convaincu que seul un Canada uni peut assurer la survie et l'épanouissement de notre peuple à la largeur du pays. Je le fais parce que l'avenir collectif des francophones peut se réaliser autrement que dans l'isolement.

Je me fais l'interprète non seulement de mes contemporains, mais aussi de ceux qui nous ont précédé dans cette province et qui y ont semé le fait français au cours de siècles et qui l'ont défendu avec la conviction que cette francophonie avait de l'avenir. Leur patrie, ma patrie, c'est le Québec, c'est l'Ontario, c'est le Canada tout entier. Appuyer l'indépendance du Québec c'est dire à ceux qui nous ont précédé qu'ils avaient tort; que leurs sacrifices, et leur persévérance ont été en vain, que la génération d'aujourd'hui ne veut plus continuer.

Le moment est venu de rappeler aux protagonistes de la souveraineté québécoise que la famille canadienne-française c'est une grande famille; qu'elle est axée sur le Québec et qu'elle compte sur lui; qu'elle est profondément enracinée sur tout le territoire canadien, et qu'ils n'ont pas le droit de choisir de l'oublier.

Le hasard et les événements du passé ont fait naître des milliers de Canadiens-Français au delà des frontières du Québec. Cependant, ce n'est pas le hasard qui a fait que malgré les nombreux obstacles, un si grand nombre de nous restons si tendrement attachés à notre langue, à notre culture que nous ont transmises nos prédécesseurs et que nous léguons avec autant d'espoir et de conviction aux générations futures. Cette volonté de mes compatriotes francophones de l'Ontario de participer pleinement à la vie canadienne-française n'est pas un phénomène récent attribuable à la renaissance francophone que connaît le Canada depuis quelques années.

Quiconque veut rendre hommage à ceux qui ont joué un rôle dans le développement de l'Ontario se doit de se rappeler que le français était la langue de nos premiers citoyens. Oui, le français, c'est une langue bien de chez nous, et les institutions d'expression française font partie intégrante du paysage ontarien. Les périodes difficiles, l'incompréhension de nos aspirations que manifestent quelques-uns de nos concitoyens n'enlèvent rien au droit d'appartenance et à la raison d'être de la francophonie ontarienne.

Les rigoureuses empreintes françaises ne sont pas prêtes à s'effacer de sol ontarien. Qu'il soit permis, Monsieur le Président, de faire quelques rappels sur la francophonie ontarienne parce que j'ai bien l'impression qu'elle est peu connue au Québec et parfois même dans certains milieux de notre propre province. Certains Québécois s'étonnent à l'occasion d'entendre un Ontarien parler sans accent, et ils sont encore plus surpris d'apprendre que sa famille y est depuis des générations. Par contre, certains Ontariens semblent parfois croire que leurs compatriotes d'expression française sont tous des nouveaux venus du Québec.

Monsieur le Président, il y a plus d'Ontariens d'origine que de Canadiens qui habitent les quatre provinces des Maritimes, l'Île-du-Prince-Édouard, Terre-Neuve, le Nouveau-Brunswick et la Nouvelle-Écosse. Malheureusement, ils ne parlent pas tous français aujourd'hui car l'assimilation a fait ses ravages. Mais le fait demeure que l'on compte des centaines de milliers d'Ontariens dont le français est la langue usuelle.

3:50 p.m.

D'après le dernier recensement, l'Ontario compte autant de francophones que toutes les autres provinces regroupées à l'exception de la province de Québec, bien entendu.

Les services mis à la disposition des francophones de l'Ontario depuis quelques années, Monsieur le Président, sont de plus en plus nombreux. L'engagement du gouvernement ontarien dans ce sens est très bien amorcé. Quoique'en disent certains, le droit à l'éducation en langue française est déjà inscrit dans la loi.

Plus de soixante-huit mille Franco-Ontariens fréquentent quelque trois cent modules scolaires de langue française à l'élémentaire, dont plus de deux cent soixante-quinze sont des écoles homogènes. Près de trente mille étudiants fréquentent vingt-six écoles homogènes mixtes au secondaire. L'Ontario préconise depuis longtemps, Monsieur le Président, que le droit à l'éducation dans sa langue maternelle officielle soit inscrit dans

une constitution canadienne renouvelée et Monsieur le Premier Ministre le mentionnait à plusieurs occasions aux dernières conférences.

Au postsecondaire, six collèges communautaires dispensent plus de soixante-dix programmes en langue française et sept établissements universitaires, dont Ottawa et Sudbury sont les mieux connus, offrent des programmes en français. La situation n'est pas parfaite. Mais elle s'améliore d'année en année. Des démarches ont maintenant été entreprises, comme l'annonçait dernièrement le discours du trône, pour la mise sur pied d'un collège de technologie agricole de langue française dans le comté de Prescott-Russell.

Pour qu'une communauté linguistique se dise qu'il faut qu'elle puisse fonctionner dans le plus grand nombre possible de sphères d'activités, devant l'amélioration sensible des services scolaires en langue française, l'Ontario augmente et améliore aussi les services dans de nombreux autres domaines. Afin de justement s'assurer que tous les éléments du gouvernement ontarien participent à la mise en oeuvre de la politique gouvernementale sur les secteurs en langue française on créait en 1970 le post de Coordonateur en langue française au sein de l'administration provinciale que préside un comité composé de représentants de chaque ministère ou agence gouvernementale.

Depuis sa création, le bureau du Coordonateur a joué un rôle très important dans l'amélioration des services en langue française. Sa présence au sein des structures gouvernementales indique clairement qu'un engagement du gouvernement envers la communauté francophone dépasse largement le stage des vœux pieux et qu'il se traduit dans des gestes concrets. La francophonie ontarienne s'intéresse de plus en plus à l'administration publique et les ministères comptent de nombreux cadres francophones jusqu'aux rangs même de sous-ministre adjoint et de sous-ministre en plus de quelque coordonnateurs à plein temps de service en langue française.

Dans le domaine de la justice, mon collègue le Procureur général a mentionné il y a quelques minutes que la loi permet d'offrir des services bilingues dans les cours provinciales situées dans les régions où il y a des concentrations de francophones. Tout francophone accusé d'un acte criminel peut obtenir un procès dans sa langue partout en Ontario. Il en est de même dans de nombreuses cours provinciales.

Le discours du trône récemment annonçait que le ministère du Procureur général dé-

signera certains tribunaux des petites créances où les procès se dérouleront dans les deux langues et il continuera à développer des services en français dans les tribunaux pour les causes criminelles, les questions familiales et les francophones.

Le ministère de la Santé s'est engagé à instituer un ensemble complet de services en langue française à commencer par les régions de l'Ontario qui comptent d'importantes concentrations de francophones.

Le ministère des Affaires intergouvernementales administre un programme d'aide financière aux municipalités dans le but d'encourager celles-ci à offrir leurs services dans les deux langues.

Monsieur le Président, je mentionne ces quelques initiatives récentes au gouvernement à titre d'exemple seulement. Les ministères et les agences gouvernementales font des efforts louables pour mieux répondre aux besoins des francophones et ils y réussissent de plus en plus.

Sans vouloir diminuer l'importance de l'intention du gouvernement dans la protection des droits des minorités et dans la mise sur pied des services essentiels, je crois qu'on ne peut pas parler d'une collectivité dans le seul contexte des services gouvernementaux. Monsieur le Président, cette francophonie ontarienne à laquelle j'appartiens n'est pas un simple pourcentage de la population de cette province; les francophones constituent une communauté bien active et bien décidée de se doter des instruments nécessaires à son épanouissement.

Je pourrais citer des centaines d'exemples à l'emploi de cet éconcé. Permettez-moi de mentionner le magnifique centre régional de loisirs sociaux-culturels qui vient d'ouvrir récemment à Kapuskasing, un endroit que vous connaissez bien, Monsieur l'Orateur, que mes concitoyens francophones ont établi avec grande fierté. Les activités de ce centre enrichissent considérablement la vie française en leur offrant musique, clubs de jeunes, ateliers, soirées sociales, et j'en passe.

Les francophones de chaque région de notre grande province proclament leur appartenance au Canada français qu'il s'agisse des quelque 40 clubs sociaux culturels franco-ontariens et des nombreux centres culturels, troupes de théâtre, boîtes à chanson parsemés par toute la province, ou encore qu'il s'agisse des nombreuses et dynamiques associations d'éducateurs, de parents, de jeunes, clubs d'âge d'or et autres. On retrouve une communauté francophone active dans environs deux cent villages et villes ontariennes.

Ontario is the home of many French-speaking Canadians. We have witnessed in our province an increasingly positive attitude of English Canada towards French Canada. The forces of separation are actions in response to an image of Canada that is no longer accurate. There are millions of Canadians who have a much better appreciation of the invaluable contribution of French Canada today to our national identity and character.

As a Canadian of French origin, of which I am very proud, I am grieved by those who would split Canada asunder, who would isolate themselves from the most beautiful country in the world, rich in human and natural resources. This is not the time to leave. This is the time to reap, along with other Canadians, the fruits of our labour in a spirit of co-operation, understanding and mutual respect.

I have concerns for French-speaking communities living outside of this province. Should Quebec separate, they would lose the cultural and linguistic nourishment that comes from Quebec. They will have great difficulty resisting the forces of assimilation, as has been mentioned by other members.

Canada is my country. It is the country of my compatriots from Quebec. Let us preserve the union and, with it, create together a greater, renewed and more unified society. I know that I have the support of all the members in this Legislature when I say we are unanimous in our expression of hope that our Quebec compatriots will decide to continue building Canada along with us.

Et en terminant Monsieur le Président, j'invite par la voix de cette assemblée mes frères et mes sœurs de la belle province à décider du sort de la francophonie canadienne dans un esprit de générosité à l'égard de leurs concitoyens francophones hors Québec dans un esprit de solidarité avec leurs compatriotes canadiens qui eux aussi réclament une fédération nouvelle. Nous voulons tous une fédération nouvelle.

J'ai la ferme conviction que nos compatriotes du Québec sauront reconnaître que c'est dans l'unité, et non dans l'isolement que les changements s'imposent et qu'ils sauront répondre à leurs aspirations légitimes et aux nôtres.

Merci, Monsieur le Président.

Mr. McGuigan: Mr. Speaker, as a farmer from Cedar Springs, I deem it a great pleasure and a privilege to speak in this historic debate. It is no doubt the most important issue we will ever have the opportunity to speak upon. I do so with a heavy

heart because, like most Canadians, I grew up believing that this country was a dominion from sea to sea and that the possibility of Canada being divisible was beyond comprehension.

4 p.m.

I wonder what a farmer from Cedar Springs can add—perhaps my own understanding of the land. The difficult climate and the hard times farmers have shared in its history developed within me a respect for this country that defies a completely rational analysis. This respect is rooted in an appreciation of Canada that is a belief that all is possible if we have optimism and hope in our future.

If a stranger stopped me on the street and asked me, "What are you?" I would probably give a snap answer and say, "I am a farmer." If questioned further, I might say, "I am a farmer and a member of the Legislature of Ontario." But if I really reflected upon the answer, I would say, "I am a child of God and I am a Canadian."

That is not being pious about it or being a superpatriot, but is being honest. My brother, who farms in Quebec, might give the same answer. Such an answer, if given by millions of Canadians in Ontario and in the other provinces and in Quebec, would lay the basis for setting aside all past injustices, all past acts of thoughtlessness, all acts of omission on all sides and the little annoyances that are inherent in a two-culture, two-language nation such as Canada.

Ontario and Quebec citizens share the same base for their religion, their Judaeo-Christian culture, and both provinces have a small but important number of religions other than the Jewish and Christian religions. These religions share a common belief in a single deity; so the left hand knows what the right hand is doing. We share a belief in forgiveness of sins and in striving for a more perfect, more moral existence for man.

If one were to have the option of dividing this country, no doubt today we would divide it the other way. Since we have never had that option, we must look at what we have and count our blessings. The east-west boundary line gave us the bounties of the seas on both coasts, bounties that Cartier described in his journal to the effect that his men had only to lower a pail over the side of his ship to bring in a bucket of fish. These are bounties we are now only learning to husband and to appreciate their value.

The split has given us the greatest area of arable land per person of any nation in the world. There is, in the opinion of this farmer,

no more valuable, no more blessed commodity that God or man could have bestowed on any community of man. It is more precious than gold, diamonds or uranium, and even more precious than oil, the most sought-after commodity in the world today. Second only to the Middle Eastern countries, we have more reserves of oil per person than any other people on earth.

The great Canadian Shield, even after 100 years of mining, is a vast and relatively untapped source of precious metals, base metals and uranium. Our forests, in spite of indifferent management at times, are among the richest resources in the world. Our hydro-electric capacity, particularly in Ontario and Quebec, is a renewable resource as long as the sun shines and the rivers run. In this respect we are the most favoured nation in the world.

I believe every inch of Canada belongs to the people of Quebec and that they should be made to feel comfortable and welcome in every corner of this land. I believe the reverse is true also, that every inch of Quebec is a part of Canada and that we should feel comfortable there. I believe there is more commonality than one suspects.

My brother moved to Quebec and bought a tract of land in the Eastern Townships about 25 years ago. His family of two boys and girls grew up bilingual. He built a large barn about 20 years ago, one that houses machinery and stores his vegetable crops from 300 acres. It burned to the ground a few years after its completion, and the next morning his francophone neighbours and the township council visited him and offered him a tax moratorium if he would rebuild.

Last fall his eldest son was killed in a tragic accident, leaving his French-Canadian wife and three children. My brothers and sisters and our families attended the funeral. There was a genuine outpouring of sympathy and support from one group of French Canadians to a saddened group of English Canadians that leads us to believe that in a crunch our two peoples have much in common.

We share the same values, grief touches our hearts, joyous moments elevate us. I ask the people of Quebec to remain a vital part of Canada and to share this land and their experiences with it. The decision is theirs, but as a legislator, as a farmer from Cedar Springs and as a human being, I pledge that I will do my best to work towards the constitutional changes that will allow us to keep this country from fracturing. It must not fracture. If it does, we will have failed in this

noble human and political experience and we will all be the smaller for it.

As a farmer, it has been my privilege for many years to represent, along with others, the farmers of Ontario at national conventions of the Canadian Federation of Agriculture and the Canadian Horticultural Council and to attend other national agricultural seminars and conferences. In the early days language separated some of the Quebec and Ontario delegates. In recent years the use of simultaneous translation, such as we have operating in this Legislature this week, have largely bridged this gulf.

But at those conferences, even though the farmers from all provinces had interests in different commodities, I found they shared a common interest. They shared an interest in the economic support of the Canadian agricultural stabilization program and in the federal-provincial support of the crop insurance programs. They shared an interest in the various health of animals support programs that compensate farmers where their livestock is threatened or killed by contagious diseases. They shared a love of the land; the desire to protect it. They shared a common interest in tax policies; the ability to pass the land from generation to generation in an orderly fashion. Above all, they shared the common experience of farming in a rather harsh climate.

The east-west geography has had the effect of making us a tough people, and that toughness shows in the farm people in their ability to tough it out in hard economic times. I find that the farmers of Quebec and of the other provinces agree to the terms of our national marketing plan. The divisions about sharing of national quotas are not divisions among our farm people. The divisions are among politicians and business people who try to exploit the tug and pull of competing regions of Canada with this constantly shifting pattern of consumption, production and marketing. The problem is not between farmers.

My message to the Quebec farmer is to remember the advantages of our integrated production system, our orderly sharing of markets and our hard-won concessions from federal income tax law. Surely a Quebec farmer would have to ask himself whether an independent country of Quebec, dependent on the earnings of its manufacturing sector and on the export of national resources, would have the money or the muscle to stabilize its agriculture, especially its dairy producers. Would it be able to protect its producers against cheap imports to the extent that Canada, with its diversity of production,

has been able to do? I do not think Ontario as a sovereign country could do so, and I doubt that Quebec could do so.

If we could look to the larger problem in agriculture, we might reflect that the 1970s brought us the energy crisis; the 1980s might well bring us the food crisis. Population pressures are building throughout the world. The world population is growing at 2.5 per cent a year, and production is growing at 2.4 per cent. In 1979, more food was consumed in the world than was produced, and millions of people have inadequate diets.

4:10 p.m.

Canada faces a great challenge and a great opportunity to meet some of those needs, and Canada can do a better job as a united country than it can as a quarrelling group of unco-operative provinces.

My last point brings me to another area of criticism, that of human rights, an area dealing with the protection of persons against discrimination. Every person has the desire to belong to the mainstream of society, the desire not to be set apart. It is possible that is the motive power behind the separatist movement: the desire to form their own linguistic and cultural group. But I submit that belonging to a larger family, first, the Judaeo-Christian family and secondly, the Canadian family, offers greater security than belonging to a Quebec family or an Ontario family.

Canada's native people have sensed this reality. It is notable that all the native groups appearing before the Pepin-Robarts Task Force on Canadian Unity stated they would rather live in a united Canada.

It is important to realize as well that women in Quebec, as in most other communities in the world, suffer many forms of economic oppression and, as a group seeking the redress of past and present injustices, they have more hope of achieving this by allying with the greater collectivity of Canadian women than by trying to compete within the more limited entity of a separate Quebec.

I have cited just two examples of groups which obviously need a brand of self-determination of their own rights. It has always been my experience that there is a much greater opportunity for diversity of interest, cultures and goals when that unit is defined as being larger rather than smaller. In terms of minority interests within Quebec, I think this axiom could be no different. For the sake of all people in Quebec, I truly believe it is in their best interests to identify with and be counted among all the people of our nation, Canada.

In 1978, at the first ministers' conference, a charter of rights and freedoms was presented as part of the constitutional amendment bill. This charter, however that might be eventually formulated, will have the first constitutionally guaranteed provision in Canada for individuals' rights.

In my experience in the labour-intensive croplands of southwestern Ontario, I have seen the migration of defeated—that is, defeated by the droughts of the 1930s—mostly European immigrants, who retreated from the dust bowls of the 1930s in western Canada to the sugar beet and other labour-intensive croplands of southwestern Ontario. Those people were better off being able to move freely from province to province in a united Canada.

Many of their sons and daughters moved back to the west in the 1940s and 1950s when they had learned how to manage the prairie soils, and some of the children of those who stayed are moving west today. That flexibility, that opportunity to adapt to changing conditions would no longer exist in a divided Canada.

One final overview: Civilizations do not survive because of military might or because of their insulation. They survive because of the will of the people to work and because of their vigour, and I think we could say that an insular Quebec would have less chance of competing in the world as a separate country than it would within Canada.

I am not an expert in constitutional reform. I know that our system is not perfect. I know that a system enacted 113 years ago most certainly needs revision, but surely its relative youth is in its favour; surely it is not too mature and facing decline. I have been heartened to take part in and listen to this outpouring of goodwill, this willingness to admit mistakes, this commitment to future change, and I am certain that no Canadian, whether in Ontario, Quebec or in the other provinces, could question the sincerity.

Mr. Samis: Monsieur le Président, c'est un grand honneur pour moi de participer à ce débat historique.

Pour les gens de Cornwall le débat sur le référendum et l'unité nationale n'est pas un débat académique ou quelconque jeu intellectuel.

Pour nous, c'est la réalité et c'est une réalité très significative à cause de notre situation géographique et des origines des gens qui demeurent dans notre région. Situés près de la frontière du Québec, les gens de Cornwall ont développé des liens spéciaux avec les gens du Québec.

S'il est vrai que l'Ontario a un lien spécial avec le Québec, c'est encore plus vrai pour les habitants de notre région. Par exemple, plusieurs milliers de gens dans notre région vont à Montréal pour magasiner, s'amuser, visiter ou voir un spectacle parce que c'est tout près.

Pour nous, Montréal est seulement une heure de voiture, et j'aimerais souligner que la capitale de la province du Québec, la ville de Québec, est plus proche que Queen's Park par quelques 75 milles.

Dans le domaine culturel, les relations sont autres que fortuites parce que beaucoup de personnes dans notre région lisent les journaux de Montréal, écoutent les programmes de radio de Montréal et regardent les postes de télévision de Montréal dans les deux langues. C'est à cause de tout ça que nous suivons les développements politiques dans la province du Québec avec un intérêt et un esprit très spécial.

Un lien spécial n'est pas restreint aux matières culturelles. Dans le domaine des sports, par exemple, notre équipe de hockey junior, les Royals de Cornwall, joue dans la ligue Majeure du Québec, non celle de l'Ontario.

Chaque été, des centaines de milliers de Québécois visitent notre région pour s'amuser sur nos plages et dans nos parcs provinciaux. Le fait que presque 50 pour cent des gens de Cornwall sont d'origine canadienne-française donne un autre caractère spécial à ce lien.

Monsieur le Président, le 20 mai sera une date historique pour notre pays et notre province, que ce soit une victoire du "Non" ou du "Oui."

J' imagine que notre pays ne sera pas le même après ce référendum historique.

Je sais que les gens de ma circonscription, qu'ils soient d'origine anglaise, française ou écossaise sont fortement opposés à l'idée d'un Québec indépendant, séparé ou souverain. Et ils préfèrent maintenir le système fédéral avec le Québec comme un partenaire d'une nouvelle fédération. Nous sommes Canadiens, nous sommes fiers d'être Canadiens. Nous voulons continuer en tant que Canadiens dans l'esprit qu'Henri Bourassa a lutté pour établir il y a 80 ans dans notre pays.

Pour nous, le Canada est une dualité basée sur les deux langues, les deux peuples fondateurs et les cultures.

Mais le problème dans l'Ontario en ce moment historique et dans le débat constitutionnel est qu'il existe une vaste différence entre les réussites des dernières 113 années en ce qui concerne la manière dont sont traités la minorité francophone en Ontario et

la minorité anglophone au Québec, et elles continuent de saper nos relations avec la province du Québec.

Nous, surtout nous les députés à Queen's Park, nous devons réaliser que notre province est surveillée avec méfiance et scepticisme par les Québécois, à cause de notre record dans la manière dont nous avons traité la minorité francophone depuis la Confédération.

C'est assez d'être reconnu comme la province la plus riche ou la province qui protège le statu quo constitutionnel ou économique plus que n'importe quelle autre province, mais nous sommes considérés, après le Manitoba, comme la province qui n'a pas rendu effectif l'esprit de la Confédération dans notre propre province en ce qui concerne les droits des minorités.

Je suis né au Québec, et j'ai vécu dans un milieu presque complètement anglais, et si vous comparez mes droits en tant qu'anglophone au Québec depuis la Confédération jusqu'à aujourd'hui avec ceux d'un Franco-Ontarien, voici le bilan qui se découlerait:

Au Québec: —la langue anglaise était reconnue officiellement et garantie par l'acte BNA depuis 1867 par le gouvernement fédéral.

—un anglophone a le droit de recevoir une éducation dans la langue de son choix depuis 1867—et même aujourd'hui, avec un gouvernement séparatiste, il y a trois universités anglaises maintenant, dont deux existent depuis presque 100 ans.

—un anglophone a le droit d'utiliser la langue de son choix devant les tribunaux depuis la Confédération.

—un anglophone a le droit de parler dans l'Assemblée du Québec dans la langue de son choix depuis la Confédération, et de recevoir des services gouvernementaux dans la langue de son choix depuis la Confédération.

4:20 p.m.

Tout ça était, et est garanti par la section 133 de l'Acte Britannique de l'Amérique du Nord, et que ce soit un gouvernement libéral, conservateur, le Parti National d'Honoré Mercier, l'Union nationale de Maurice Duplessis, ou le Parti Québécois de René Lévesque, ces droits restent garantis par les lois—même si le Parti Québécois veut les diminuer.

Comparez cela avec le record de notre province depuis la Confédération:

—aucune université française, maintenant ou dans le passé.

—aucune reconnaissance officielle ou légale pour la langue française, en tant que langue officielle.

—aucune école secondaire publique française pendant 101 ans après la Confédération.

—aucun Conseil Scolaire français et homogène, aujourd'hui ou dans le passé.

—aucun droit garanti devant les tribunaux pour presque 110 ans après la Confédération.

—aucun droit garanti aux services gouvernementaux pour le premier siècle depuis la Confédération.

—et la fameuse Régulation 17, adoptée par le gouvernement de l'Ontario

—et un taux d'assimilation effrayant et dévastant.

Oui, c'est vrai, il y a eu des améliorations et des changements favorables aux francophones dans cette province dans les dernières dix ou quinze années—surtout dans les tribunaux et à certains niveaux d'éducation.

Mais, pourquoi le gouvernement est-il tellement faible, tellement lent à introduire ces changements? Pourquoi la minorité francophone doit-elle se contenter des petits changements ici et là? Pourquoi doivent-ils toujours lutter et se battre pour gagner leurs droits dans cette province, alors que les anglophones du Québec ont leurs droits garantis et protégés depuis la Confédération?

Je suis assez réaliste pour comprendre que la politique de ce gouvernement dans des situations comme Penetang est populaire, mais comment expliquez-vous un Penetang à un Québécois aujourd'hui?

Le Premier Ministre du Canada, M. Trudeau, et le Commissaire des deux langues officielles, M. Max Yalden, ont tous deux dénoncé la politique du gouvernement à Penetang et, par conséquent, le mot "Penetang" est devenu un symbole de notre manque de tolérance, de générosité et de reconnaissance des droits minoritaires.

Comment expliquez-vous que le gouvernement ait annoncé un compromis six jours avant le voyage de M. Davis au Québec, mais après deux ans de pressions, de pétitions, de manifestations, de lettres et d'efforts herculéens de la part des francophones de Penetang?

Le gouvernement peut gagner des votes par sa politique mais il fait des dégâts irréversibles à l'esprit de la Confédération et à l'unité nationale. Nous devons accepter la réalité que toutes ces décisions ont peu à peu formé une image très négative pour notre province et qu'elles ont sapé n'importe quel rôle que nous voulions jouer sur la scène nationale.

Les gens de l'Ouest ont leurs propres raisons pour se méfier de l'Ontario, mais les gens du Québec ont aussi leurs raisons personnelles et profondes pour avoir la même attitude.

Mais, nous sommes en 1980 et nous avons la grande opportunité de prouver que nous sommes sincères lorsque nous disons que cette résolution que le statu quo est inacceptable et que nous sommes prêts à démontrer aux gens du Québec notre bonne foi.

Comment? En présentant des propositions concrètes et positives pour renouveler le système fédéral en général et en donnant les mêmes droits et les mêmes opportunités à la minorité francophone de l'Ontario que celles que la minorité anglophone au Québec a reçu depuis la Confédération.

Les 113 dernières années ont prouvé que la minorité francophone a besoin de protection légale pour garantir leurs droits et leur survivance même en Ontario. Et c'est une question très, très sérieuse pour eux.

Ici, en Ontario, on ne veut pas forcer tout le monde à être bilingue, parce qu'une telle politique serait stupide et ferait plus de mal que de bien. Mais nous devons garantir quelques droits fondamentaux pour nos deux groupes linguistiques dans la province, notamment d'abord:

(1) Il existe deux langues officielles dans la province et qu'on peut utiliser ces deux langues indifféremment dans l'Assemblée, dans les tribunaux et dans les services gouvernementaux.

(2) N'importe quelle personne peut être servie par le gouvernement provincial dans la langue de son propre choix, dans les régions où les nombres sont suffisants.

(3) Tout citoyen, soit-il anglophone, francophone ou indien, a le droit d'avoir l'éducation primaire et secondaire dans la langue de son choix où il demeure.

(4) Chaque groupe principal, soit-il anglophone, francophone ou indien, doit avoir le droit d'administrer leurs propres institutions, sous l'autorité générale du Ministère de l'Éducation.

(5) Chaque personne doit avoir accès aux services sociaux et aux services de santé dans la langue de son choix, dans les régions où les nombres sont suffisants.

(6) Chaque personne doit avoir le droit à un procès judiciaire dans la langue de son choix, surtout lorsqu'il y a possibilité d'un dossier criminel avec condamnation.

(7) Chaque personne doit avoir le droit des services de radio, télévision et cablevision dans la langue de son choix, dans les régions où les nombres sont suffisants.

Monsieur l'Orateur, j'aimerais souligner que l'Ontario est la seule province qui manque des garanties concrètes et légales pour leurs minorités. Le Québec les a depuis la Confédération. Le Manitoba depuis plus de 110 ans

maintenant, et le Nouveau-Brunswick depuis 10 ans.

Comme je l'ai déjà énoncé, notre province est surveillée par les autres provinces avec beaucoup de méfiance en ce moment et pour plusieurs raisons. Mais maintenant, on peut changer ça avec une démonstration de confiance, bonne foi et générosité envers notre minorité.

Mr. Speaker, on behalf of the people of the township and city of Cornwall I would like to speak in favour of this resolution before us today. I speak as a Canadian who was born in Quebec and spent 22 years in that province. I speak as a Canadian who is part French Canadian and part English Canadian. I speak as a representative of a community that was founded in 1783 by the United Empire Loyalists, who were joined later by the descendants of the Glengarry Highlanders and still later by French Canadians who emigrated seeking work in our part of this province.

Naturally, because of our geographic proximity and our socio-cultural ties with Quebec, the people of my area are deeply interested in the referendum debate and the future of both Quebec and Canada. The people of Cornwall are strong believers in federalism, and they are strongly opposed to the idea of an independent, sovereign or separate Quebec on their borders for a variety of reasons.

I want to speak briefly about the referendum question itself. Having lived in Quebec, I can recall the rise of the separatist movement in the early 1960s. I remember vividly le Rassemblement pour l'Indépendance Nationale de Pierre Bourgault and André d'Allemagne. I remember l'Alliance Larentienne of Raymond Barbeau. They were clear; they told the people of Quebec what they wanted—an independent Quebec, no questions asked; no ifs, buts or ands—indépendance was their goal.

I remember the founding of the Parti Québécois in 1968 and how they campaigned in 1970 on a platform of independence for Quebec. I remember the 1973 election campaign when they brought forth an independence budget for year one, and that became the main election issue. There was no fudging the question; independence was the issue. I respect people like Jacques Parizeau, Louis O'Neill, Pierre Bourgault and Camille Laurin, because they haven't really changed their tune since 1968. They are still saying they are fighting for independence, not some watered-down version or sugar-coated facsimile. They still even dare to use the word "indépendance."

But look at the referendum question facing the people of Quebec today. Obviously it was worded and drafted very carefully and only after repeated consultation with the pollsters and the PQ organizers. The end result is that the referendum will not be making clear what the people of Quebec do want, which was its original purpose. Instead, it is designed to protect the political interests and power of the Parti Quebecois government.

If the PQ were really honest, they would have asked the very simple question, "Are you in favour of Quebec separating from Canada and becoming a separate country?" But they knew they would get clobbered, they would be heavily defeated, if they asked such a question. If they were to ask the people, "Do you support sovereignty-association?" they knew they would get clobbered; so they could not ask that question. If they asked the question, "Would you give us a mandate to negotiate sovereignty-association?" they did not even trust themselves going to the people on that question. They took the easiest, the most facile way out of it. They said, "Would you give us a mandate to negotiate?" and then they promised, "We will give you a second referendum, a second question, a second chance to reassess the whole situation."

Why did they do this? Why didn't they stick to the original premise of independence? Because they are worried that the people of Quebec would not vote for sovereignty-association, and they know they would never vote for outright independence. What they have done is they have watered down the question to the extent that we have to ask ourselves what this referendum really means.

4:30 p.m.

Rene Levesque tells the people that a yes vote will somehow break the constitutional logjam and get the process of reform moving. But will it? What will it accomplish? How can it accomplish this?

The Prime Minister of Canada has said his government will not negotiate sovereignty-association. Every single provincial Premier has said he is not interested in negotiating sovereignty-association.

One has to ask whether a yes vote actually would lead to a breakthrough, or would it lead to an even greater and more difficult impasse for the people of Quebec.

I recall talking to a PQ member who was visiting here last year, and I questioned him about what would be the actual status of

Quebec under sovereignty-association. I said: "When you guys talked about independence, we all understood you. Now what are you? Do you want to be a country? Do you want to be a state? Do you want to be a province?" He would not give me a direct answer. I suggest the people of Quebec today are faced with that same fudging mentality.

In this whole question, we have to face the reality that English Canadians have a vital role to play. English Canadians must understand that a no vote is in no way an endorsement of the status quo, because virtually nobody in Quebec is defending the status quo as a viable option for that province.

Here in Ontario, we have to face the reality that we are being seen as the greatest beneficiaries and defenders of the status quo, both by the people of Quebec and by the people of western Canada. We also had better face the reality that a majority of our own constituents probably prefer the status quo and probably want a strong federal government. We, as legislators, have a duty to convince our own people that change is essential, that change is imminent, and we have a duty to be a part of that vital process of change in Canada.

If we are ever going to change the perception about Ontario being the great defender of the status quo, we have to do certain things as a province.

First, this government must articulate and present its alternatives to the status quo. It is okay to say the status quo is unacceptable in this resolution, but the question is, what do we want as a province? What is our position as a province? What does Ontario want? We haven't answered those questions.

Second, the Premier of this province must display far greater involvement and leadership in the post-referendum drive for constitutional reforms. John Roberts was an active participant, and even a catalyst, in the constitutional debate in the 1960s, and developed a close personal relationship with various Quebec Premiers. The present Premier of this province simply has to take a more active role on the national scene and make his voice heard beyond mere platitudes and reassurances.

Third, if we are going to convince people that we are rejecting the status quo, now is the time to dramatically demonstrate that rejection by granting the Franco-Ontarian minority full legal protection and guarantees for their linguistic, educational and cultural rights.

Of the four provinces with sizeable minorities, we are the only province which

does not offer a legal guarantee and framework for our minority. Quebec has done so since 1867, Manitoba since 1870 and New Brunswick since the early 1970s. What has Ontario done? What are we doing today? What could better demonstrate our rejection of the status quo than a dramatic charter of rights for our minorities to ensure they enjoy the same rights in Ontario as others enjoy in Quebec?

Finally, we have to convince the people of Quebec that we care about our country, Canada and that it is about time we took control of our own destiny. How can we tell French Canadians to join with us in building this country when most of our manufacturing and most of our resource industries are owned by foreigners and by outsiders? We have to display some interest and some stake in our community.

Before closing, I would like to quote from Pierre Bourgault, a man whom I respect, although I disagree with him profoundly. He said: "English Canada should build a country—and then maybe we would want to be part of it. Be creative—build your own identity, and then maybe we will believe in you too. . . . The day you believe in Canada as much as I believe in Quebec, 90 per cent of your problems will go away."

I suspect Pierre Bourgault has a point. The challenge to Canada is here and now. English Canadians must respond to that challenge, because it is our Canada that is at stake. We do not have to be afraid of making constitutional change, because we have done it before—in 1774, 1791, 1841 and 1867. English-speaking Canadians must realize that the time has come to make major changes for the first time in 113 years. We are all Canadians. It should represent a positive challenge to make this country more meaningful and more relevant to its citizens and the future generations.

Mr. Sterling: Mr. Speaker, as a member for a riding in eastern Ontario, as is the last speaker, I understand many of the things he has said. He has indicated to this Legislature the strong support in our area for our country. As a direct descendant of the United Empire Loyalists, I understand the feelings my forefathers had for their country.

I make my contribution to this debate with some apprehension, however. That apprehension is based almost wholly on my sense that a growing chorus of opinion in the country would have the idea of Canada sacrificed on the altar of regional and sectional opportunism, what we may speak of in more basic terms as provincialism and parochialism.

I was most forcibly reminded of this point only this morning when I read a press account of Mr. Brian Peckford's remarks to the Conference Board in Canada, which met in Toronto yesterday. The Premier of Newfoundland would have both his cake and be able to eat it too in that he demands for his province control of offshore resources and deep-sea fisheries, while insisting at the same time that the federal government guarantee to his province the transmission of Newfoundland-generated power to American markets through the territory of Quebec.

Without examining the pros and cons of these particular issues and accepting Mr. Peckford's statement as a bargaining position, it is clear that the premise underlying his thoughts is that if Canada, as represented by our national government, provides everything that the provinces want it will be given a top grade and allowed to survive because of the beneficial service to the regional or provincial interest. On the other hand, if it should fail to give us what we want, it doesn't pass our test and, as a result, we should dispose of it.

Mr. Peckford is not the only province-oriented spokesman who uses this kind of reasoning. We have been guilty of using it and the other provinces have been guilty of using this. Once this becomes common, political logic becomes irretrievably joined in the public mind as one and the same thing. The tragedy of this is that the issue becomes not one of constitutional reform, of which we are indisputably in need, but of constitutional dismantlement, in which the roles of the nation and of the federal government are assumed to be sacrificed to the extension of provincial jurisdiction.

It is an argument that would deprive Canada of being a nation and render it instead a straggling association of squabbling provincial jurisdictions. I want to challenge this growing assertion not only because it is narrowly conceived, but also because it is so fundamentally wrong in its concept of the role of a nation that Canada affords. The whole purpose of Confederation is that through its national government it can both protect and promote regional and provincial concerns, while at the same time it guarantees the national interest without which provincial and individual rights would soon be imperilled and lost.

I would like to turn to the issue of constitutional responsibility and its effect on the status of the Canadian federation. In short, if the Parti Quebecois is arguing that as a province Quebec does not have the political power to sufficiently direct the outcome of

Quebec's culture, society and economy, then it is wrong. As this federation continues on its present course of decentralization, the PQ will be even more wrong.

4:40 p.m.

In the last 15 years, provincial power has increased while federal power has decreased. We now raise a higher proportion of the taxes than we did 15 years ago. The federal spending power, which was used in the past to control the purse strings of many of our programs, has declined through the move towards block grants and disentanglement of the federal government from cost-shared programs. Ottawa is even getting out of areas into which it would formerly intrude, such as urban affairs.

The provinces have run the education systems, the health systems, the municipal systems, the bulk of labour and agriculture, the police forces and the administration of our courts in Ontario and Quebec. To be honest, and I do not mean this to be cynical or overcritical of our federal colleagues, I sometimes wonder what is left for my federal counterpart to do.

I would strongly argue that not only does a provincial government have sufficient responsibilities and power, but within a few years it will have more. The Parti Quebecois is creating a straw man when it suggests that Ottawa, and the power which it wields, prevents it from achieving its goals of cultural and economic security. Every one of the goals which Quebec aspires to achieve can be accommodated within the evolving federation.

We, with Quebec and the other provinces, have striven over the last few years to realign the federal system along a more rational and logical basis.

I am firmly convinced that we are on the verge of a new era in Canada. However, I caution that I personally believe that any new constitutions and any reassignments of responsibility must not weaken the federal government to the point where it cannot maintain sufficient control of our economy or ensure that a basic level of social service support is available in the various provinces across our country.

I would like to turn to a more specific issue, one which is fundamental in any discussion of the future of Canada and Quebec. Without a doubt, the issue of French-language education has been one of the most controversial issues this province has faced in recent years. I wish to speak of this issue exactly for that reason, and because without

a doubt, the right of minority-language education is one of the building blocks upon which a new framework of this federation will be built.

It is somewhat interesting that the very first speech I gave to this Legislature—two weeks after my election in June 1977 was on French-language education. That debate was on the bill providing for a French-language secondary school in Essex county. I supported, as did most members of this Legislature, that particular piece of legislation. At the time of that debate three years ago, I stated that I was not satisfied our record was good enough. Today, I would still say the same, that our record is far from being perfect.

It is my personal opinion that this province has been somewhat slow at arriving at a policy decision on French-language education. However, the argument I wish to make, and strongly, is that Ontario in the last 10 years has moved progressively and decisively towards the provision of adequate and abundant French-language schooling. Furthermore, this province has inextricably committed itself to ensuring the financing, the program development and the unequivocal encouragement of French-language schooling where it is needed.

As examples of the approaches the Ontario government is developing, I would like briefly to point out some of the programs in the area of French-language education.

Beginning in 1968, this Legislature passed two very important bills. These bills gave legal recognition to French as a language of instruction, administration and general communication in Ontario schools. Furthermore, the legislation provided for mandatory instruction in French where it was requested by a minimum number of students. It also established French Language Advisory Committees to advise local school boards where French parents were in a minority.

Following this landmark legislation, French-language schools were established throughout the province. There now are 285 full-French elementary schools in our province. There are 26 full-French secondary schools and 35 French-English mixed schools. There now are more than 20,000 Ontario students in French-language secondary schools. Recently the Ontario government has provided funding to encourage mixed schools to develop into separate French and English entities, coexisting beside each other.

In other areas the province has provided curricula, teacher training, teacher exchange programs, and money to provide French-language learning and resource material.

French-language education programs have not been restricted to the elementary and secondary levels. For example, in 1973, Ontario community colleges offered 31 programs to 693 French-speaking students. Today they are offering 87 programs to 2,100 students at a cost of approximately \$4 million.

The underlying and main point I am making is that Ontario is moving in the right direction. At present, of the 5.6 per cent francophone population in our province, 5.4 per cent of that francophone population is being educated in the French language and the French language alone.

However, I personally would be willing to see Ontario and the other provinces, in conjunction with the federal government, go even further by entrenching minority-language education rights in a constitution based on the conditions of need and feasibility. We have had some problem in the past in determining what need and feasibility are. I would suggest to this Legislature, in regard to any constitutional reform that might take place as a result of our debate, that the conditions be established in a general forum made up of politicians but, if those conditions be reached, they be judged by a nonpolitical body.

In closing, I would like to apologize to French Canadians who might be listening in Ontario and Quebec for not delivering some of my speech in French. Unfortunately, in that respect I am a product of my time. But I would like to add that if my 10-year-old son Ian or my eight-year-old daughter Sarah, both of whom have received all their education totally immersed in French since they were four years of age, were fortunate enough to become members of this Legislature, as I have, they would be able to speak directly to French Canadians.

Attitudes have changed rapidly in the past 10 years. Acceptance of continued change will not be aided by a yes vote in Quebec. I look forward to working with Quebecers and making this a stronger union, regardless of the outcome of the referendum.

Mr. Eakins: Mr. Speaker, as the member for Victoria-Haliburton, it is an honour for me to play a role in the future shaping of the society in which I live, a society that is democratic and, above all, guarantees personal freedoms. It is a society with a moral attitude of respect for the independence of others and tolerance of their opinions.

I could not live in a society that was not democratic; I could not live in a society that

was intolerant; and I could not live happily in any society where there was the slightest doubt about our personal freedom. In a social order of this kind there is a very dynamic and vital role to be played by our volunteer organizations and service clubs. They are nationwide, for the most part, and therefore provide a valuable link among our many provinces and regions. In summary, they play an important role in the functioning of this country.

I am impressed by the role played to date by our service clubs, which in the past played an important part in bringing our people together, not just across Canada, but also around the world. Let me elaborate. At the end of the Second World War, General Eisenhower, thinking of the future, said, "We have learned to win the war, but we have not learned to win the peace."

He started a movement that has had a tremendous impact on many people, in many communities throughout the world. He introduced the sister city, or twinning, movement. The initial program brought together Montclair, New Jersey, in the United States, and Göttingen, Germany. Ten years ago the town of Lindsay, my home town, twinned with the city of Nayoro, Hokkaido, Japan. This has been a great experience and has created a spirit of friendship, understanding and brotherhood.

4:50 p.m.

The time has come when right across Canada—in our country—we should come to understand and know each other to a greater extent. We should visit each other's communities and come to know each other just as decent human beings from all parts of a great country, Canada.

Tourism is one of the most important economic links that we in Ontario share with Quebec. It has the potential to be the strongest economic link, and that is something we may well see in the future. I have recognized this fact since I held the tourism portfolio for my party. As a matter of fact, in 1977, the year following the election of the Parti Québécois, I conveyed a message to this Legislature. The message was simply that there was a very significant role to be played by tourism and its policies in a national unity context.

The largest number of visitors to Ontario from other provinces comes from the province of Quebec. Likewise, Ontarians regularly visit Quebec. Such exchanges are invaluable in terms of developing a better understanding and appreciation of each other's

viewpoints. In fact, Ontario's tourism industry can contribute much more than all the political speeches put together just by warmly welcoming Quebecers to our province.

That message was delivered in 1977. I can only hope that the opportunity to have such an exchange has become available for many members of this House. I was fortunate to have participated in such an exchange just two weeks ago in the town of Lindsay. Through the initiative of the Reverend Jack Hobbs, a group of more than 100 people from Montreal known as l'Assemblée des Arts du Québec, visited our town. They were sponsored by the Department of Cultural Affairs of Quebec. They presented a concert in the theatre, and on Sunday they presented a mass in the United Church. It is a meaningful, moving experience when a group of this size, 95 per cent of whom are Roman Catholic and French-speaking, visits an English-speaking community, and a Protestant church, and stays in our homes as our guests. On a personal note I would like to send a greeting to the wonderful guests who stayed in our home, Georgette and Julien Lambert. This is the type of experience that is meaningful and can do more than all the talk from we who are politicians.

We have a vehicle to carry out these exchanges through our churches, service clubs, scouts and guides, and in fact, dozens of organizations that are national in scope. May this opportunity of friendship and understanding be not unmeaning words upon our lips, but the sentiment of our hearts and the practice of our lives.

In the last couple of years, I have also recommended the expansion of the services provided to tourists from our sister cities of Quebec. Specifically, I have advocated the printing of more of our Ontario tourism brochures in French so Quebecers might know from the outset that they are more than just welcome in Ontario, they are being sent a personal invitation to come and visit us. I am pleased to say our efforts in this regard have been expanded.

The coupling of Ontario and Quebec as a region of Canada makes good economic sense. It makes even better sense when considered specifically as a tourism region. Both provinces have recognized this and, accordingly, we have a number of joint tourism programs that have provided substantial benefit to both.

Provincial boundaries mean little to the traveller intent on gaining the maximum of pleasure from his vacation itinerary. Realizing this, the governments of Ontario and La

Belle Province, Quebec, have initiated a co-operative project known as the Heritage Highway. A booklet has been published which describes the interprovincial tour in terms of the historic importance and scenic attractiveness of the route. It has been termed one of North America's most favoured tourist routes. The trip begins at world-renowned Niagara Falls, travels through the Queen City, Toronto, to the historic fortress city of Kingston, and then on to cosmopolitan Montreal and the most Old World city in North America, Quebec, ending at the famous Percé Rock on the eastern extremity of the Gaspé Peninsula.

Approaching the Heritage Highway or turning off along the route, the traveller is offered a variety of fascinating side trips: Ste. Marie-among-the-Hurons and the Martyrs' Shrine at Midland; the acclaimed Shakespearean Festival at Stratford; Canada's pageant-filled capital city, Ottawa; the invigorating mountain air of the Laurentians; the Old World charm of Ile d'Orléans; and, on a personal note, the beauty of the Highlands of Haliburton.

This is a journey through two cultures, reflected in the use of both of Canada's official languages. The heritages of Canada's two largest provinces have been intertwined since the earliest days of the nation's history when sailors and coureurs de bois first explored the mighty St. Lawrence River from the Gaspé to the Great Lakes.

In the middle of the 18th century, New France was a vast empire extending from the Atlantic to the eastern slope of the Rocky Mountains and south to the Gulf of Mexico. Yet, except for New Orleans, the only permanent settlements of any size were along the valley of the St. Lawrence, with Quebec, Trois Rivières and Montreal as administrative centres. Confederation, a century later, saw Upper Canada and Lower Canada merge with other provinces into the nation to form the basis of modern Canada. Today, following the route of the explorers, sea-going ocean ships navigate the St. Lawrence Seaway in the very heartland of the continent.

These two cultures, linked by destiny and 400 years of history, epitomize Canada and the spirit of co-operation that has resulted in joint programs, such as the Heritage Highway. Ontario and Quebec have a tradition of co-operation in promoting interprovincial travel. The Heritage Highway program now is 12 years old.

We also share a similar market for foreign tourists. In February 1978, simultaneous announcements in Toronto and Quebec City

marked the official start of the most far-reaching co-operative tourism agreement ever undertaken by Ontario and Quebec. The agreement outlined a shared-cost international tourism campaign aimed at increasing the number and length of stay of visitors to the sister provinces. It was expected that the venture would generate an increase in tourism revenue to help offset the national tourism deficit.

Co-operative efforts between Ontario and Quebec in the past have met with great success. Tourism is an industry of prime importance to both provinces. A minimum of \$2 million will be invested by each party before the agreement expires on March 31, 1982. The merging of forces is intended to double the lure of both provinces as a long-haul destination. Combined tour packages will allow visitors to Ontario and Quebec the opportunity to experience the best of Canada's multicultural sights, sounds and nature.

The main thrust of the co-operative effort will be aimed at multiplying long-distance travel to Ontario and Quebec. Combined press tours, literature, advertising campaigns and research will be undertaken to fully inform the travel trade of the benefits of vacationing in Ontario and Quebec. In addition, joint promotion missions, with members drawn from both provinces' governments and tourism industries, will take place in the target markets. To ensure its effectiveness, a consulting committee of members from both provinces will review and assess the program's activities on an ongoing basis.

Long before our two provinces combined forces for the mutual benefit of each of our tourism sectors, the value of tourism as a unifying entity was well recognized. On June 24, 1889, Sir Wilfrid Laurier stated the following in a speech in Quebec City:

"We are French Canadians but our country is not confined to the territory overshadowed by the Citadel of Quebec. Our country is Canada. It is the whole of what is covered by the British flag on the American continent, the fertile lands bordered by the Bay of Fundy, the valley of the St. Lawrence, the region of the Great Lakes, the Prairies of the west, the Rocky Mountains, the lands washed by the famous ocean where breezes are said to be as sweet as the breezes of the Mediterranean."

5 p.m.

That was almost 100 years ago. While we have witnessed more changes in the past century than at any other time in our history, those words have not changed. The beauty and the grandeur which is Canada is

as evident now as it was 100 years ago, and we can be thankful for that, but our population has changed in cosmopolitan and social attitudes. Our values, however, have not changed.

The pride of being Canadian grows stronger every day, and it is a pride that has earned the respect of every other nation in the world. It is also the quality that, in the end, will supersede the differences our country is faced with internally.

I wonder how many Canadians outside of the boundaries of Quebec really know and understand what is going on inside that province. It may be that a large number of them know no more about the changes now taking place in Quebec than the most visible one: the ascension to power of a party devoted to splitting up our country. The danger in this partial understanding of the problem would be a belief that the solution to the current crisis lies solely within Quebec. The crisis of Confederation is not merely a simple internal, political problem to be resolved by Quebec alone while the rest of Canada acts as a spectator. This crisis involves all Canadians in a way that no other event in our nation's history has until now.

For the rest of Canada to maintain a passive role during this time would be tantamount to surrendering to the breakup of the family. Therefore, I am proud to be addressing this House and this nation, speaking on behalf of the people of Ontario. They are the ones who are appealing to the population of Quebec; we in this House are simply making speeches on their behalf. I would be proud to look back on this debate, knowing that we, as three separate and distinct parties of this parliament, had the courage and the will to set aside our partisanship for this week and to rise above all our differences in our own province to make a united, strong and vigorous appeal to the residents of Quebec.

This issue has been treated in too partisan a way by too many people in this country. If there is one thing that should tie all politicians together, it is surely the desire to keep this country together. If there ever has been a reason we should set aside our concern for our own political careers, our own futures, it is this occasion, Canada, as a united nation, is more important than any party in political office. It is the cause we must concern ourselves with above all others.

The people of Quebec have their own kind of nationalism. It is a pride in their identity, which is very precious and which perhaps some other Canadians in decades or centuries past have not been quick enough to

recognize. That pride is the root of our Canadian identity because when we, or our forefathers, came to this country, we were allowed to retain our backgrounds and our traditions rather than giving them up. That has meant that we retained our identity; we could still be ourselves. That is the very same precious quality that Quebecers fear to lose. Because we share that pride of identity, an element that is characteristically Canadian, I am confident that through speeches such as these the rest of the Canadian people will impress upon Quebecers that in this country all are truly one, that there is no other place in the world where their own identity will be more upheld or more protected than it will be in Canada.

The challenge we face is not only domestic, it is also international. If we cannot hold our own land together—one of the most privileged in the whole world, with its richness, its physical diversity, its cultural diversity, with two official languages and only 23 million people—if we cannot get along together, how can we expect the world ever to survive with its hundreds of different countries, languages and cultures? How do we expect the world to live together in peace and harmony?

The situation we are faced with in Canada at present is much more than a Canadian problem. It is a problem that mankind has always faced: whether we can live together in a spirit of understanding. What makes Canada is the Canadians. It won't be some particular constitutional provision, and it can't be legislated; those are things that can always be changed. But it's absolutely essential that we must never give up on the basic human rights and liberties which serve as a common value to us all and which permit this Legislature to meet today in friendship and respect for each other in this House.

This Legislature has made a decision to let our choice in this matter be known to Quebec and the rest of Canada. Let us hope that future historians who look back on our actions will be able to say that we acted not badly but well, not meanly but generously, that we acted not in the interest of one but in the interests of us all.

I acknowledge here on this day, as both a personal act of commitment and as a representative of all those of French ancestry and culture in whose country I stand, the sincerity of this gesture.

Mr. Warner: Mr. Speaker, it is said that when a legislator frames his laws he should have two things in view: the country and the people. That was said by Aristotle a long time ago. It is the context within which I frame my remarks. As Ontarians and as Cana-

dians, we must have the political will and the goodwill to keep this country together. We must use every bit of energy we have to find solutions. We must be completely open in our approach to the problems.

For my part this afternoon, I wish to address an aspect which all Canadians, in searching for a new constitution and a new arrangement, must surely discuss; that is, the Canadian Senate. I suppose if one took a public opinion poll one might find many Canadians, perhaps most, would be willing to do away with the Senate on the basis that it is irrelevant and that it has no power and no real position. I wish to abolish the Senate, but for the opposite reason; it is too powerful and without accountability. As I lay the arguments before you, I think you will see that clearly, **Mr. Speaker.**

Let us go back to the beginning of the Senate and why it was established. Basically, there were two tasks: first, to keep a conservative eye on the elected House of Commons in order to safeguard property interests and, second, to defend particular minority interests, provincial or regional. The British North America Act in 1867 gave the Senate veto power over all legislation the House of Commons might pass.

Perhaps the members at the time had this in mind, but it is in keeping with Plato's theory of guardianship and rulers. If we can turn back to Plato for a moment, when he was discussing the formation of government he looked at the guardians and the way in which they would govern. From the guardians the people had to choose a select few, the rulers, who, like our Senate, would oversee what was going on and would have the power to veto.

Plato said: "The kind of men we must choose from among the guardians will be those who, when we look at the whole course of their lives, are found to be full of zeal to do whatever they believe is good for the commonwealth and never willing to act against its interests." That is a lofty ideal and one which, I suppose, would justify having a senate.

5:10 p.m.

He then goes on to put forth the criteria for those rulers. This section is a bit lengthy, but I ask members to bear with me. "With that end in view let us consider how they should live and be housed. First, none of them must possess any private property beyond the barest necessities. Next, no one is to have any dwelling or storehouse that is not open for all to enter at will. Their food, in the quantities required by the men of temperance and courage who are training for war, they will receive from other citizens as the wages of their

guardianship, fixed so that there shall be just enough for the year with nothing over, and they will have meals in common and all live together like soldiers in a camp.

"Gold and silver, we shall tell them, they will not need, having the divine counterparts of those metals always in their souls as a God-given possession whose purity is not lawful to sully by the acquisition of that mortal dross current among mankind which has been the occasion of so many unholy deeds. They alone, of all the citizens, are forbidden to touch and handle silver or gold, to come under the same roof with them, wear them as ornaments, drink from vessels made of them. This manner of life will be their salvation and make them saviours of the commonwealth.

"If ever they should possess land of their own, and houses and money, they will give up their guardianship for the management of their farms and households and become tyrants, in enmity with their fellow citizens instead of allies, and so they will pass all their lives in hating and being hated, plotting and being plotted against, in much greater fear of their enemies at home than of any foreign foe and fast heading for the destruction that will soon overwhelm their country with themselves."

Those were the rulers, the senators, as Plato saw them. I ask members to think of our senators. Who are our senators? There is a very interesting book called *The Canadian Senate: A Lobby from Within*, written by Colin Campbell, in 1978. It is very current, and he describes who our senators are. They mainly reside in urban federal constituencies. They usually have elite social backgrounds. Many are non-Catholic lawyers who hold a number of directorships in business firms. They tend to believe that their committee work and specialties flow naturally from their occupation, and they are likely to be in politics for partisan reasons. They usually feel accountable to their party above all. Many say they rarely communicate with constituents and rarely consult extraparty sources for information and advice on bills.

"The casual model assumes the following pattern: Senators who came from urban political environments are usually upper-crust, directors of firms, lawyers and non-Catholics and very often believe that they got into politics for partisan reasons and that they contribute occupational expertise to legislative review. Most partisan and expertise-oriented senators say that they are primarily accountable to their party organization and that they rarely communicate with constituents or with ad hoc inattentive publics. Senators with these

narrow institutional orientations most strongly prefer business review."

These are our senators. They are the rulers. They are the self-proclaimed statesmen who make sure the laws protect the business community. They generally represent the business elite. They represent also the faithful Liberal Party operators. From that, of course, unlike the operation around this Legislature, they can arrange the private mediations rather than public debates. They can liaise between the business world and the political world, personally pressuring the civil servants, the cabinet ministers and the MPs, and use the Senate committees, such as the banking, trade and commerce committee, to do the clause-by-clause study of key bills to ensure that the business community's interests are protected.

The Senate is a lobby from within. Again, to quote from Mr. Campbell: "If one takes Liberal democracy seriously, one cannot condone the current lobby from within." That is too soft. A democratic socialist rejects such injustice. Powerful, non-elected people, totally unrepresentative of working people, busy secretly fashioning policies which serve only the interests of the upper class, have no business in this society in Canada.

I would remind you, Mr. Speaker, that, as we go through the age of the high interest rates, we don't hear the rich people complaining. They will continue to steal from the pockets of the workers.

There is no question in my mind that the Senate should be abolished. You will automatically ask me, Mr. Speaker, what we should put in its place, and we have heard many suggestions. The most current popular one is that we should have a House of the Provinces, and that idea seems to be gaining support across the country.

It seems to gain support, I have noted as I have heard other speakers, because there are certain political voids. The Liberals are unhappy because they do not have seats out west; the Conservatives are unhappy because they do not have seats in Quebec; we are unhappy because we do not have seats in the Maritimes, Quebec and a couple of other places. Each of the parties is unhappy because it does not have enough seats in a certain geographic location of the country.

Quite frankly, that is a problem for each political party. Why is it that the New Democratic Party is not popular with the people in the Maritimes? Why is it that the Conservatives do not appeal to those in Quebec, or the Liberals to those out west? I don't know the answers to those questions,

but I suggest that each of the parties sit down and make some self-examination as to why that is so, and not try to find some avenue legislatively to extricate themselves from that dilemma.

Quite frankly, I do not believe we need a House of the Provinces or any other substitute. Let us face squarely the situation that the Senate should not exist. It should be abolished. It does not serve the needs of most Canadians. It does serve the needs of some Canadians—those who are rich and powerful. It helps to keep the interest rates high. It helps to ensure that the Americans control our economy. It bolsters foreign exploitation of our land and our people. There is no common sense in retaining the Senate.

I look forward to the day when there is a federal New Democratic Party in power, together with several provincial NDP governments, and a constitution which has a distinctly democratic socialist perspective. I would like to see a constitution which guarantees the public ownership of our natural resources and, in that constitution, a guaranteed formula for the equal sharing of the total riches of our country by each of the provinces and the territories. No more squabbling, but a sharing.

In that process, there would be no place for the Senate, none whatsoever. The lobby from within is not acceptable to me. Injured workers in Ontario have to lobby from outside the Legislature. Let the president of Inco do the same thing when he wants changes in the laws of this country.

5:20 p.m.

If we are looking for alternatives, which I feel are needed and necessary, there are many; all we have to do is to apply our imagination and we will find them. There is a much greater role and a wider scope for royal commissions than we have now. I expect there should be some expanded parliamentary committees at the federal level, and perhaps the opportunity for those committees to be structured in such a way as to include provincial counterparts, depending on the issue they are dealing with, to ensure a wide cross-section of views are expressed.

There should be regular and guaranteed federal-provincial conferences, perhaps designed similarly to our committee responsibilities: that is, having an obligation to submit a report to the House of Commons and to each provincial legislature, and that report being debated.

For example, if the House of Commons were to deal with the serious question of our resources in Canada, it would make sense to

have a committee of the House of Commons. It would make sense to have a provincial-federal conference to which each province would be invited and at which each party would be represented. Following that conference, or a series of conferences and meetings, there would be a report from the committee which would go to each legislature in Canada and to the House of Commons and a guarantee that the report would be debated on the floor of the assembly.

That is one idea and, I think, a useful one. But I submit that, for every imaginative idea I have, each other member can supply an equal number. If we apply ourselves to the task, we can find the alternatives to strengthen a new Confederation, and to do so without the Senate.

One other thought that came to mind as I was preparing for this speech comes, again, from Aristotle. He said that the legislator, and he who is truly a politician, ought to be acquainted not only with that which is most perfect in the abstract, but also that which is the best suited under every given circumstance.

That says to me that what we have to do is look at the ideal first. What is it we want from our Confederation? Surely one of the first things we want is to have control over our destiny. If we think about that for a moment, we might put it in terms of trying to wrest control away from the Americans and back to us.

Perhaps the Quebecois is thinking his destiny is within Quebec, and not within Canada. I hope we can say to that Quebecois that his destiny is within the country, within Canada. We will do everything we can to support his aspirations for his own culture and identity and his own heritage, but we believe he can do so in freedom and peace in Quebec and still be a Canadian. I think that is essential. We have to do everything we can to make sure that is the new Confederation we fashion. We can do it.

As we move to our task, which if we apply ourselves properly, if we put behind us, as we must, the shame of Penetanguishene and address ourselves to the inequalities which Franco-Ontarians have historically faced in this province and which I know will be resolved, I have one parting thought from one of my favourite poets, William Wordsworth, when he talks about the statesman.

Wordsworth said:

Blest statesman he, whose mind's unselfish will

Leaves him at ease among grand thoughts; whose eye

Sees that, apart from magnanimity,
 Wisdom exists not: nor the humbler skill
 Of prudence, disentangling good and ill
 With patient care. What tho' assaults run
 high,
 They daunt not him who holds his ministry,
 Resolute, at all hazards, to fulfil
 Its duties;—prompt to move, but firm to
 wait,—
 Knowing, things rashly sought are rarely
 found
 That, for the functions of an ancient state—
 Strong by her charters, free because im-
 bound,
 Servant of providence, not slave of fate—
 Perilous is sweeping change, all chance
 unsound.

We must apply ourselves. We must have the political will and the goodwill to make sure that we have a new Confederation. We must apply imagination combined with integrity. If we do so, we can fashion a new Confederation, one which includes Quebec but one, I hope, without a Senate.

Mr. Watson: Mr. Speaker, it is a great privilege to participate in this debate. While this Legislature has debated many significant and important issues over the years, I believe there have been few debates as significant or as important to the future of Ontarians and the future of Canada as a whole as the one we are engaged in today. Fundamentally, we are talking about the future of our nation. We are talking about the future of Canada as we know it.

I was born in Ontario. My present home is near Paincourt, not far from Lake St. Clair. It is an agricultural area founded by some of the first French Canadians and English Canadians to settle in Upper Canada. Not far from my home is St. Peter's Church, the second oldest parish in Canada. It sits facing the Thames River. St. Peter's is a living and active testament to our Canadian heritage.

In Dover township and in Kent county, the French Canadians and English Canadians have long lived and worked together to build one of the most productive agricultural regions of this country. In recognition of that, the Ontario Heritage Foundation is to present a plaque this summer to honour their ancestors, the first French Canadians who settled in and worked to help develop this area. In doing so, we celebrate the fundamental nature of our community and our country—a country which has been built on and must continue to be guided by hard work, thoughtfulness and tolerance.

The community which I represent in this Legislature has a long history of French de-

scendants who have made an outstanding contribution to the community, to the province and to the country. I think of people such as the late Cecile Bechard, who for many years was a member of the Wallaceburg council and mayor of that community. I think of the former clerk of Dover township, Mr. Raoul Gagner, who was recognized as the leading expert in the administration of municipal drains throughout this province. After his retirement and before his death, he served as a member of the Environmental Assessment Board. I think of Eugene King, a leader in the Kent county community who, along with many other progressive agricultural leaders, provided the genesis for many of the agricultural marketing board policies now in effect in Ontario.

I would like to point to another living example in the person of Mr. Napoleon King, known to everybody as Nap, who, from humble beginnings in Dover township and as an early promoter of hybrid seed corn, has seen the present King Grain Company grow into an international organization with branches not only in Quebec, but also in France and with contacts in other countries.

We are proud of the people of our community. The fact that many who have made significant contributions to our community, to our province and to our country happen to be of French ancestry draws admiration from all citizens.

Over and above my strong personal identification with my community is my allegiance to Canada.

5:30 p.m.

I would like to recall for a moment the circumstances under which the British North America Act was created. At that time the provinces of Ontario and Quebec were governed as one jurisdiction. Canada was in a state of political turmoil. Neither French nor English extremists were able to agree on policy, despite the coalitions established by the more moderate Sir John A. Macdonald and Sir Georges Cartier.

Out of this turmoil and political deadlock came the British North America Act and the concept of Confederation, a concept that allowed Upper Canada to develop as Ontario, reaffirmed Quebec's demand for cultural autonomy, and strengthened the Canadian presence on the North American continent.

Confederation was, therefore, a compromise which fulfilled the expectations of all concerned and created a bicultural nation in law and in fact. In the 113 years since Confederation, the nature of our country has changed. We have control of a vast, magnifi-

cent, diverse land. Ours is a nation rich in resources, a nation with natural wealth and human resources to build a self-sufficient future.

In a world where interdependence is equated with survival, Canadians must come to grips with the future and reaffirm their commitment to a renewed Confederation that will provide the flexibility our diversity demands, while ensuring that every Canadian will share our security and wealth.

Canada has been referred to as the breadbasket of the world. We are net exporters of food and one of the world's leading producers of food grains and livestock. Canada could be agriculturally self-sufficient, with the exception of a few nonessential items such as lemons and coffee. This is a considerable advantage at this time in history when scarcity of food is one of the gravest problems that faces, and will face, the less advantaged countries.

Each region of this country produces what its soil and climate is best suited to produce. This may be wheat and beef in the Prairies, fruits and vegetables in British Columbia, potatoes in the Maritimes, or one of the many diversified and wide-ranging commodities produced in Ontario and Quebec.

The agricultural community of southwestern Ontario has a unique arrangement with many fellow Canadians living in Quebec. We are blessed with the climate and soil which permits the production of more than 8,000 acres of tomatoes in Kent county. Over the years, many French families from Quebec have made lasting acquaintances in southwestern Ontario, because those families have come to our part of the province to assist us with the harvesting of this important crop, which then benefits our whole country.

I would point out that in many cases the relationship has been more than the ordinary employer-employee relationship, and families have become good personal friends. Visitations and exchanges have taken place between our area and Quebec. This relationship originally began when the people from Quebec came to southwestern Ontario to assist with the agriculture harvest.

All Canadians enjoy an abundant supply and variety of nutritious food at reasonable prices. The federal government is responsible for providing financial support to a level that makes it economically feasible to remain in farming. A number of programs are designed to ensure the stability of the farmer-producer returns, from farm improvement loans to tariff policies to import and export controls,

and subsidies through the Department of Regional Economic Expansion.

No province in a united Canada will ever have to depend on foreign imports for food. The knowledge of this security is a right of every Canadian. I use the example of agriculture because I believe it provides a good example of the flexibility and workability that is built into our federal system, not by historical accident, but by design. It is this flexibility, which focuses on federal-provincial co-operation, that will enable Canada to change the status quo and address the concerns of French Canadians.

I am very anxious that we achieve these reforms, which are necessary to secure the economic basis of every province and to guarantee linguistic and cultural rights for everyone.

When I was a college student I spent a summer working in the Noranda area in Quebec. Although I was working in another province, I was working in Canada and felt at home. In 1967, when I visited Expo, I was extremely impressed and moved by that tremendous exhibition. It was the type of event which I had never personally experienced before or ever had the same feeling about since. The people of Montreal, of Quebec and of Canada were proud of that undertaking. Similarly, when the Olympics came to Montreal, as a Canadian I shared in the pride that we as a country were hosting the Olympics. Other parts of this country have contributed in their own special way. We are both proud and happy to be Canadians when this happens.

I acknowledge the contribution made to Canada in many fields by people of Quebec. For my part, I ask them to continue to share the many opportunities we all as Canadians have in this great country. The social and political analysis which we are now embarking on is long overdue. It is our national responsibility to respond to the present challenge with frankness, with honesty and with vision. Our task is to reaffirm the viability of the great nation which is our home and to safeguard Canada for our children and future generations.

I am a Canadian in favour of one Canada. I truly hope that those in our sister province of Quebec will work with us and all other Canadians for our mutual benefit and for Canada's future.

Mr. Mancini: Mr. Speaker, it is with a great deal of pride that I rise to participate in this debate. It is a historic debate, a necessary one at this particular point in the history of Canada. The debate is centred on a reso-

lution which has been agreed to by all parties in this House. The resolution was moved by the Premier and seconded jointly by the Leader of the Opposition and the leader of the third party. The resolution in itself is extremely clear, and no one can misconstrue its contents. It says that Ontario as its highest priority will support negotiations for a new constitution to satisfy the diverse aspirations of all Canadians. It affirms our opposition to the negotiation of sovereignty-association. Finally, it asks all Quebecers to join with other Canadians in building a new national constitution, something that has not been done for 113 years.

I would like to comment in a personal way about Canada. I came to this country when I was four years old—my parents, my brothers, my sister and myself. When my parents were deciding whether they should leave their homeland, I am sure they did not say, "Let's go to Ontario." In fact, they said: "Let's go to Canada. In Canada there is opportunity. In Canada there is a chance for progress."

As my family was making its decision to come to this particular part of Canada, there were many other people of Italian origin who were making the same decision of moving their families to Canada. Some went to Quebec, some went to the west and some went to the Maritimes. In the final analysis, they were saying, "Let's go to Canada" because they understood that all the provinces were Canada.

5:40 p.m.

When Canada was created 113 years ago, it was set up in a unique way. The people who created Canada realized that because of the size of our nation and the two dominant cultures in our societies, English and French, regional aspirations were going to be important and should be respected. That is why today we have 10 provinces in Canada, all with their own governments, all capable through their own legislatures of meeting the aspirations of the regions. No other country in the world can claim such a flexible central government. No other country in the world can claim that regional aspirations are capable of being met as they are in Canada. We have a system that has worked.

Now, almost 113 years later, it is time to refine this system. It is time to bring the system up to date, to meet modern demands and the demands of the future. Now is not the time to attack and tear down Canada for any errors which may have been committed in the past. Now is the time to help build Canada for the future.

Two ways in which any nation is built are athletics and cultural activities. First, let me deal with the importance of athletics to Canada as a whole. It is clear to me that by working together we have achieved distinction in athletic endeavours in a way that is unique to Canada and would be destroyed by the dismemberment of Canada. As Canadians, we have excelled in many sports, competing against the very best that the world has to offer, competing against all nations of the world. Athletes from every part of Canada have donned their uniforms and entered into competition, secure in the knowledge that the entire country is cheering them. More important, citizens across this country cheer athletes at the sight of the red maple leaf that is worn with distinction by so many people.

I would find it difficult to search out a single person in this country who follows Grand Prix racing who would say that Gilles Villeneuve is a Quebecer and not a Canadian. Gilles Villeneuve is respected on a regional basis because of where he makes his home, and he is respected on a national basis because of his citizenship.

All of us know there is a measure of pride involved when an athlete rises to prominence, whether it be Graham Smith, Kathy Kreiner or others, but in the final analysis we stand behind these excellent people because they represent all of us. Their achievements are reflected on Canada as a whole.

I am sure many Canadians, from British Columbia to Newfoundland, could say what they were doing the moment they heard Paul Henderson had scored the winning goal in that momentous hockey game against the Russians. Traffic in several Canadian cities came to a halt as jubilant motorists celebrated this last-minute triumph. We celebrated because Canada had won.

We Canadians not only compete with distinction in international competition, but we have also developed a network of professional and amateur competition that has served to further the understanding and unity within this country. The regular exchange visits of teams and competitors have given thousands of young Canadians a sense of diversity and richness of this country. We would do well to remember some of the lessons that are learned on the playing fields and in the arena. Nation building is a team activity. The players must keep the main objective in mind, and they must work together.

When there are rules that need changing for the betterment of all, the rules are changed. Rule books, like constitutions, are

formed in an evolutionary manner. Without overdwelling on this aspect, let me draw one example of how the dynamics of one sporting activity might be useful to us as concerned citizens.

One of the most successful teams in the history of hockey, coincidentally called the Canadiens, traditionally has shown teamwork and co-operation unmatched in any other field of endeavour. Players with talent, whether francophones, anglophones or representatives of our multicultural community, work together as a cohesive unit. The Canadiens truly are champions. Their success reflects on all of us.

Culture, like sport, is extremely important to the fibre of a nation. It was once said that culture is what remains when all else is forgotten. Canada is unique in the area of culture. In this country we have been able to allow Canadian culture to grow and flourish in two languages. Canada is one of the few countries in the world that has succeeded in maintaining artistic endeavours in two languages and has succeeded in achieving quality in both. I am glad to be part of a country that has done this.

Somewhere in all of this the multicultural community has also made its mark. There is not a Canadian of any cultural background who cannot point with pride to a host of musicians, artists, authors, artisans and poets who have achieved recognition within Canada and beyond our borders. This, to me, is a tribute to the success of our Canadian experience.

I was looking for a recent example of a Canadian who has found acclaim in an international forum. It is ironic that one person who has recently gained major recognition in the international field is a French Canadian who represents a culture that has received little help in its survival since 1755 and would not be helped in any way by the separation of Quebec. Antonine Maillet, author, received the Prix Goncourt in 1979, an outstanding tribute to all of Canada.

In conclusion, I would like to say that the provinces have had the opportunity, on a provincial level, to expand in cultural and recreational areas. Let me give some examples. Under archives, galleries, theatres and so on, the following provinces have spent the following sums of money:

In 1958, British Columbia spent \$500,000. In that year, Ontario spent \$1.1 million and Quebec spent \$2.3 million. In 1978, in the same category, British Columbia spent \$9 million; Ontario, \$33 million; and Quebec, \$28 million.

In the category of parks, historic sites and other recreational areas: Newfoundland spent \$300,000 in 1958; \$3.5 million in 1978. Ontario spent \$4.7 million in 1958; \$71 million in 1978. Quebec spent \$3.4 million in 1958 but was able to spend \$94.9 million in 1978.

Under film, radio and television, Alberta spent \$100,000 in 1958; \$2.2 million in 1978. Ontario spent \$200,000 in 1958 but \$14.3 million in 1978. Quebec had no expenditure in that area in 1958 but was able to spend \$5 million in 1978.

From the above examples, it can be seen that regional aspirations have been dealt with in the past 100 years. Today, the challenge is to better meet those needs for the future.

In closing, I would like to say that I feel comfortable in Canada and I would want all Quebecers to feel comfortable in Canada. I love Canada and I say let's get on with the change.

5:50 p.m.

On motion by Mr. Charlton, on behalf of Mr. Duksza, the debate was adjourned.

Hon. Mr. Wells: Mr. Speaker, I wonder if I could have the consent of the House to revert to motions.

Agreed.

MOTION

HOUSE SITTINGS

Hon. Mr. Wells moved that the House sit on Thursday from 10 a.m. to 1 p.m. in addition to the regular afternoon and evening sittings.

Motion agreed to.

Mr. Speaker: For the benefit of members, I would like to announce the names of those honourable members who have indicated they would like to participate in the debate on Confederation tomorrow. They are Mr. Duksza, Mr. Baetz, Mr. Van Horne, Mr. Grande, Mr. Pope, Mr. T. P. Reid, Mr. Lupusella, Miss Stephenson, Mr. J. Reed and Mr. Makarchuk.

The House adjourned at 5:51 p.m.

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MacBeth, J. P.; Acting Speaker (Humber PC)
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McMurtry, Hon. R.; Attorney General; Solicitor General (Eglinton PC)
Miller, Hon. F. S.; Treasurer, Minister of Economics (Muskoka PC)
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No. 43

Legislature of Ontario Debates

Official Report (Hansard)


Fourth Session, 31st Parliament

Thursday, May 8, 1980

Morning Sitting

Speaker: Honourable John E. Stokes

Clerk: Roderick Lewis, QC



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Published by the Legislature of the Province of Ontario.
Editor of Debates: Peter Brannan.

LEGISLATURE OF ONTARIO

THURSDAY, MAY 8, 1980

The House met at 10 a.m.

Prayers.

DEBATE ON CONFEDERATION

(continued)

Resuming the adjourned debate on the constitutional resolution.

Mr. Duksza: Mr. Speaker, in opening today's debate, my remarks are but the first chapter of a six-chapter speech being given. The speeches today by members of the New Democratic Party are speeches outlining and recognizing the contribution of the one third of Canadians who are neither English nor French.

The speeches will be given by six NDP members representing the great multicultural ridings of Parkdale, High Park-Swansea, Brantford, Dovercourt, Oakwood and Downsview. We are talking about building a new constitution which changes the status quo. Our comments will be specifically in terms of the role of the so-called third force. We will speak of multicultural Canada, our country, in English and French but also in our mother tongue and the tongues of our constituents.

We shall be speaking Ukrainian, Polish, Italian, Portuguese, French and English. These are part of the Canadian treasure of languages and have become Canadian languages because they are the languages that Canadians use to communicate with one another.

These languages enable us at this privileged moment when the course of history is about to change to speak for almost one third of Canadians who are neither English nor French. The six of us are Canadians, some born here and some immigrants. We are "ethnics" but we are also Socialists. It is our Socialist perception that constitutes our effort to create a society fully human, just and equal, and fully Canadian.

When the British North America Act was written to formally unite Canada, only four per cent of the population was neither English nor French. Yet before the first newcomers of 1634, there were original Canadians. Before there were two nations, there

were eight nations. In 1867, Canada was different from Canada of 1634. The history did not stop in 1763, 1867, nor will it in 1980.

The 1980 Canada is a multicultural, multi-racial and multi-ethnic country, roughly divided into two groups, the original inhabitants and the newcomers, the French, the English and the others. It is a country with two *linguas francas*, English and French, which some two million people don't consider their mother tongue and another four million people consider as their second language.

Now, Canada faces a socio-political crisis, the crisis produced by the growing conviction of Quebec French that for the sake of ethnic survival, Quebec must separate from the rest of Canada. This crisis along with the growing alienation in western Canada are only the more visible signs of structural stress in Canadian federation.

In dealing with the structural stresses which cause Canada to need a new confederation and a new constitution, I will focus on four aspects. First, I will address the Quebec question, which is a question of cultural survival of Quebecois within their own territory. Second, I will discuss the need for Canada to assert its economic and cultural independence from the United States. Third, I will discuss briefly the opportunities to realign power among the various levels of government in order to extend the level of participatory democracy in this country. Finally, and with the most care, I will discuss the multicultural nature of Canada and the necessity of building the structures and institutions which reflect the Canadian reality.

Monsieur le Président, avant de tracer les grandes lignes des problèmes et des inquiétudes des minorités ethniques, alors que nous essayons de construire une nouvelle constitution, permettez-moi de répéter que mes collègues et moi n'avons aucune intention d'attaquer ou de saper les aspirations légitimes des Canadiens-Français. Nous reconnaissons que leur culture et leur langue n'ont pas été suffisamment protégées depuis 1763.

Nous croyons que la nouvelle constitution doit reconnaître et garantir ces droits. En tant que Nouveaux Démocrates, nous con-

tinuerons de nous battre contre le gouvernement conservateur, car ils ont négligé de fournir un milieu adéquat pour l'éducation des Franco-Ontariens et un niveau acceptable de services en langue française dans cette province.

Je suis d'ailleurs reconnaissant aux Québécois d'avoir placé la question du droit à la langue et à la culture au cœur du débat sur l'avenir du Canada. Parce qu'ils refusent que leur culture soit sacrifiée à la stratégie économique et continentale des États-Unis, parce qu'ils insistent que les Canadiens aient le droit d'être maîtres chez nous, ils nous poussent tous à penser profondément au rôle de la culture dans le monde moderne et à l'avenir du Canada.

Mais le fait de reconnaître la nature multiculturelle du Canada n'empêche pas la reconnaissance de l'égalité entre les Français et les Anglais. Cela veut tout simplement dire que l'autre tiers de la population exige le droit d'être inclus dans ce dialogue sur la nature et l'avenir de notre Confédération. Les demandes qui sont faites pour que la nature multiculturelle du Canada soit reconnue signifient qu'il y a un groupe de Canadiens dont, jusqu'à présent, nous n'avons pas tenu compte. Un groupe qui veut pourtant qu'on les considère comme partenaires dans le nouveau Canada que nous voulons bâtir.

Le fait que les Franco-Ontariens sont froissés quand on les associe aux autres minorités ethniques, indique qu'ils ont peur du sobriquet de "citoyen de deuxième classe," qui est étroitement lié à l'ethnicité, quand on les voit contre la toile de fond de l'Anglo-Ontario.

Mais le Canada de 1980 comprend 27 pour cent de citoyens qui ne sont ni français, ni anglais, et pour les Français, l'insistance de ce groupe d'être reconnu en tant qu'égal aux autres, leur semble être un acte hostile. Pourtant cette demande pour un statut d'égalité embrasse les Français, puisque c'est seulement si l'on aperçoit le Canada comme pays multiculturel que tous les groupes ethniques réaliseront l'égalité.

Indeed, the central problem in Canada today is the fact that we have not created equality of conditions for our people for Canada is a class society. In the broader context of North American capitalist ethos, Canadians have been socialized to believe that unlimited upward mobility exists just as the French Canadians coming to the factories in Montreal and Trois Rivières in Quebec of 1930 found that there was no social equality for them. The new immigrants coming to Canada since the turn of the cen-

tury have found that equality is often more a slogan than a reality. Our new constitution, like the Portuguese one, must contain provision for abolishing the class nature of our society.

10:10 a.m.

The second point I wish to make is briefly that any discussion of a new constitution must deal with the problem of bringing our economy home. A new constitution must put Canada first. I define Canada as the people who built this country with their hands, their backs and their lives, and not just the people who bought this country with money borrowed from Canadians and through an ethnic exploitation of working people of Canada.

Canada, through the continental equalities of the federal Liberals and through the lack of economic leadership of the provincial Conservatives, has become a vassal of the United States. We are economically, politically and culturally not our own. To embark on the writing of a new constitution which deals with the new realities and insights about our society today without taking into account the American domination of our country, is to behave like the emperor of Lilliput in Gulliver's Travels.

In building a new constitution we want to examine the division of powers among federal, provincial and municipal governments. There is a need for a strong central government that can build and develop an industrial strategy on which an independent Canadian economy can be based; but in the context of what I have been discussing today, that of developing Canada's particularities and responding to regional differences between our societies and giving full expression to the political and cultural communities which make up Canada, it seems to me the devolution and decentralization of power is a principle we must pursue.

The devolution of power from the federal to the provincial and the municipal level, and from the municipal to the community level, is a structural progression of democratic participation and recognition of the right of all our citizens to complete self-determination. We have called for greater citizen participation in factories, community health centres, neighbourhoods, urban affairs and the general running of political life. In the same direction we could have the means of implementing the broad concepts of multiculturalism, lessening the cultural domination and cultural inexpressiveness of our monolithic institutions.

For example, it makes great sense to have a French school board in Ottawa-Carleton.

It is also appropriate to extend bilingualism or control of certain institutions to ethnic groups in various areas where an ethnic group has a significant concentration. A good example of this is the bilingualism in Edmonton schools where English/Ukrainian bilingual programs are recognized and fully supported by the government of Alberta. In Ontario one thinks of the Finns in Thunder Bay or the Poles in Renfrew county in the same light.

This is not a call for a babel of tongues or a division of Canadian society. It is in fact quite the reverse. It is the encouragement of a society that recognizes the vitality and contribution of all ethnocultural communities. This diversity can be the basis for our unity and our Canadianism.

I will now address my central concern, that is multiculturalism. Multiculturalism has at least three dimensions. If we are going to support multiculturalism in our society we must first develop an awareness and acceptance among all Canadians that there are many ethnocultural communities that are an integral part of Canadian society. Second, the Canadian society through its government and other agencies must act as a catalyst to encourage growth and development of these resources and right milieu. Finally, Canada must develop a means for the political articulation of the needs and concerns of minority communities within Canada.

These principles can be achieved without in any way diminishing the position and status of English, French and native people in Canada. In fact, it enriches their society and recognizes the fundamental principle of a good society—that of equality of all persons and the right of persons to maintain and advance their cultures. The preservation of many languages in no way undermines the position of our two national languages.

[Translation from Polish:]

Given the reality of the dominant Anglo-Canadian society as expressed in mass media, political structures, cultural institutions, work places and schools, the demands of "ethnic people," some one third of Canada's population, to be recognized among the new Fathers of Confederation as part of their right to self-determination become understandable.

Canadian society, with some exceptions for Quebec, is organized by the standards and institutions appropriate to the English and Canadian ethnic group. This group is relatively closed to nonmembers, but it is also intolerant of practices that diverge from its own world view. The dilemma of non-English Canadians is that they are simultaneously

confronted with pressures to become like English Canadians while, at the same time, they are aware of the near impossibility of becoming an English Canadian without totally sacrificing their culture and ethnicity. Most non-English Canadians do not wish to educate their children to be English.

To continue talking only in terms of two founding nations, English and French, is to do a basic injustice to the legitimate aspirations of all other ethnics; it is to take away from people of other ethnic origins the right to their own culture or differences, to deny that the Slavs in the west did, in fact, found that part of Canada. It is also to say that the fourth-generation Polish Canadian of Barry's Bay be considered part of English Canada.

If a policy of multiculturalism is to be taken seriously, it must move from the position that ethnicity is only a matter of individual psychology, or of individual choice or style, or of individual decision to cook or dance ethnically. The principle of equality would include group equality without negating the other.

[End of translation]

What we are suggesting is two ideas that are central to ethnic rights. First, we must assume and accept that ethnic groups are permanent and are not a disappearing feature of Canadian society. This must be recognized institutionally. Second, programs oriented towards equality of groups are an important extension of the principles of equality of all individuals and citizens.

In summary, I am a newcomer to this country, a Canadian by choice. I am Canadian. I did not speak in those three languages, especially my own, out of a sense of rebelliousness or bitterness, but out of acclamation of those people who have contributed to the building of our great country. For to diminish them, to diminish me, is to diminish all of us. In the words of the Provincial Secretary for Resources Development (Mr. Brunelle) from yesterday, I am an interpreter for those people, for myself. In the words of Walt Whitman from *Leaves of Grass*:

I celebrate myself, and sing myself,
And what I assume you shall assume,
For every atom belonging to me as good
Belongs to you.

10:20 a.m.

Hon. Mr. Baetz: Mr. Speaker, I join this debate today to give my unqualified support to the resolution before this House. As the Premier (Mr. Davis) and members of all parties have pointed out many times before, even before this debate, the need to move from

the status quo in the country is not an issue. That need is clear. That need is present. That need is being proclaimed from every point of the Canadian compass.

I say to this House and through this House to the people of Quebec, you are not alone. Every region in this land wants a new deal. Moreover, I am convinced that every region of this land is prepared to work creatively and diligently to forge a new deal. Every region of this land has in it men and women with the heart and the soul and the will to write a new deal that will work for everybody.

What will such a new deal be? Well, who is to say? We in Ontario certainly do not claim to have all the answers but neither, even more certainly, does the present government of Quebec. The answers the Levesque government implies in its referendum question are myopic and defeatist and in the name of cultural self-determination it seeks to enclose and encapsulate that province.

In a world that is now and will continue to be increasingly interdependent, they seek to construct and consecrate a new island unto themselves. This they seek to pass off as evolutionary. It is evolution, but evolution in reverse, an evolution that would drag us back to the social and the political stone age.

Canada, for me, is an indivisible entity. When I think of my country, my mind embraces all of it, from Blenheim to the Beauce, from Moncton to Magog, from Lethbridge to Lotbiniere. That is my heritage. I was born to it. I claim it. I recognize no man's right to take it from me.

I come to this debate as a number of people. I am a fifth-generation Canadian, born in southwestern Ontario to parents of German-Pennsylvania Dutch extraction. So I am one of those increasing number of Canadians who come from neither founding group. I cherish my own cultural heritage and the rich multicultural society of Ontario. At the same time, I am a Canadian, an unhyphenated Canadian.

I also come here as a member of the Legislative Assembly from Ottawa West. I am a member of Her Majesty's Executive Council of Ontario charged with responsibility for cultural affairs, a resident of Ontario, and a citizen of Canada who has had the good fortune to travel and to work extensively in all parts of this country and to get to know most of it intimately.

Thanks to more than a decade in the field of international development and refugee resettlement, I have also had the opportunity to live in many parts of the world and to see Canada from the outside. Let me try to inject

into this debate some thoughts that well up from those perspectives.

As I said a few moments ago, it is my judgement that the need for a new deal for all Canadians is really not at issue. Change we must and change we will. But what sort of change? A lot of people have a lot of ideas but the precise details remain to be seen. While we talk of change in the future, we must not forget that there has been major and historic change in our immediate past. I need only look at my own part of the province, the city of Ottawa, the national capital, to produce proof.

Ottawa is a splendid national capital. Not very long ago it was a somewhat spartan, largely anglophone town in which most francophones could not feel at home. It could not really be a capital to francophone Canadians. Today, however, it is a charming, attractive and cosmopolitan capital. It increasingly reflects both groups and provides a natural and a comfortable home for both founding groups as well as other cultures.

Ottawa's physical transformation as a city has been a relatively easy and a graceful one. But its cultural, political and social transformation into a truly bilingual capital has been rather more wrenching, because that transformation has exacted a price which none of us should gloss over as inconsequential. Unilingual anglophones in the nation's capital and especially those in the federal public service have been called upon to make enormous personal sacrifices. Many of them have paid the price in terms of disrupted careers and job opportunities that have been closed to them and they have cried out. Most tellingly, though, they have not challenged the desirability of change. On that there has been and continues to be consensus.

Rather, they have protested—and I say protested legitimately—against the rapid pace of change. Even so, they have pitched in to the point where the need for change to more fully reflect the founding character of the country has itself grown roots and taken on a life of its own.

There has been, for example, a significant move by unilingual anglophone parents to enrol their school-age children in French immersion classes. So intent have the anglophones been, in fact, that I suspect the majority of the people in Ottawa will be bilingual in two generations.

Ottawa will be Canada's major spawning ground for the fully bilingual federal civil servants of the future. The change that the city of Ottawa has undergone has been necessary and right. As the capital of the

country, it has to reflect the dual nature of our founding heritages in both the way it looks and the way it acts.

At this point and in this context, it would be tragically ironic if Quebec now decided to turn its back on the important and the historic initiatives that have been taken.

We at the provincial level in Ontario have taken some meaningful initiatives as well. In Montreal last week, the Premier (Mr. Davis) reminded us of the very real progress that Ontario has made in providing cultural opportunities, education services and court services in French, and perhaps I should remind the members that TVOntario, for which I am the responsible minister, provides programs in both French and English.

Permettez-moi aujourd'hui de rappeler à l'Assemblée que le gouvernement de l'Ontario s'est doté d'un Conseil des Affaires franco-ontariennes qui est responsable devant le gouvernement par mon entremise.

Le Conseil a été créé en 1975 pour conseiller le gouvernement sur les moyens d'assurer les services aux Franco-Ontariens. Il compte à son actif une grande part des progrès accomplis dans les cinq dernières années.

Sur ces conseils et avec le consentement du gouvernement, nous continuerons à bâtir sur la base solide que nous avons déjà posée.

Nous persévérons dans notre travail.

Mais nous persévérons en respectant le rythme et la sensibilité qui garantiront le bien-fondé de nos décisions, car nous devons également veiller à ne pas déchirer la trame sociale particulière à la province.

The council was established in 1975 to advise the government on strategies for providing services to Franco-Ontarians and it must take credit for much of the progress that has been made in the last five years. With its advice and the government's consent, we will continue to build on the substantial base we have cast.

10:30 a.m.

We will persist in this job, but we will persist at a pace and with a sensitivity that will ensure that the right thing is done and at the same time assure that the province's particular social fabric is not torn apart in the process. As their elected representatives in the Legislature we must not only lead the people of Ontario, we must heed the people of Ontario.

One common language is recognized throughout the world as the central pillar in the building of nationhood. Here in Canada obviously we have two founding languages. Does that mean that, after all that has happened and in spite of the best will in the

world by francophone and anglophone, the prudent fact of life is that we do not have a nation? I say to that, categorically, no. Language is a pillar of nationhood, but it is only one pillar.

I feel our problem is that, like a moth drawn to the candlelight, we Canadians have focused with an almost fatal fascination on the language candle and have been largely oblivious to the far bigger world all around us. Mesmerized by this flame of language, we have failed to recognize sufficiently those other major ingredients which go into the building of a strong and a civilized nation.

We have an abundance of these other essential ingredients of nationhood around us. We share a geography, for instance, that at once defines us and sustains us. We are as yet only 23 million souls and yet we occupy in this vast land one of the richest pieces of real estate in the world, much of it yet to be developed.

We in Canada share an overwhelming complex of things that we have built together over the decades for our collective wellbeing at home. We also share relationships with other countries. We are perceived as one by the citizens of these other countries. To them there is nothing in two founding languages that negates the basic concept of nationhood. When we are abroad, whether we are francophone or anglophone, we are Canadians—nous sommes Canadiens.

As a member of the Canadian Red Cross teams doing relief work in Vietnam, the Congo, Hungary, Chile and many other countries, I have personal experience where we Canadians were able to make contributions that were the envy of the world. We were able to make those contributions not despite our bilingual nature but because of it. So we share a history rooted in two official languages and many cultures. We share a common wealth, both natural and man-made. All of it belongs to all of us. On that basis alone, if I were a Quebecker I would defy any government of mine to try to sell my Canadian birthright for a mess of Pequiste pottage.

When we talk of a departure from the status quo and a new deal for all Canadians we inevitably come face to face with the constitution of this country. Any notion of a new deal absolutely requires change in those sections of the constitution that prescribe which governments provide what services. Whenever politicians get into a discussion of the distribution of powers we inevitably convey a sense that our only interest is our own authority.

Admittedly, politicians are human and it is only natural that we would want to exercise as much power as we possibly could, but anybody who believes a politician who talks about a more rational distribution of power is only interested in his own political ego has a pathetically limited view of the basic nature of this country.

Canada, by virtue of its size and the thin spread of its population, is one of the most intensely regional countries of this good earth. The governments that provide such personal social services as health, education, welfare, arts, culture and recreation support must by definition be close to the people socially, culturally and geographically.

I feel the federal government has become much too deeply enmeshed in these personal services that are much more appropriate for provincial and local governments. All too often the situation has been further exacerbated by an arrogantly unilateral federal attitude. A new deal for Canada requires that the federal government disentangle itself from a myriad of activities in which it has become deeply engaged, and inappropriately engaged, particularly in the cultural and the social fields.

This is not a prescription for disemboweling the federal government. Its entanglements are inappropriate, inefficient, and I believe a great source of our current national feeling of frustration and malaise.

What I propose is a service system that is more rational, more sensitive to the particular needs of the particular people in the particular regions in this country. This is a big, diverse, thinly populated land. Provincial and local governments have to serve discrete groups of people, and the government of Canada has the role to pull all of us together by creating and maintaining the strands, those sinews of nationhood, connecting all of these groups and these regions.

Common defence against external enemies, basic laws, a productive economy to which we all have basic rights to a fair share, a vibrant national and international trade system, a monetary system, the railways, Air Canada, Canadian Broadcasting Corporation—these are but some of the major roles for the federal government.

The government of Canada's most important job has been, and will continue to be, the stewardship of the common wealth of all Canadians. Historically, that stewardship has involved redistribution of our national wealth and Ontario has been a net contributor in that process, willingly so and proudly so, not out of a sense of patronizing charity,

but rather out of a sense of Canadian community and Canadian interdependence.

As I mentioned a few moments ago, I have been blessed with the opportunity to work and live in many parts of the world. Thanks to that experience, I have been able to develop a personal view of Canada that might be different from some others. You get a totally different picture of your own house when you look at it through the window of your friend's house across the street.

Along with my friends from all over this troubled world I have looked and I've seen a country called Canada, a country with two founding traditions and many cultural groups that are to be celebrated as a blessing, not reviled as a curse, a country that is rich in natural resources, a country that is even richer in the depth, diversity, industry and creativity of its people, a country that has earned respect among the family of nations, a country worth fighting for, a country worth saving, a great and a good land that will be flourishing long after the narrow and brittle men who would tear it asunder have passed from public view.

May the people of Quebec know the resolution before this House. It says yes, may we all be *maître chez nous* in all of our respective provincial houses, and may we all be *maître chez nous* dans tout le Canada.

Mr. Van Horne: Mr. Speaker, as a member of the Legislative Assembly of Ontario I am pleased to endorse the resolution that we commit ourselves as our highest priority to full negotiation of a full constitution to satisfy the diverse aspirations of all Canadians and to replace the status quo which is so clearly unacceptable. Further, I affirm my opposition to the negotiation of sovereignty-association.

I am honoured to make this brief contribution, which reflects my views and I am sure the views of the majority of the constituents of mine in North London. I, like all members of this assembly, have received unsolicited comments on the Quebec referendum from my constituents and moreover, like some of my colleagues, I have sought input on this topic through newsletters, public meetings and meetings with interested groups.

10:40 a.m.

This process of grass-roots input is the same as that which led to our constitution. It is the same process that Laurier spoke of in such glowing terms when he said, "Our constitution invites all citizens to take part in the direction of the affairs of state."

It makes no exception of any person. Every person has the right not only to express his opinion but also, if he can, to influence, by

expressing his opinion, the opinion of his fellow citizens. This right exists for all and there can be no reason why anyone should be deprived of it. Without exception, all groups that have spoken to me want Quebec to stay within Confederation.

One of the groups I was particularly interested in was the class of senior students at Sir Frederick Banting Secondary School who shared with me some of their comments. I would like to share with the members present their comments on a few themes of the uniqueness of Quebec, the economics considerations, the cultural considerations, the racial considerations, in so far as the possibility of separation is concerned.

The students indicated to me they felt Quebec was a unique and wonderful place, particularly since it is part of us and has such a unique cultural flavour. They were also concerned that the loss of Quebec to Canada would deal a heavy blow to all parts of Canada and particularly to Ontario. They felt Ontario would be hard hit because of the large volume of trade between our two provinces. Quebec would suffer terribly because of the loss of financial support from the federal government and because of the loss of protection and support in the international marketplace. Further damage would be done to Quebec because of the possibility of investment drying up and the flight of foreign capital, and economic instability, at least for the time being, might prevail.

In so far as cultural and racial matters are concerned, the students felt the people of Quebec would be much better able to preserve their identity and traditions within Canada than if they separated. Though we outside Quebec have not had a particularly good record or perfect record in respect of recognizing their individuality, our record is getting better. Areas outside Quebec are making strong efforts to make up for past deficiencies in such areas as language programs, schools, advertising and legal procedures. Some elements of life might thrive within a separate Quebec, but they would suffer badly for those many francophones who live outside the province.

The students asked, "What really do the majority of Canada want?" It is not clear to them whether Quebec has the legal right to separate even if she wishes. If the majority of Canadians in a nationwide referendum were to refuse to allow such a move, would that not be more binding than a provincial referendum? Perhaps Canadians could choose to stop separation in that way.

The students also ask, "If there is a yes vote, then what?" They feel that if a yes vote comes about, the negotiations that would follow probably would not mean separation. First, they would reveal in detail to the people in Quebec just how difficult a path lies before them. Second, they would probably result in a realization on the part of Anglo-Canadians that certain further, though not critical changes, could and possibly should be made in the present provincial-federal relations. When these two points of view have been thoroughly aired, the people of Quebec would realize that they should not separate, that their best course would be to remain within Canada. So a yes vote, in the view of the students, need not frighten us too much.

In the matter of defence, the students felt that the withdrawal of Quebec from the NORAD umbrella would present serious areas of vulnerability, not only to the United States and Canada but to Quebec itself. There is no possibility that Quebec could offer a substitute defence system. To have her as a third power in the system might offer tragic ramifications. The temptations for Quebec to seek foreign assistance in this field could also have ominous overtones.

Most students felt optimistic about the future of Quebec within Canada. They were sympathetic to Quebecers' aspirations and felt that with further goodwill and some reasonable concessions from us the people of Quebec would remain within Canada as partners in Canada even if a yes vote did result on May 20.

It would be nice to stop at this point in considering these comments from the students in London, and similar comments that I have had from other fellow Londoners, but this last point on national defence raises the topic that I feel must be presented to this assembly and must be presented to our colleagues in every legislature, provincial and federal, in Canada. This topic of grave concern to all of us is national defence.

What would happen to Canadian national defence if sovereignty-association became a fact? I would pause at this point to remind those present that on May 8, 1945, VE Day was celebrated, not too many years ago in the span of history of our country and countries of the western hemisphere but a day that we might be inclined to forget, along with the events that led up to it, if we become obsessed with just the present. Let us not forget the holocaust of Europe. Let us not forget our concern for national defence

in 1940 and in 1945. Let us remember that concern today.

What does Levesque say about national defence?

On nous rassure, et à plusieurs reprises, en affirmant bien haut, qu'on n'entend point détruire le Canada ni en être entièrement séparé. Que tout ce qu'on recherche, c'est d'assurer au Québec une plus grande maîtrise de ses propres affaires, sans pour autant faire éclater le cadre économique canadien.

On ajoute que l'idée de la démarche est de venir à une formule qui soustraira le Québec à la domination d'Ottawa, sans briser pour autant avec une communauté économique qui s'étend de l'Atlantique au Pacifique. Soucieux de rassurer le plus possible la population, le Livre Blanc va jusqu'à préciser que le Québec merveilleux, dont on rêve, respectera l'Accord de la Voie Maritime du Saint-Laurent et deviendra membre à part entière de la communauté mixte internationale, ainsi que de l'ONU. De plus, il restera solidaire de l'OTAN et du NORAD, et se propose de demeurer membre du Commonwealth britannique.

In other words, Levesque and the separatists are saying they want Canada to stay the same economically coast to coast with just one piece removed, with Quebec removed. In the same breath, Levesque speaks of national defence, saying he will keep the St. Lawrence Seaway agreement and remain a member of NATO and NORAD. He speaks as though Quebec of itself is even now a member of NATO.

In addressing this theme of national defence, I wish to comment briefly on the second part of our resolution and that is to affirm my opposition to the negotiation of sovereignty-association. Sovereignty-association, which would lead ultimately to a Canada with a separate Quebec, cannot accommodate the demands of our country in matters of national defence. Our stated policy as a country or dominion is to ensure that this country remain secure and an independent entity in order that Canadians will continue to be free to decide, through their elected representatives, their own destinies.

This policy applies to all Canadians. No one group or province can make a decision that would jeopardize the defence of any other group or province. This independence will continue to rely on the capability to take adequate measures to provide for Canada's security from aggression, actual or threatened. The paramount goal is to forestall potential hostilities by deterring an armed attack, large or small.

The defence measures taken, therefore, must be credible to any potential aggressor by clearly showing that the risks incurred in an attack are substantially greater than any advantages that might be gained. However, should this deterrent fail and an attack occur, the goal would then be to restore and maintain the security and independence of Canada.

10:50 a.m.

The Department of National Defence continually evaluates the military threats to Canada. It is clear that the major direct military threat to this country lies in the possibility, albeit remote, of a nuclear exchange between the United States and the Soviet Union. Canada's overriding defence objective, therefore, remains that of contributing to the prevention of nuclear war.

Attainment of this objective continues to rest in large part on maintenance by the United States of credible strategic retaliatory capabilities. However, it depends at least as much on sufficient conventional and theatre nuclear capabilities to discourage both non-nuclear and nuclear aggression, particularly in Europe and North America, and to prevent escalation of a conflict to general nuclear war.

Preventing nuclear war and deterring any conflict that might lead to it are not objectives which Canada, or any other nation for that matter, can achieve alone nor can Canada, given its geographic position between the United States and the Soviet Union, given its external interest and its dedication to free government, prudently follow a neutral or nonaligned foreign policy. It must in fact actively pursue a policy which seeks to enhance world stability in general and peace in certain regions of special strategic importance.

Collective security and defence arrangements are, therefore, of fundamental importance to Canada. Remaining as cornerstones of Canadian defence policy are continued participation in NATO with respect to both European and North American defence and United Nations arrangements with respect to peacekeeping operations.

Defence policy also must take account of other potential challenges to Canada, whether of a military nature or not, which could oppose the government's right to exercise independent control over legitimate national interests. These challenges could come from both inside and outside the country and some of them must be met exclusively by Canada. Therefore, while retaining the necessary combat-ready forces that contribute to deterrence of aggression against the

NATO alliance, the Department of National Defence must also be prepared to employ the Canadian forces for tasks that require a purely Canadian response.

Again, the main threat to North America is a possible intercontinental nuclear attack carried out with as little warning as possible. The purpose of Canada's military contribution to the collective defence of the Canada-US region of NATO is to help ensure that the defence capabilities are always sufficient to ensure that credibility of deterrence is not seriously questioned.

Deterrence is enhanced by Canadian forces co-operating with the United States forces in providing air defences for the protection of Canadian and US urban centres and military installations. This joint activity is facilitated by the integrated control over forces provided by the NORAD agreement, which was renewed in 1975 for a period of five years and which is about to be renewed again.

Sovereignty-association, if it were to pass, aside from putting the other provinces of Canada in a totally untenable position in regard to national defence, would present to the people of Quebec a dilemma equal to that faced by the rest of Canada, by the United States and, for that matter, by other countries in NATO.

Consider, too, the cost of a national defence program for Quebec. It would equal at least that of the rest of Canada, which last year was \$4.12 billion, to say nothing of what it would cost in the next decade with additional costs of capital equipment and new interceptor aircraft. Obviously, Quebec could not do this alone. They would have to align themselves with another major power other than the remaining parts of Canada or other than the USA. We can only speculate on the possible aligning countries but no amount of speculation that I have been able to do leaves me with an acceptable alternative.

Canada is now, was and always will be a complex country. We have always sung with pride in our anthem, "We stand on guard for thee." We must continue to stand on guard as we did internally and externally in two great wars. Canadians of many cultural backgrounds—French, English and others—distinguished themselves at Vimy Ridge, at Dieppe, and sundry other military theatres. They also served in more recent years in a peacekeeping role for NATO and they continue to serve in maritime patrols of our coastal waters and patrols of our vast north.

These military efforts have always been done co-operatively as a team effort. This same team effort was evident in the develop-

ment of our country from its days as a trading post and then a colony and then Upper and Lower Canada and finally a dominion. This was not done without struggle and hardship of course.

My ancestor, Sir William Van Horne, is remembered by many as a successful builder of a railroad—a steel road which joined the west with the east in Canada, a tremendous accomplishment but one which carried with it more than its share of hardship, heartache and conflict. The conflict of 1812, the conflict in Montreal in 1837, the Charlottetown conference mentioned by my colleague from Renfrew yesterday and many other happenings are examples of conflict and hardship which we have endured and through which we have received strength.

Perhaps in conclusion, a former Premier of Quebec, Premier Honoré Mercier, can express my feelings to the citizens of Quebec. In 1882, Premier Mercier spoke to the Société Saint-Jean-Baptiste on patriotism and he said and I quote:

"The citizen has rights and duties. Patriotism permits him to lay claim to the former and demands that he fulfil the latter. It is important to recognize the one as it is the other. We French Canadians have a right to our national existence as a separate race. Woe to anyone who tries to take this from us. But we must do nothing against our brothers of a different origin and different beliefs.

"We must claim our rights with firmness but without aggression. We must energetically fight everything that tends to destroy our national character, but we must respect in others the same rights we claim for ourselves. The struggle we have before us is completely peaceful. It is no longer a question of fighting our enemies with weapons, but rather of competing as a race with our brothers through education, work and integrity. We must, above all, work to become worthy of the great mission we are called upon to accomplish on this free American soil. We must draw our inspiration from the splendid traditions of patriotism of great days in the past. The patriotism must be enlightened, sincere and bountiful, but it must not be exclusive.

"Love for one's country does not imply hate for other people. One can love one's country without hating his brother's country. We French Canadians must never forget that we ourselves are our most dangerous enemy. The Canadians who do not speak our language are not our enemies. They are but what we are. They stopped being our enemies the day when England, obeying the laws of

civilization and inspired by an illustrious Queen, invited us to the banquet of political liberties. The general interest of Canada, our common homeland, must override the interests of race and class.

"We, the inhabitants of this country who have been called upon to create a great people, cannot forget that whether we be French or English or Scottish or Irish we are also Canadians and that this title can satisfy our pride and ought to satisfy our rightful ambition."

Sovereignty-association is not acceptable to me. Sovereignty-association would destroy Canada. I would do everything possible to prevent that. What I can support is a serious commitment to participate in constitutional reform. Federalism is complex, but it is also flexible. It can be changed; it must be changed if we are to accommodate all regions of Canada, including Quebec, to make all parts of Canada, including Quebec, more effective components in the federal-provincial government process. Together we can do it.

Mr. Grande: Mr. Speaker, I too support the resolution before the House. I believe the people of Ontario must state their commitment to seek a new constitution. Because the members of the NDP have split up the various aspects of multiculturalism in this constitution I'm going to have a very focused speech on particular programs which I think are necessary to develop a multicultural society.

At the outset, I must say that I totally agree with the analysis and issues being raised by the members for Brantford (Mr. Makarchuk), High Park-Swansea (Mr. Ziembra) and Dovercourt (Mr. Lupusella). The problems of working people must be addressed in the new constitution. The problems of ethnic working people, which are specific sub-sections of that, must be addressed vigorously in action by the government.

11 a.m.

I also agree with the member for Parkdale (Mr. Duszta) on the framework of analysis which he has put forward. I acknowledge, as he has, the fundamental injustice which has occurred in this society to Franco-Ontarians who since Confederation have seen their rights denied by the government of this province. I recognize that they, like Quebeckers, have seen their culture under attack and have seen their way of life, in many ways, destroyed by developments in Canadian society. I join with them in believing that the time has come for new action to make them secure within Confederation.

I firmly and strongly believe that an economically dynamic Canada can be created where the culture of the Quebecois and French Ontarians is secure and they will have every opportunity to continue to flourish as long as Canada continues to exist.

[Translation from Italian]

The fundamental problem facing Canada today is caused primarily by the failure of Liberals and Conservatives to build an economically independent Canada that is in the interests of all Canadians and not just a narrow elite of branch managers. The second problem has been that Canadian governments have failed to recognize the fact we have many cultures in this society and these cultures must be recognized.

Forty per cent of the people of this province come from ethnic backgrounds that are neither English nor French. I would like to ask the government of Ontario where these people are represented in our society today? Why are they not appointed to boards and commissions of Ontario? Why are they denied access to positions of power and influence? As I walk around Queen's Park I discover the ethnic minorities are well represented on the cleaning staffs, but not terribly well represented in the upper echelons of the civil service. There is no good reason for this.

Let us all recognize that western Canada was built by the hard work of the Ukrainians, Poles, Icelanders and Chinese. People of southern Ontario are aware of the enormous contribution of Italians in building this society. Yet too often Italians and Ukrainians are told that if they want to succeed they had better become less Italian and less Ukrainian, or they are told that if they intend to succeed, all they have to do is wait two or three generations and change their name. This is totally unacceptable.

Any commitment to a new constitution must be a commitment to changing that form of the status quo. The making of a new constitution creates for us the opportunity to change many things. It is time to overcome past injustices. It is time when people who have significantly been left out of the society can be made part of it.

Last December I received material from the Chairman of Management Board of Cabinet (Mr. McCague) about the number of people speaking third languages employed in Ontario's civil service. In spite of the fact that close to 40 per cent of our population speaks a third language, less than nine per cent of our civil service is capable of doing so. In a crucial ministry such as the Ministry of Community and Social Services where one

might expect to find many people able to provide a variety of services to all our citizens, we find that only seven per cent of the more than 10,000 employees can speak a third language. We looked at other ministries and the situation was the same.

I only have numbers from the actual government ministries, but I have heard many complaints, particularly from visible minorities, that qualified people are continually overlooked when it comes to government appointments to the boards and commissions of this province. My colleague the member for Hamilton Centre (Mr. M. N. Davison) has reminded this government that there is a great inconsistency in having a policy of multiculturalism and a censor board that reflects only one culture. The censor board is but one example of the failures of this government to be responsive to allow our various communities to participate.

The result of all this has been a gross lack of sensitivity to the strivings and the aspirations of 40 per cent of the people of this province. We cannot let the debate over the constitution be one that is closed to them. I and the members of the New Democratic Party totally accept that there shall be two official languages of Canada, English and French. We are asking, however, that action be taken so there is no longer significant pressure on immigrants and their descendants to assimilate totally.

[End of translation]

Culture is central to a person's wellbeing. Canada has many cultures. One does not have to give up one's culture to be a Canadian. Nevertheless, our society is so structured that people face enormous pressures to deny their cultures. Too little is done to promote the acceptance of our multiculturalness. Much too little is done to aid groups and people who want to preserve their culture.

Cultures help people understand what is good in life. Cultures help people express who they are and help them come to full humaneness. There is something wrong with a society that destroys the culture of its citizens. We have, and I hope will continue to have, a society made up of many cultures that interact and enrich one another. This will not be the case if we do not have an active effort to underpin and shore up the multicultural nature of our society.

Language is crucial to culture. Inside language a way of thinking and perceiving the world is embodied. Language allows the intimate expression between parent and child, between brother and sister, between com-

patriots, to be expressed in an immediate and affirming manner. There is no danger to the official languages if private conversations are held in unofficial languages. There is no need that everyone in this country hold conversations only in English and French.

Before being elected to this Legislature, I was teaching at the elementary level in a school in a predominantly Italian background in the west end of Toronto. Although most of my students were born in Canada, many of them came to school with only the most rudimentary knowledge of English. It was simply unfair to them to expect them to achieve in the English language at the same level and to meet the same expectations as their fellow students who grew up in English-speaking homes.

My proposal was for a bilingual English/-mother-tongue program as a means to help these children get equality of educational opportunity in Ontario. The goal of the program was to make it so that the cultures of these children were not a barrier to their succeeding in our school system and in our labour market. We had to fight this Conservative government tooth and nail to get permission to use a language other than English and French in the classroom.

No matter what the educational benefit was, this government was afraid of what would happen if it permitted many languages to be spoken in our schools. Yet Alberta has had these programs for a good number of years. Why is it that Ontario's children cannot have the same educational, social and cultural opportunities?

When Canada has a new constitution, it should be made clear that we are not afraid to have many languages spoken in our country and it should be made very clear that we are not afraid to have people from our various languages and cultures total and full participants and leaders in our society.

This Conservative government has failed the people of Ontario because of its great insensitivity to the many cultures that make up our society. The present Minister of Education (Miss Stephenson) has done nothing for the causes of national unity by her total and insensitive mishandling of the Penetanguishene crisis. The question in Penetanguishene had always been a question of whether Franco-Ontarians could be themselves and maintain their Canadian culture, a culture that has been active in Canada for over 300 years. The Minister of Education tried to reduce the entire question to a matter of dollars and cents. The Minister of Education tried to suggest that a French

milieu could be created by putting an artificial barrier in the middle of a hallway. It finally took the referendum vote in Quebec and the desire of the Premier to get some headlines in Ontario to finally have the Ministry of Education turn itself around on this decision.

11:10 a.m.

Ethnic working people had the same problems with the Minister of Education and her predecessor when they asked to have their language made part of the school curriculum. The Heritage Languages Program was accepted by this government under great pressure from the New Democratic Party in the 1977 election campaign. They knew it was the NDP who listened to the voices of the ethnics across this province and it was when the NDP was making a demand, they knew that by responding to that demand, they were responding to a real need in Ontario. They were right in listening to the NDP.

The difficulty was that the Conservatives brought in a half a program and not a fully acceptable Heritage Languages Program. That's because the Conservatives have never accepted as legitimate, in a full way, the many cultures and the many peoples who have built this province.

In April, 1978, my colleague, the member for Parkdale, introduced his Right to Language bill, which would have incorporated heritage language classes into the regular school and made them mandatory when requested by parents. If we had that right to insist on proper funding, we would have done that in the bill as well. In the end, it didn't matter because the Conservative government, while mouthing support in principle, stood up and blocked the bill. Their action left heritage language programs as activities to be pursued after school and would not allow the classes to be held during the regular school day, even if it was convenient.

This lack of enthusiasm for heritage languages and multiculturalism was clearly demonstrated in February of 1979 when the Minister of Education announced that she was slashing the funding of the Heritage Languages Program in half. The leader of our party and many members of our party continually pointed out the hypocrisy of this government which, while mouthing support for heritage languages, was in fact taking away funding. I personally tabled a very large petition expressing concern over these cutbacks. Finally, on May 15, the Minister of Education relented to the NDP pressure and restored the funding of the program.

We will fight every effort of this government to perpetuate a feeling of first- and second-class citizens in this province. We believe the great majority of the people of Ontario recognize the contributions of all of the diverse groups in building our province and recognize that our strength is in our diversity. We are a diverse people, committed to a strong, united and humane Canada.

While I'm talking about language, I must also make it clear that the people of this province who do not speak English when they come here, and those children who come from those homes, do want to learn either English or French, want to have a full and complete grasp of the official languages of this province. This government has been lax in providing that opportunity.

The English as a Second Language Program is the program which teaches people who do not speak English to be able to speak English. In Metropolitan Toronto, many important programs have been started to help people, such as West Indian people, who speak with different accents and dialects. These programs are essential for people wanting to get ahead in their jobs. They are essential for children wanting to enter the school system and not be disadvantaged.

This government has made these programs a constant victim of the cutbacks. This government has not had the will to make English as a second language the right for anyone who wants to study and to participate that way in Ontario society. We believe the time has come when the right to learn the official languages should be supported by this government and the government of every province in Canada.

In arguing for the rights to language, let me say that an even more serious problem exists in our society. The Toronto Board of Education published figures last year that indicated there was significant streaming going on in our schools. It indicated that children who came from homes where English wasn't spoken, who came from homes of single parents, who came from homes where there was lower income, who came from homes in areas where there is a great deal of public housing, all were much less likely to succeed in our school system. Indeed, very few of these kids would end up in a university.

I believe this is a very serious matter. A study of the Toronto Board of Education showed we have a class system that keeps children in their place. It showed the government had totally failed to achieve equality in its educational system. The researchers for the Toronto Board of Education made it very

clear the major problem young kids face when they enter the school system is that they do not have the verbal skills.

Many lack the verbal skills because both parents work at the minimum wage or less in order to make ends meet and therefore have inadequate time and energy to spend with the kids. Many of the kids lack the skills because the parents have never had the opportunity to learn an official language fully. These are problems which any government committed to equality would address immediately. There are certainly problems which the Canadian constitution must address. In a new constitution we must address the problems of inequality in our society and the need to provide the programs that will overcome that inequality.

As I conclude this section on multiculturalism and the new constitution, I want to express my disappointment at the policies of the federal Liberals and the provincial Conservatives who have used multiculturalism as a folkloric celebration rather than a recognition of a Canadian way of life. Both the federal government, in its 1970 acceptance of multiculturalism, and the provincial government, in the Premier's statement on multiculturalism in 1977, showed in words a recognition of the contribution of many ethnic groups in our society. The dilemma is that they have failed to deliver the programs that are necessary.

The actual program labelled "multiculturalism" itself has done little to advance multiculturalism in Ontario. The failure of this government to promote the ideal of multiculturalism and the concepts of human rights and equality in society have already had their impact. Many people really question multiculturalism and view it as a boondoggle or as a means of giving extra privileges to groups which don't deserve them.

I look forward to the day when we will have things like the Ukrainian Institute that exists in Edmonton as an institute that allows Ukrainian Canadians to pursue scholarships about the contributions of Ukrainian Canadians to Canadian society. It gives people of Ukrainian descent access to literature in their language and the possibility to write about their Canadian experience in that language as well. It also gives other Canadians access to an opportunity to become acquainted with what Ukrainians are doing in Canada. The outpouring of art, literature, political science and other cultural projects is a contribution to Canadian society and a means of assuring the permanent role of Ukrainians in Canadian society. I want to see more of these centres in Canada.

Our message today is a call for an end to tokenism in a multicultural society and the beginning of a new society where all groups who have built Canada are equally at home. They will work together within the two official languages, but they will not have to give up their ancestral tongue. We will stop the policies and practices that disadvantage workers whose background is in unofficial languages.

In these things, I see a new Canada. I see a new and exciting society built on our great heritage, a society of great equality, a society of great sensitivity and a society where we understand the dynamic Canadian culture as multicultural.

11:20 a.m.

Hon. Mr. Pope: Monsieur le Président, je suis heureux de prendre la parole devant mes collègues de l'Assemblée législative, et de participer à ces débats sur une question d'importance primordiale—l'avenir même de notre pays.

Monsieur le Président, il est toujours facile de mettre en relief les faiblesses du passé, les erreurs de l'histoire, les injustices commises, les abus et les défauts. Il y en a eu. Nous ne le nions pas. Les souvenirs sont encore là pour nous le prouver. Et l'amertume aussi, trop souvent.

Monsieur le Président, je ne désire pas réciter une litanie des injustices commises dans le passé envers nos compatriotes francophones. Mais c'est de l'histoire ancienne, et nous ne pouvons pas changer l'histoire. Nous nous devons plutôt d'examiner attentivement le passé plus récent et aussi de fixer notre attention sur l'avenir qu'il nous reste à bâtir ensemble. Aujourd'hui c'est le Québec qui est le point de mire, mais en réalité c'est tout le Canada qui est à l'heure du choix.

En Ontario, nous observons le cheminement de la campagne référendaire au Québec avec grand intérêt, et aussi, je dois l'admettre, avec inquiétude. Certains souverainistes québécois tracent une très mauvaise image des attitudes de leurs compatriotes anglophones envers eux. Ils prétendent que le reste du Canada n'est pas du tout sympathique aux aspirations des Québécois. Ils prétendent que les Québécois ne sont pas bienvenus ailleurs au Canada. Ils prétendent même qu'il existe une certaine hostilité de la part des anglophones envers tout ce que les Québécois tiennent à cœur.

A mon avis, Monsieur le Président, c'est tout à fait le contraire. S'il est vrai qu'une minorité anglophone ne parvient pas à comprendre tout à fait la place légitime des francophones partout au Canada, soyez rassurés qu'il en existe beaucoup plus qui

appuyent sans réserves les aspirations des francophones au pays.

En somme, le Canada anglais que les indépendantistes rejettent, c'est un Canada qui ne correspond plus du tout à la réalité de notre pays. Les Québécois eux-mêmes ont connu des changements profonds. Depuis la révolution tranquille, le Québec a été transformé et les Québécois en sont fiers. Et avec raison. Mais l'Ontario aussi a changé. Et nous en sommes aussi fiers.

J'ai depuis longtemps plaidé que les anglophones de l'Ontario doivent faire un effort particulier pour rapprocher les deux solitudes linguistiques au Canada. Ce n'est qu'en se parlant que nous pourrions arriver à nous comprendre et à nous respecter mutuellement.

Je disais un peu plus tôt que l'Ontario aussi a changé. Bien sûr, l'Ontario est une province à majorité anglophone. Mais on ne peut certainement pas qualifier l'Ontario de province exclusivement anglaise. Trop peu de Québécois sont conscients du fait qu'il existe en Ontario une communauté francophone dont le demi-million de citoyens font la plus importante minorité francophone au Canada. Trop peu de Québécois réalisent que, pour ces centaines de milliers de francophones, il est possible de vivre sa vie en français en Ontario. Combien de Québécois savent qu'il existe en Ontario un système d'éducation français, c'est-à-dire un réseau complet d'écoles primaires, d'écoles secondaires, de collèges et d'universités, tous financés par l'appui du gouvernement ontarien?

Aujourd'hui en Ontario, plus de 100,000 jeunes Franco-Ontariens jouissent d'une éducation en langue française, dont plus de 32,000 dans les réseaux d'écoles secondaires publiques. La circonscription de Cochrane-Sud, que j'ai l'honneur de représenter, en est un excellent exemple. A la Commission scolaire de Timmins, il y a deux programmes de langue française: d'abord, le programme d'immersion est subventionné par le gouvernement ontarien, et 305 étudiants y sont inscrits. Au niveau secondaire, 1,671 étudiants sont inscrits au programme de français-langue première. Ce programme reçoit une subvention de \$402,935 du gouvernement ontarien. Quant à la Commission scolaire des écoles séparées, il y a 3,597 inscriptions au programme de langue française, et ce programme bénéficie d'une subvention de \$549,810 du gouvernement ontarien. Et au Collège Northern, plusieurs programmes sont offerts en français, à tous les niveaux.

Le gouvernement ontarien appuie aussi directement l'épanouissement de la culture canadienne-française. Il en existe quelques exemples frappants dans ma circonscription.

Le Centre culturel La Ronde a reçu une subvention de \$130,294 pour terminer des travaux de construction. Egalement, le Centre culturel Des Copains à Iroquois Falls a reçu une subvention de \$41,793 pour finir des rénovations. En effet, depuis 1978, le Nord-Est ontarien a reçu un total de presque \$3 million en subventions destinées à des programmes culturels francophones.

Plusieurs Québécois seraient peut-être agréablement surpris de la vivacité de la culture franco-ontarienne à tous les niveaux. Par exemple, à l'Hôtel de Ville de Timmins, 47 per cent des employés sont bilingues. Donc, les francophones peuvent être servis en français sur demande.

Quant aux services hospitaliers, toujours sous juridiction provinciale, à l'Hôpital Général Sainte-Marie de Timmins, les francophones peuvent invariablement obtenir des services dans leur langue maternelle. Parmi un personnel de 222 employés, 97 sont bilingues; soit, 44 pour cent.

Bref, le gouvernement de l'Ontario s'est engagé, depuis maintenant 10 ans, à fournir un réseau de services en français, là où le besoin existe et le nombre le justifie. Il existe dans tous les ministères et les agences gouvernementales un coordinateur en bilinguisme qui voit à trouver les moyens de servir en français la population francophone. Et le progrès se fait rapidement, Monsieur le Président. Dans Cochrane-Sud, tous les bureaux régionaux du gouvernement ontarien fournissent les services aussi bien en français qu'en anglais.

Et finalement, concernant le système judiciaire, un progrès important a été réalisé depuis quelque temps. Tout accusé a maintenant le droit d'être jugé par un tribunal criminel qui comprend sa langue, que ce soit français ou anglais.

Monsieur le Président, M. René Lévesque, avant qu'il ne devienne premier ministre du Québec, qualifiait des francophones hors Québec de "dead ducks," c'est-à-dire soit déjà morts ou en train de mourir. Mais qualifier la grande majorité des Franco-Ontariens de "dead ducks" présente une fausse image de la réalité. C'est pourquoi, Monsieur le Président, j'invite tous les Québécois à venir nous visiter en Ontario. Ils pourraient alors constater eux-mêmes de la vivacité de la culture franco-ontarienne.

C'est pourquoi j'invite également les Québécois à considérer sérieusement les conséquences de leur geste lors du référendum. Un "ou" majoritaire ne serait ni plus, ni moins que de tourner le dos non seulement aux centaines de milliers des Franco-

Ontariens, mais à tous les francophones vivant à l'extérieur du Québec.

Mr. Speaker, I have the honour of representing a riding that is fully 50 per cent French-speaking. It is a constant source of pride for me to witness and to be a part of the day-to-day co-operation between French- and English-speaking residents of northern Ontario. Our ability to work together in common causes reflects the basic respect that each linguistic group has for the other. Throughout northern Ontario, English-speaking and French-speaking Canadians work side by side in mines, in pulp and paper mills, in the forests, on farms and in small businesses.

11:30 a.m.

This same harmony and spirit of co-operation also exists between the whole of northeastern Ontario and northwestern Quebec. Both regions share a similar geography and, as people, share similar lifestyles and even similar attitudes. In fact, both northeastern Ontario and northwestern Quebec are highly interdependent.

I would like to share with you, Mr. Speaker, a few thought on these strong traditional and binding ties with our Quebecois neighbours only a few miles to the east of us. Throughout northeastern Ontario, these ties to our Quebec friends and relatives are highly valued. These bonds exist in the fields of transportation, communications, industry, small business, social clubs, religion and education. But most important, these bonds exist between people. We would feel a deep sense of loss if they were to be diminished in any way.

If you will permit me, Mr. Speaker, I would be delighted to provide a few examples of our interdependence with Quebec. A good deal of the food that northwestern Quebecers consume and the clothes they wear are delivered to them by rail and truck from Ontario. Travelling along Highway 101, on Highway 66 and along the CNR track, consumer goods enter Quebec through New Liskeard, Kirkland Lake and Temagami. In return, a number of products cross into Ontario, particularly furniture for our homes and refined metals.

The history of our co-operation began quite a long time ago. Between 1902 and 1908, the Ontario government built a railroad joining North Bay with Cochrane. The Timiskaming and Northern Railroad, now known as Ontario Northland, connects at Cochrane with the CNR. The old transcontinental line, which starts in Quebec, passes through Abitibi and crosses the northern part of Ontario.

Less than two weeks ago, Austin Airways

expanded its passenger, mail and freight flights from Timmins to include Val d'Or. It already served the Quebec communities of Mattagami, Povungnituk, the east coast of James Bay and Hudson Bay.

In the communications field, several French-language television and radio stations and newspapers are designed to serve the needs of both regions. From Ontario, CFCL-TV in Timmins, CBLT-TV in Toronto and CBF-FM in Sturgeon Falls are well known in northwestern Quebec. Similarly, the Ontario towns of Cobalt, Haileybury, New Liskeard, Earlton, Belle Vallee and Kirkland Lake welcome the television and radio services of CKRN from Rouyn-Noranda and CKVM from Ville Marie, both in Quebec.

The Ontario newspapers such as *Franco Temps*, *Le Nord* and *Le Temps* all serve to bring together the francophone community in both provinces, as does *Le Temiskamien* which is published from Ville-Marie, Quebec, and distributed to 1,125 families in the Timiskaming region of Ontario.

A similar interdependence exists in business relationships. A number of businesses from northwestern Quebec have important investments in northeastern Ontario, particularly in the lumber industry. Interdependence between our regions includes medical and hospital services. We welcome Quebec residents in our hospitals when, for important medical reasons, they seek advice from a medical specialist or treatment utilizing special medical equipment. What I would like to know is, would sovereignty-association destroy these benefits too?

The interrelationships between our two regions are numerous. The bonds are deep and they are usually taken for granted. A number of social clubs have memberships that straddle both sides of the border. The district Lions association, for example, takes in not only northeastern Ontario but also 400 club members from 13 towns and cities in northwestern Quebec, including Chibougamau, Chapais, Mattagami, Val d'Or, Rouyn, Noranda, La Sarre, Macamic, Lebel-sur-Quevillon and Amos.

The Timiskaming and District Curling Association has members from Noranda. The Northern Golf Association straddles both sides of the border. In the area of recreation, important bonds are cemented between residents of both provinces. Consider, for example, the Northeastern Ontario Softball Association, the Timmins and District Ladies Golf Association. Both include significant membership from Quebec.

One of the most deeply moving aspects I

have had the opportunity to witness involves French-speaking school children in my riding. Primary school students from the Cochrane-Iroquois Falls separate school system are drawing posters in support of Canadian unity and are sending them to their relatives, schools, fellow students and parents of school children in Quebec. It is actions such as these that I believe will give Quebecers reason to pause and consider the negative consequences of a yes vote in the referendum.

Monsieur le Président, la cause des Canadiens Français en général, et des Franco-Ontariens en particulier, m'a toujours tenu à coeur. J'ai depuis longtemps acquis une sensibilité et une amitié pour la culture française. A un tel point, que j'ai appris à m'exprimer en français—ce qui n'est pas la plus facile des tâches pour un anglophone né en Ecosse et élevé et éduqué en Ontario. Alors, je me sens à mesure de comprendre les opinions et les attitudes des francophones de ma région. Je sais que la Fédération des Francophones hors Québec, en appuyant un "oui" au référendum, a rendu un très mauvais service aux francophones vivant à l'extérieur du Québec. La grande majorité des francophones de ma circonscription souhaitent ardemment une victoire du "non" au référendum. Ils savent très bien qu'ils n'ont rien à gagner et tout à perdre, advenant l'indépendance politique du Québec.

Monsieur le Président, je crois qu'il est important que les Québécois sachent que le gouvernement de l'Ontario rejette le statu quo et appuie sans réserves l'appel au changement qui se fait entendre dans tous les coins du pays.

En deux mots, le gouvernement de l'Ontario est engagé au concept de fédéralisme renouvelé.

Many of my constituents, both French-speaking and English-speaking, often express the view that French/English divisions are exacerbated, if not created, by politicians and other opinion leaders. The insinuation, of course, is one of ulterior motives. There is more than a grain of truth to such statements and yet today powerful emotional forces are being purposely unleashed which threaten to divide even the strongest ties between communities and families.

In view of the historic relationships that have existed between northeastern Ontario and northwestern Quebec, I appeal to the Quebecois of that region to consider their families, relatives, friends and associates in Ontario on May 20, and I urge them to vote to continue that relationship in a strong united Canada—a Canada that has given us all tremendous opportunities, a Canada in which

renewed federalism can continue to provide liberty and prosperity for the two founding nations and for all regions, a Canada we will still be proud to call our nation for generations to come, a Canada we are all a part of and a Canada we all love.

Mr. T. P. Reid: Monsieur le Président, c'est une honneur pour moi de participer à cet important débat sur l'unité nationale. Je crois que notre réaction à ce débat déterminera l'enjeu final.

Let me begin, Mr. Speaker, by saying that I believe this great country of ours, Canada, is more than the sum of its parts. It is my deep-rooted belief that the legitimate aspirations of Quebecers and of other regions of Canada can be met within the framework of a united Canada. I will therefore avoid any battle of figures where, if the minus side of the balance sheet is less than the plus side, a region or province loses by remaining within the federal structure.

Federalism, by its definition, is a flexible system capable of changes when changes seem necessary. We are now at a crossroads. We have an opportunity to shape the Canada of tomorrow for our sake and for our children's sake. Let us not betray them.

When we sit down and draft this new constitution we should make sure that those things we reject are those which hinder or prevent the growth of the individual province and/or region. Also, we should keep the positive aspects of the federation, and I believe they are numerous.

11:40 a.m.

One of the best examples of a positive aspect of Canadian federalism is a possibility to share each other's resources. It is, to a large extent, the geography and resources of Canada that define us as a people and as a country. When we look at the world as a whole and Canada's place in it, we cannot help but be amazed at our good fortune to live in Canada and be Canadians.

As the geography and natural resources of this country shaped our history, so they will our future. Our country cannot exist without the geography as we know it now or without the resources and the free movement of these resources back and forth across provincial boundaries, nor should we break up the natural flow of our waterways, such as the St. Lawrence, and have a country within a country. I suggest to you that it is impossible even to contemplate it.

I do not believe that I have to repeat the history of exploration and of the exploitation of the natural resources that brought the earliest people to Canada. If I may, however,

take a few moments to reiterate the early explorations of the Vikings, Portuguese, Spanish, French and English who were searching for a new world and new opportunities, perhaps we can put the present debate in that kind of context.

Our economic history begins with the development and exploitation of fisheries off the coast of Newfoundland and the other maritime provinces. This westward movement then spread to the agricultural areas of the Maritimes and of Quebec, which was followed in due course by the fur traders looking for fur, and moving westward across Ontario into the prairie provinces and farther west and north.

This was followed by the timber trade and then the discovery subsequent to that of vast mineral resources of Canada in the northern shield of Ontario and Quebec, the great prairie wheatlands of the west, the great timber resources of British Columbia and fishery on that coast, and in the not too distant past the development of our energy resources of gas, oil and coal in the western provinces, and of course the abundance of hydroelectric power that we find across Canada.

It was these resources that first attracted people to the country and have given shape and form to the economic life of Canada. One can argue, and I am one of those, that we do not have sufficient control over these resources. The fact remains that they provide Canadians with a living standard sixth in the world and make us, after the United States and Russia, a people most bounteously blessed by natural resources.

Of course, the difference is that we have a relatively small population in relation to the amount of resources that we have in Canada. I suppose we often underrate ourselves and the benefits we have by living in a united Canada. I have always been struck by the fact when I have travelled abroad how rich and diverse a country Canada is in regard to other countries that I have visited.

Last June, when I was in Ireland on my honeymoon, I could not help but be struck by the meagre amount of natural resources that that country had in relation to what is available in my own riding of Rainy River, let alone in the whole country. When we look at the richness of these natural resources we have to consider that federalism is a great advantage. When we look across Canada we see a common market for goods and services which flow freely across the 10 provinces from sea to sea.

An unfortunate trend, I believe, is the nontariff barriers that sometimes are put up

by the various governments to restrict this common flow of goods and services across our country. As the Pepin-Robarts report referred to it, "On occasion perhaps some of the provinces will have a valid reason for some such barriers, but on the whole it should not be a principle that is accepted by Canadians."

Federalism, as we know it, allows this common market to function and also permits us to pool our resources. E. P. Neufeld, formerly the Deputy Minister of Finance for the federal government, put it this way:

"An especially interesting element of the Canadian federation, from the economic point of view, stems from the strength generated by the pooling of each region's varied resources. Thanks to the federation, the diversity of regional resources has become a source of vigour to all parts of the country, each having a much more reliable supply of a much greater variety of resources than if it had not been part of the federation, benefiting from the maintenance of prosperity in the rest of the country in case of an economic downturn—as a consequence, for example, of climatic conditions or a gloomy export market.

"The history of Canada offers numerous examples of serious recessions in certain industries and particular regions while others maintain some degree of prosperity. In these cases, automatic movements of revenue and capital, which are an integral part of the federation, helped to reduce the effects of the depression in the affected regions.

"In addition, the diversity of exports gives greater stability to Canada's balance of payments and to the national currency. The federation provides a mechanism allowing it to benefit from the strength of all regions and to increase the economic stability of each. Security of supplies will probably be a very important question in the future. This question is arising undoubtedly for the first time since the two great world wars, but it got its true dimensions from the oil embargo of 1973.

"It is impossible to foresee the political influences likely to impede resources supplies in future, or the shortages that are most likely to appear. It is certain, however, that the capacity of the regions of Canada to overcome these obstacles, thanks to their access to the resources of other parts of the country, is much more substantial within the federation than outside it.

"Another distinctive advantage of our federal system has been the development over the years of a transportation system which

is the envy of all other nations. Whether we are talking about air, rail, road or seaway, our transportation system is effective and competitive."

I would like to make an aside here. One of the things that has bothered me in my experience is that Canadians, from all parts of the country, have not really had the experience of visiting all parts of Canada. Many people, many in this chamber, have probably been to Europe, perhaps to Asia, certainly the United States and the Caribbean countries and perhaps to South America, but I would think that there is not, and has not been, enough travelling across Canada so that we can all, as individuals, have that experience that shows us what kind of a great and rich country we are and to have that individual experience with our neighbours and the other parts of our family as a country that live either in the west coast or in the east coast or in central Canada.

I think that is a situation that has led to this kind of communications breakdown and this feeling of isolation in that Canadians do not travel across their country and see enough of it and their neighbours. One of the problems is due to the fact that while we have an excellent transportation system for moving goods and services in some cases, in terms of a tourist type of approach or experiencing our own country, it is often cheaper to go somewhere else, given the air rates and the rail rates that we have for people to travel across this country. It's a sad fact of life that for me to fly home to my riding in Rainy River, some 1,200 miles from Toronto, it costs more than to travel to Florida or to San Francisco or any of those areas in the United States and, of course, the same holds true of flying to British Columbia or to the maritime provinces.

In regard to our transportation system, numerous books have been written about the great and historic St. Lawrence Seaway and the St. Lawrence River, which still continues to be one of the main arteries for traffic in Canada. According to a recent federal study, \$40 billion will have to be spent within the next few years to keep the system dynamic and competitive. This can only be done by drawing on the resources of a large and prosperous country. The financial system, the banking system and currency system provide the fundamental unit of our system. The infrastructures are in place and can deal more effectively with the problems particularly in times of world economic problems, rather than a divided country or a country with a nation within it.

11:50 a.m.

Canada is the envy of many countries in terms of expertise in various fields; communications, banking, mining, engineering, transportation, industrial and residential construction, and in our style of management. Let us not destroy this tradition. I believe in this economic system there is a place for diversity and prosperity in the coming years.

As I have mentioned, Canada is third behind the United States and the Soviet Union in terms of resources. In Canada the export of our natural resources constitutes 62 per cent of our total exports. A sound, long-term planning of our export policy can assure us that not only do we survive the 20th century and prosper, but in the 21st century we are also able to grow.

I support a new constitutional project as long as this constitution is adapted to the needs, rights and aspirations of the various regions and groups which compose this country of ours. A new constitution must be adapted to the needs of the 21st century. Obviously, one of the things that make us a country called Canada is a shared tradition and experience. We have to look at our own experience to place ourselves in the context of being a Canadian.

It is interesting that a few years ago I recall reading an article in Maclean's magazine in which the author indicated that the national bird of Canada should be the grouse, because Canadians as individuals and people were grouse. It is not parliamentary to use a stronger word at this time, but it frustrates me as an individual and as a Canadian that we very seldom put stock in what we have in this country—in our history, in our resources, in our people, in our diversity. Why we are constantly grouching about Canada, quite frankly, is beyond me.

We have too many people like that in Canada. This current debate all across Canada seems to emphasize those aspects, those me-first attitudes and the petty regionalism of the various places, rather than what we have together as Canadians. Mr. Speaker, I say to you, we do not need those kinds of people; we do not need the grouse in Canada. What we need is nation-builders, not nation-destroyers, which activity we seem to be embarked upon. Unfortunately, the nation-destroyers are the ones who seem to get the media attention.

As my friends across the way would say: "It is always easier to criticize." Of course, we on this side are always constructive in our criticism. Always. It is easier to be negative and to criticize rather than to create some-

thing out of something that is already there. I say again, we do not need a grouse as a national bird to represent us. What we need is individuals who are nation-builders and who will be intent on getting on with the job of a new constitution and of making this country even greater and a better place to live.

Most of the people who have participated in this debate have called upon their own backgrounds and experiences to tell us in this Legislature, the people of the province and of Quebec particularly, their own personal and individual feelings about what they feel about Canada and the way they see themselves in this country. In my own case, as a student at the University of Manitoba, I was chosen to attend the McGill Conference of World Affairs in Montreal in 1962. It was my first visit to Quebec and it opened a whole new world to me.

The most vivid recollection of that conference was not the many notable speakers or some of the ideas that flew around in regard to solving world problems, but the night I got into an intense battle with some French-Canadian students from the University of Montreal. The quiet revolution was not so quiet that evening. We resolved the differences of the west and Quebec and wound up spending a very convivial evening touring many of the night clubs in Montreal.

One of the earlier speakers referred to that historic occasion when the Premiers loaded up the ferry boat with good spirits of one kind and another and went down to Charlottetown. Perhaps this is the way to resolve our problems. We certainly did that night. I recall that night in Montreal as if it were yesterday. The three of us were standing on the tables in some of these taverns, singing the Marseillaise at the top of our voices. It is those kinds of shared experiences of being thrown out of places like that which I think really come home to me when I contemplate perhaps the breakup of this country.

Again as a personal experience, my engagement took place in Quebec City. My fiancée and I were skiing at Lac Beauport and we were staying in Quebec City, which has to be the gastronomic capital of the world. It was there on a ski lift at Lac Beauport that my wife proposed to me, although I must admit, as in this Confederation debate, her reading of the history of that occasion may be somewhat different from mine.

If I may refer to my own area of Canada, my constituency of Rainy River, we have a great history in that part of the world because of the fur trade and the co-operation between the native people who lived in that

area and *Sieur de la Vérendrye* and his sons who first came to the area in pursuit of the fur trade and the economics of that situation.

It is unfortunate in my mind that we who have so much in Canada should be so bitterly divided among ourselves—west against east and Quebec against the rest of the country. I think, however, that this debate we are having is worth while in the sense that all of us have examined what it means to us to be Canadian and the great wealth which we have inherited and which we will pass on to our children and their children.

Canada has always been a country of compromise where men and women have put aside their personal dislikes, their personal animosities and their regionalism to rise to a higher challenge, that of the nation and of the country. I believe we will do this again and that the people of goodwill will be able, in the Canadian tradition, to sit down and negotiate and arrive at a solution which, while it may not satisfy everybody completely, will lead to the survival and prospering of Canada.

Perhaps Sir Wilfrid Laurier's ringing declaration that the 20th century belongs to Canada has not been fully achieved in some people's minds. I invite them to look at those things that matter in this life, such as their economic wellbeing, their freedoms and liberties, a system of justice to protect them, the democratic system, the right to free speech and the spiritual values and the decency of Canadians that are known around the world. I would suggest each one of us look and see how fortunate we are and what we have together before we contemplate divorce.

I say again, now is the time for the nation-builders to come forward. Sir Wilfrid Laurier said the 20th century belongs to Canada; I say the 21st century belongs to the new Canada we are about to create.

Sir Wilfrid Laurier a déclaré que le 20^e siècle appartenait au Canada. Moi, je déclare que le 21^e siècle appartiendra au nouveau Canada que nous sommes à créer. Merci.

12 noon

Mr. Lupusella: Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to take part in this debate and support the call for Canadians to work together to build a new constitution. I agree with all of my colleagues in the New Democratic Party who have spoken in this debate and, specifically, those who are speaking today on the matter of multiculturalism. The people of Dovercourt, like all working people in Ontario, need a new constitution. They need a new vision of Canada and a new commitment to economic, social, political and cultural equality.

The governments of Canada and Ontario have failed to address the problems of working people. The Liberals in Ottawa have tried to create full employment by selling our resources to Americans and encouraging a branch-plant economy. The result has been that the wealth of society has been exported and that we have failed to create job opportunities for our citizens. As a result of these misguided policies, we are unable to control interest rates in this country. We see massive layoffs in the auto industry. We have a shortage of skilled workers. We have workers across the province facing layoffs and plant shutdowns.

When our party asks this government to take action and resolve these problems, we are told that it cannot be done. This government seems to believe that if it gets tough with the multinationals, the multinationals will take their money and run. That's because this government doesn't really know how to get tough in the name of working people. It doesn't know how to protect our resources and our workers.

That's why I believe a new constitution must speak directly to the fundamental problem of building a Canadian economy for Canadians. It must give government power to do that. Not only has this government failed to build and create wealth, it has failed to protect working people in their work place. We have workers working on wages that are too low to support a family adequately in this society. We have labour laws that are so lax that they are flouted with impunity. I need only mention Fleck, Radio Shack, Westinghouse and Johns-Manville.

Our working people still do not know in many areas if union security will exist. I think of the efforts to organize banks and how they have been resisted so strongly and within the law, in many cases. I think of the indignities of the work place such as the electronic surveillance devices that this government seems unwilling to outlaw or restrict. I think of the women of this province to whom this government is willing to deny the principle of equal pay for work of equal value.

This government, in a most despicable action, denied women the right to have the same pay for work of the same value as a male worker. How can we ever hope for a just society if the government of the largest province endorses a principle that says if a man does a job he should be paid one rate and if a woman exerts just as much effort and responsibility she should be paid a lower rate?

This government's record on preventing layoffs is just as bad as its record on creating

jobs. The NDP realizes the difficult time, the tough action and the tough solutions. We are deeply disappointed by the federal Liberal government whose lack of leadership on the economy and the continual failure of the Conservative government of Ontario to come up with specific proposals to create jobs and build an industrial structure so that our working people will have job security. We do not believe that a country with our resources, with our labour force, with our market, should be in a constant state of economic insecurity.

As an aside, I am not at all impressed by this silly posturing of the Liberal Party of Ontario. Lusting for power and calling an election does nothing unless you have the policies that you are willing to put into place. The NDP is more than willing to go to the people of Ontario and discuss economic strategy. But we want to do it at a time when the people of Ontario are again ready to listen to politicians. The performances of the Liberals and the Conservatives have so disillusioned people with politics and elections that it does not make sense to hold an election until they have had time to recover.
[Translation from Italian]

Mr. Speaker, I have spoken to you generally about the creation of wealth for all of society generally to this point, and I have made it very clear I am concerned that many people are left out. As I go through my riding in Dovercourt, I see a lot of houses on small lots. I see a lot of people who are renters and who have very small rooms. I see a lot of industry next to homes around my riding. The same is true when I visit the ridings of Parkdale, Bellwoods and Oakwood. If I were to visit the riding of York Mills, I would see very large houses on very large lots. I would see three or four people living in 12-room houses, unlike my riding, where 12 people live in four- and five-room houses.

The people of Dovercourt work every bit as hard as the people of York Mills. The people of Dovercourt have contributed as much to society as the people of York Mills and yet the conditions and the rewards for their labour are very different. If we are ever to have a just society, we must work to overcome that inequality.

I am also aware that the majority of the people in my riding are considered to be "new Canadians." That is, their ancestors did not grow up in Canada. Nevertheless, these people do make an important contribution to our society and have chosen Canada as their home.

[Translation from Portuguese]

For that reason, I believe we must make

special efforts to include them in our society and to guarantee their rights as citizens. I know that all of the members of the NDP spend a great deal of time fighting cases with the Workmen's Compensation Board. As we have shown in the area of asbestos and other work place diseases, the Workmen's Compensation Board has been very slow in responding to all sorts of important demands.

There is also a special problem which concerns me. If one does not speak English it is often much harder to get one's claim heard, particularly if there are complications and trauma as a result of injury. Italian and Portuguese workers are often treated as if they are trying to deceive the board. I believe the Workmen's Compensation Board should provide compensation to all workers who are injured. It is unacceptable to me that we spend so much time investigating claims and so little time on rehabilitating injured workers.

There are other problems if you are a new Canadian. We allow our people to become citizens after three years. However, you have to wait 10 years in order to get Gains payments. The Treasurer of Ontario (Mr. F. S. Miller) attempted to compound that area in his budget until he was confronted by the member for Downview (Mr. Di Santo). We believe pensioners need that money to survive in our society. We should not punish citizens simply because the length of their residency is shorter than other people's.

12:10 p.m.

I am also concerned about the many visible minorities in our society. Our citizens often walk our streets with fear because we do not have the strong human rights laws we need. Our citizens have not seen their government be particularly diligent in denouncing racism. They know the government denounces it; however, they see such weak action by government on many levels of basic human rights. The government simply must back up its commitment with action if our people are to feel safe and secure in a multicultural, harmonious Canadian society.

Because our people frequently have great difficulty getting jobs, the ethnic workers are sometimes most drastically affected by the failure of government economic policy. They are easier to lay off and easier to replace.
[End of translation]

Moreover, these are the people who are most affected by the failure of the government to develop a strong social policy. The government, the Minister of Education (Miss Stephenson), the Minister of Health (Mr. Timbrell) and the Minister of Labour (Mr. Elgie) are constantly telling us that we

simply cannot afford the protection and the positive programs which our people need. The reason we cannot afford it is because the Conservatives of Ontario and the Liberals in Ottawa have totally mismanaged our economy. The poorest people in our society are now being asked to bear the cost of that neglect.

This government's lack of leadership is creating a chaotic environment which has the potential of becoming explosive. Unless all our people feel part of our society and feel included in it and understand it and have economic opportunities, there can be dire ramifications for this society. The government continues to so mismanage our economy that it is unable to develop the social and the cultural programs we need. We have to expect social unrest.

We must commit ourselves to removing all barriers dividing our society into first and second-class citizens. We must not have two grades of people: those who exploit and those who are exploited. We must not have two types of people such as those who are paid 10 and 20 times as much for the same amount of work.

Considérons brièvement la situation au Québec, Monsieur le Président. Si les Québécois sont actuellement en train de fixer leur avenir, c'est parce que les gouvernements n'ont pas su faire du Canada un pays économiquement fort. C'est pourquoi nous n'avons pas cessé de faire des propositions concrètes pour rebâtir notre économie et montrer aux Québécois que le Canada a un avenir économique assuré et stable.

Si l'on ajoute à cela la garantie qu'ils pourront préserver leur patrie, leurs droits, leur langue et leur culture, je pense qu'ils auront toutes les raisons du monde de choisir le Canada. C'est parce que les libéraux fédéraux et les divers grands gouvernements provinciaux n'ont pas fourni le leadership économique qui aurait fait du Canada un pays où il fait bon vivre, que les Québécois et tous les citoyens se sont sentis trahis. C'est parce que Ottawa et les conservateurs ici n'ont pas su créer une politique culturelle telle que les gens ne craignent plus d'être assimilés en un block monolithique, qu'ils ont contribué à la division de notre pays.

Les Néo-Démocrates croient que ce mouvement est réversible. C'est à nous de veiller à ce que l'égalité soit un objectif accessible à notre époque et dans notre société. Nous nous réjouissons de ce débat sur la constitution car nous y voyons l'occasion pour les Canadiens de progresser vers ce but. C'est l'occasion de bâtir un Canada où les travailleurs puissent affirmer avec fierté que leur

apport et leur culture sont respectés. C'est l'occasion de faire savoir à chaque travailleur qu'il a autant de valeur que quiconque. Telle est la vérité concernant le travailleur et il est temps que notre société la reconnaisse.

Hon. Mr. Bernier: Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to participate today in the historic debate on the future of Canadian Confederation. In view of the unusual circumstances surrounding this week-long debate on the future of Canada, I wish to speak as a northerner, a resident of this great province and a citizen of Canada.

I bring to this debate a sense of emotion because the subject of discussion relates to my own background, the history of my family in this country, and my role in the Legislature as a representative of the Kenora riding. I speak first as a Canadian, a very proud Canadian, proud of my French ancestry and the traditions of the Bernier family whose roots in New France date back to the 17th century.

The Bernier family has always been a close-knit family. Its Canadian origins date back to the arrival in New France of Jacques Bernier, who settled on the Ile d'Orleans in the year 1656, 20 years after his birth in Paris. He was married to Antoinette Grenier in the parish church of Notre Dame de Quebec by Father Jerome Lallement, superior of the Jesuit Mission of New France and the uncle of another Jesuit priest martyred at the site of the present shrine at Midland, Father Gabriel Lalemant.

During the past 300 years, members of the Bernier family have played their part in the building of Canada. Two may be recalled by the House. The first, of course is Serge Bernier, a member of the Quebec hockey team, undoubtedly the best-known Bernier in Canada today.

The second is Captain Joseph Elzear Bernier, who devoted 35 years of his life in the last century to the exploration of the Canadian Arctic. In honour of his accomplishments, a commemorative stamp was issued by the Postmaster General to mark his pioneering efforts to lay claim to the North Pole for Canada. Although he did not realize this one dream, he did discover and lay claim for Canada to the following Arctic islands—I will name them for the record: Bylot, Griffith, Young, Davy, Garrett, Cornwallis, Bathurst, Byam Martin, Melville, Eglinton, Prince Patrick, Lowther, Russell, Cone, Coburg and Ellesmere. His many accomplishments and his service to Canada have also been recorded in a publication of the Department of Indian Affairs and North-

ern Development released in 1978 under the title, Captain J. E. Bernier's Contribution to Canadian Sovereignty in the Arctic.

With the construction of the transcontinental railway at the turn of the century to western Canada, the Berniers began moving westward, settling in St. Anne, Manitoba, where my own father, Joseph E. Bernier, was born and raised with his two brothers and four sisters. The great gold rush which followed the discovery of the Red Lake gold fields prompted my father to settle at Hudson in northwestern Ontario, at that time the principal supply centre for shipping goods and materials to prospectors and miners who developed that ore body.

The Bernier family is unique in the sense that it has its own publication and its own association to which we all subscribe. This quarterly publication is made possible by a devoted member of our family and I would like to recognize him as Cyril Berneir of 6050 Est Rue Belanger, suite 310, Montreal, Quebec.

12:20 p.m.

I have summarized the history of this family because in my view it demonstrates an important principle of this discussion. French Canadians are merely people who speak a common language. They, above all, are a people with a sense of identity and a way of life who have a stake in the roots of this nation that they will never relinquish.

The fact that we today still speak of Quebec as French Canada demonstrates the essential cohesiveness of French people. Their determination to make their identity and their skill at the time of Confederation to obtain the necessary political instruments to preserve their language and their culture, and their success in accomplishing these goals is self-evident today. Their tenacity in working to preserve this identity is at the base of our discussions in this Legislature this week.

Across Canada the debate of the future of Confederation and the place of Quebec continues to generate a great deal of emotion. Understandably, passions are aroused and extreme positions are taken by partisans on each side. Let us not in this House forget that the French colonists of New France chose New France as their home. The dream of the French colonists was to find a land without oppression, a land that offered them the opportunity to prosper and a land in which they could create a new society—a greater society than the one they chose to leave behind.

I do not believe we can overestimate the

significance today of this essential element of choice and the passionate determination of these colonists to succeed. We are all familiar with the obstacles they fought to overcome. The obstacles of a harsh and forbidding climate, the vastness of the continent itself, the dangers of trading and sailing ships across the North Atlantic, they overcame. They met the challenge of the frontier. They prospered, they increased in numbers and they preserved their identity for over 300 years. They chose New France then, they chose Canada in 1867, and I believe they will choose Canada again when the challenge is clearly presented.

I feel it is tragic for my family to have had the feeling in recent years that it was somehow necessary to question their origins and question their feelings towards Canada. This is what has happened, not only for the Berniers but to all members of the French family as a direct result of the election of the Parti Quebecois and the strength of the separatist movement in that province.

I see no conflict whatsoever between my being of French origin and my being a Canadian. I am not ashamed because I am French and my being a Canadian does not make me less a descendant of Jacques Bernier. We chose Canada as a family 300 years ago and, if we must, we will choose it again on May 20, 1980, or any subsequent date of the referendum.

The separatist movement in Quebec does not speak for me because I am French. Its vision of statehood is not my vision. It speaks the language of the past as if wrongs had never been righted, as if the French in Canada had not prevailed as we have in preserving our heritage, our pride of culture and a sense of our worth as Canadians. As we fought to build our homes and make our way in this continent, so too we have fought alongside other Canadians in time of war and of peace to keep this country safe and strengthen its economy and its place among free nations.

We will not choose to relinquish that past or turn our backs on accomplishments of untold millions of our ancestors who lived and died in Canada, whose roots are our roots, and of whose accomplishments we are justifiably very proud. I do not agree with this proposition whatsoever. Quebec, like Canada, can never be a private preserve of one cultural group. There is no place in the modern world for a one-culture state. Not even France itself would attempt such a claim, or England or Germany or Belgium.

To claim that in Quebec, as in France, there must be a place for the French language

in commerce and in government and in education is self-evident. To go further and suggest that no other ethnic group should have rights, privileges and a role to play in building the future, is to ignore an essential ingredient of modern life. Surely we have learned from all the wars that we have fought in this century, as in the last, that there is no place for the politics of religion, of language or of race. The French in Europe surely suffered enough from the madness of the delusions of the Third Reich not to permit a version of cultural mania to grip them in Quebec today.

The separatists may speak of returning to the past, of shutting themselves off from the mainstream of life in the world and in North America, but they will never carry the day when the day of decision is at hand. The separatists may argue that purity of language is essential to maintaining an identity as a Frenchman. This is nonsense.

There was a time when I could speak only French. Had there been a separatist movement in my home town of Sioux Lookout when I was a child, telling me that I could only speak French, that I would be a traitor to my family and my ancestors if I spoke any other language, I would still be in Sioux Lookout, looking into a mirror.

There were no separatists then in Sioux Lookout, and there are none there today. I was encouraged to learn English by my family. Although my father's first language remained French throughout his lifetime, with, I might admit, a little bit of Ojibway he picked up along the way so he could relate to the native people in the area, I was never considered to be less a Bernier because I chose English as my first language.

As a people in a modern world, we have come a long way from the narrowness of the separatists. We do not need a separate state to preserve our culture any more today than we needed it in 1867. What is vital to us, what is alive in the context of a modern world and what is worthwhile about us as French people will live and flourish more as we move out into the mainstream and take our places as a strong people able to compete effectively in business, the arts and politics. There is no place for separatism.

This is not to say that the time has not come to rewrite the terms of the Canadian federation. There are important structural changes that must be made to improve the way of life of all Canadians. The Premier (Mr. Davis) I am privileged to serve under has said on many great occasions that he will go anywhere, any time, to negotiate a new constitutional framework for Canada but he

will not negotiate the dismemberment of Canada.

A new constitution is needed, not just to serve the interests of the French, but to serve the interests of all the regions of Canada, all the cultures that today make up this country, including all of the native Indian cultures from Labrador to British Columbia and to the Arctic regions.

The commitment of Ontario to Canada is a crystal clear commitment that is based on a faith that Canada can be a greater nation than it is today. It is a commitment that is founded on the strength of Canadians and not based on unfortunate weaknesses, our doubts or our fears as separatism is.

12:30 p.m.

Independence from Canada would be disastrous for Quebec. It would succeed merely in creating yet another mini-state, one which our ancestors fought against and succeeded from preventing at the time of Confederation. It would result in culturally impoverished Quebecois without the resources or the economic tools to protect themselves in a world that has made mincemeat of dozens of tiny states, as Quebec would then be. Independence is not an option for Quebec nor is its equivalent, sovereignty-association. All it is is rhetoric.

The government of Ontario has put forward a wide-ranging set of constitutional proposals to be discussed in concert with the proposals put forward by other governments. These proposals demonstrate the preparedness of the citizens of this province to find new ways to relate to other Canadians in all our provinces and the national government.

Within our borders we have also sought to find new ways to help the citizens of Ontario relate to each other. An important new political initiative has been taken in this province to recognize frankly the need to deal with the question of regional disparities. In the past we have tried to decentralize our administration of government in the hope that in some meaningful way this would come to grips with regional needs. However, we recognized there are regions in this province with needs far greater than we could address in this way.

For this reason, the government established the first regional ministry in the history of this province. The mandate of my ministry, the Ministry of Northern Affairs, is quite simply stated: to meet the needs of northern regions. The federal government also has made an effort to address the same problem through the establishment of the Department of Regional Economic Expansion. It has a somewhat narrower frame of

reference than that of my ministry, but it is at least a recognition that regional needs are important to the proper governing of Canada.

Other provincial governments have established a variety of mechanisms—none as broadly based as we have in Ontario—to move towards the same goals. This political recognition of regional disparity is a new phenomenon for Canada, although other countries, such as Denmark, have experimented with it much earlier than we did.

As I look at the constitutional debate taking place today, I cannot help but feel that Canada must make new efforts to develop national political tools to deal effectively with the myriad of regional disparities that beset us. The language of separatism is also the language of regional needs. We have had a fledgling separatist movement in northern Ontario. There is a separatist feeling among some residents of our western provinces. There has always been a certain attraction towards separatism in the Atlantic provinces.

In each case, however, the language is of neglect, of opportunities missed of the centralization of power elsewhere—on Bay Street, on Water Street, on James Street, but always someplace else. It is a language too of despair, of powerlessness to influence one's own destiny, to protect one's own children from the need to go away to make a living. Canada is not unique in having this problem, but the problem has been aggravated over many years. From feelings of powerlessness and despair, separatist movements will forever emerge.

We must deal with this reality when we negotiate a new constitutional framework for Canada. I hope that Ontario will play a leading role in these negotiations because I believe that we have made important steps in recognizing the nature of the problem within our own borders in this province. We have now had the experience with some political means of dealing with that particular problem.

We have a long way to go in this province in meeting the needs of the north, but we have accomplished some things that others have not. We have moved into areas that are unique to Canada. I hope we will have an opportunity to share this experience when we negotiate a new constitutional framework for Canada.

These are all feelings common to many northerners. Our landscape is dotted with single-resource- industry communities vulnerable to every shift in fashion and to world crises. Our commercial fishermen have been hard hit by changing price levels and by the

effects of pollution. When an ore body has been exhausted or when the world price for that ore has dropped below the breakeven point, our mining communities have suffered. But separating from Ontario when these problems present themselves is seen by the overwhelming majority of northerners as being ridiculous. It is a ridiculous alternative and is not even considered.

Mr. Acting Speaker: I would draw to the honourable member's attention that his time has elapsed.

Hon. Mr. Bernier: Mr. Speaker, I have just a few brief words in closing.

A new constitution for Canada must not only address these regional needs, but it must do so in a manner that is clearly evident to the eyes of every Canadian. It must also meet the needs of our native people in a very profound manner. To do this will require a considerable strengthening of provincial governments all across Canada because this level of government, in my opinion, is far better able to meet the day-to-day needs of Canadians than a national government could ever do. If Canada is to survive into the 21st century, this is the road we must all take.

Mr. J. Reed: Mr. Speaker, it is interesting to observe that each of the participants in this debate has made a special contribution according to his or her ancestry and according to the environment in which he or she was brought up. I refer particularly to the previous speaker, the Minister of Northern Affairs, who spoke very proudly of his franco-phone heritage and of northern Ontario and presented a viewpoint on this debate that I think was special.

As a citizen of Ontario with an anglophone heritage I feel that I too have a special responsibility to help in my own humble way to bring the message of this resolution to Quebec, since my riding originally was almost 100 per cent Anglo-Saxon in origin but has in recent years become quite cosmopolitan.

I feel the message I bring must be directed to those people of Anglo-Saxon roots in my riding who were brought up in an environment similar to my own and who, in my view, have a very special contribution to make to Canadian unity. While this question must be initially resolved through our determination to build a new Canada, it must eventually result in a change in the hearts and in the minds of all Canadians.

The first is easier to accomplish than the last, but it is only in that accomplishment that a newer and stronger Canada will emerge. I have watched the country I love so much being held back by needless prej-

udice, born out of fear and often fulfilled in ignorance. I have seen the people I love and whom I now have the privilege of serving often bound with the chains of misunderstanding, each link forged through the prejudice of the past.

If Canada is to fulfil its destiny, those links must be undone and we must be free. I truly believe the citizens of my riding are willing to accept this tremendous challenge in the name of Canada. I believe they are ready consciously to put by the fears that have held us back and to be prepared to allow Canada to become the greatest nation on earth, not just in material wellbeing but as an example of that generosity of spirit that can lift us all above ourselves for the greater good of our nation.

12:40 p.m.

If there is a message I can send to our brothers and sisters in Quebec it is that we are willing to move ahead and we, therefore, urge those voters in Quebec to remember that the small riding called Halton-Burlington is prepared to do its part to take up the challenge. Let there be no mistake, Mr. Speaker, in our view a no vote in the referendum is only the beginning of that long walk together.

We have another message to bring to Quebec as well, that is, we cannot contemplate, let alone negotiate, such a concept as sovereignty-association. We have too much to share with each other to our mutual benefit. As the energy critic for the official opposition in this great province, I see great resources in Quebec in hydro-electric power but I also see that Quebec has no petroleum resources. Indeed, although the province is able to export electric power it must import over 70 per cent of its energy requirements from outside the province.

I think it is reasonable to observe that a Quebec left to its own devices would immediately have a deficit balance of payments in the billions of dollars for petroleum costing at least double the present price. Since energy will be the economic key over the next 20 or 30 years, until that range of energy options is expanded Quebec would become the most economically vulnerable part of North America.

As the rest of this continent and particularly the rest of this country presses hard for optimum conservation and optimum energy development, Quebec's continuing dependence on petroleum, outside of the benefit of the federal equalization system, would be disastrous for its people. On the other hand, within the framework of Confederation,

Quebec could continue to enjoy equalization which is giving all of us who are Canadians the time so badly needed to move from the era of petroleum into the era of alternative energy and conservation.

Also necessary at this time is a sharing of technology among all provinces. There may be some misguided idea that because of Quebec's wealth of hydro-electric capacity it can manage huge transfers of energy consumption into that medium. The lessons have already been well learned in the United States and certainly in Ontario. While some transfer of utilization is possible and some is desirable, the wholesale transfer into an all-electric economy is prohibitively costly and technically impractical. It therefore stands to reason that in the area of energy each province has something to give to the other and each has a benefit to receive.

Our country is a diverse land containing yet unimaginable wealth, the development and exploitation of which has often been held back by the time and energies wasted on our differences instead of being invested in those aspirations that are common to us all and in

a sincere attempt to understand and walk hand in hand with each other. The very fact that we recognize Canada as a mosaic rather than a melting pot indicates we expect from each other a level of maturity and generosity of spirit that is perhaps not expected or demanded in other countries.

The benefits to be gained by recognizing this fact of Canada are such that make us unique among nations and give us a potential for fulfilment greater than any other country. Let the word go out by the means of this resolution that a no vote will confirm our resolve in Ontario not to accept the status quo but to work with all of our talent and our ability for a greater Canada, one in which the fears and inhibitions of the past will be replaced by the light of courage, challenge and opportunity.

Canada was created not out of an act of revolution, not out of an act of war, but out of legislation, in peace and as an act of love. Let us continue in that spirit.

On motion by Mr. Makarchuk, the debate was adjourned.

The House recessed at 12:45 p.m.

ERRATUM

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No. 44

Legislature of Ontario Debates

Official Report (Hansard)

Fourth Session, 31st Parliament

Thursday, May 8, 1980

Afternoon Sitting

Speaker: Honourable John E. Stokes

Clerk: Roderick Lewis, QC

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Hansard subscription price is \$15.00 per session, from: Sessional Subscription Service, Central Purchasing Service, Print Procurement Section, Ministry of Government Services, 9th Floor, Ferguson Block, Parliament Buildings, Toronto M7A 1N3. Phone (416) 965-2238.

Published by the Legislature of the Province of Ontario.
Editor of Debates: Peter Brannan.

LEGISLATURE OF ONTARIO

THURSDAY, MAY 8, 1980

The House met at 2 p.m.

TRIBUTE TO PRESIDENT TITO

Mr. Cassidy: Mr. Speaker, before the statements and orders of the day, on behalf of members of the Legislature, I would like to pay a word of tribute on the occasion of the funeral of Marshal Tito, the great wartime leader of Yugoslavia and leader of that country from 1945 until the present time.

He was a nation builder, a man who brought together a nation out of the Balkan area which had six national languages; an heroic fighter against fascism during the Second World War; a man who had the leadership capacity, the foresight and the courage to lead his country out of the Soviet bloc; a leader, with his country, of the non-alliance nations of the world over almost three decades, and who, with his government and his party in his country in their own way instituted experiments in the practice of workers' management and participatory democracy which have been unequalled any place else in the world.

I think all members would join with me in paying tribute to Marshal Tito in expressing our condolences to the Yugoslav people, in expressing as well our sympathies to those Canadians who are of Yugoslav origin. He was not only a great citizen of his country, he was also a great citizen of the world.

STATEMENTS BY THE MINISTRY

ASSISTANCE TO FARMERS

Hon. F. S. Miller: Mr. Speaker, when I brought down my budget April 22 I indicated the concern of this government about the level of interest rates in Canada. Interest rates are a pressing national issue, and in my budget I looked to the federal government for leadership and action. We were, and still are, prepared to assist in designing schemes for interest rate relief. However, I also indicated the province's willingness to act independently to assist the farming community should no action appear to be forthcoming from Ottawa.

Interest rates have been dropping in recent weeks and are expected to continue to do so. But they still remain high, and the prospects

of future low rates will not help the farmer who must borrow now. Yet we have still had no indication of any federal response. The time has come for action.

Farmers face an acute problem because of the requirement for significant amounts of short-term working capital. Since cash flow would not otherwise occur until the crop was sold, farmers must borrow money to finance the cost of input, including seeds, fertilizers, livestock feed, the cost of crop maintenance and that of harvesting. This debt is absolutely essential for maintaining farm production. It is not an issue of availability of capital, since there are adequate funds available for farmers and borrowers. Rather, high interest rates put a real squeeze on many farmers, particularly those with an additional debt load.

The extra burden of high interest cost comes at a time when there are significant cost increases in farming inputs, such as fertilizer, seed, pesticides and other necessities for production. When prices for corn and other grains are dropping as a result of the boycott of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics markets and other prices are at a low point as a result of the commodity cycles, the squeeze on farm incomes is magnified.

My government feels that farming is too valuable an activity to both the people and the economy of Ontario to permit this squeeze. The long-term viability of food production cannot be a casualty of short-term interest rate policy. Consequently, Ontario will be taking action to assist the farmers with the burden of short-term interest costs through a \$25-million interest rate subsidy program. My colleague the Minister of Agriculture and Food will provide the details of this new program.

The Ontario Federation of Agriculture has approached the federal government for assistance and, on behalf of Ontario farmers, we support this request. Such federal assistance would be an important source of relief from high interest rates for farmers in addition to our program and the new federal small business development bonds.

Hon. Mr. Henderson: Mr. Speaker, in rising today and thanking the Treasurer for his help at this time when it is badly needed in the farming community, I would like first to in-

roduce Mr. Frank Wall, second vice-president of the Ontario Federation of Agriculture, who has been involved in the debates and who has helped us greatly in arriving at this decision. I believe he is fully supportive of our statement, and I would ask him to stand.

Applause.

Hon. Mr. Henderson: As members of this House are aware, interest rates in this country have been at record high levels for the past few months. These high rates have been especially hard on our farmers and, in particular, on young farmers who require short-term working capital. Therefore, the government of Ontario is stepping in to bring assistance to the farmers of this province.

It is my pleasure to announce the Ontario Farm Interest Assistance Program for farmers who qualify. The government will subsidize interest rates up to a maximum of three per cent on short-term working capital borrowed at more than 12 per cent. The maximum amount of borrowed capital on which the subsidy is payable is \$50,000 and the time period is nine months, extending from April 1, 1980, to December 31, 1980.

The subsidy is available to farmers who are engaged in food production. Program criteria are being developed by my ministry in co-operation with the Ontario Federation of Agriculture. We are also inviting financial institutions to take part in developing the criteria. I will be tabling these criteria in the House as soon as they are available. In the meantime, I should like to give the members a broad outline of the program.

Farmers will take out loans from institutions in the usual way. When their short-term financial dealings are completed or when the nine-month program period ends, the farmers will send in applications for the subsidy to the Ministry of Agriculture and Food. The application must be countersigned by the lending institution and must state the interest rate, the amount of the short-term capital borrowed and the interest paid.

An information leaflet describing the program and setting out the criteria will be available in the near future from the agricultural representatives' offices and from financial institutions. Application forms will be available from the same sources.

This program will bring relief to those farmers who need it most. I hope the federal government will respond positively to our program and render similar assistance to farmers. I know the federal Minister of Agriculture is concerned about the problems that high interest rates are causing in the farming community.

ONTARIO RENEWS FORUM

Hon. Mr. Bennett: Mr. Speaker, staff in my ministry are concluding the last details of organization for Ontario Renewals: Action for the 80s, a comprehensive, international forum on community renewal.

This forum, one of the largest gatherings of its kind, is expected to attract about 1,400 delegates. People are coming from every province in Canada, several American states and from farther afield. In fact, we have just received a telegram from a planner in Sydney, Australia, requesting enrolment.

Ontario Renewals will cover all aspects of home renovations and home rehabilitation, community improvement and downtown revitalization. These activities will be the basis for the important industry in the 1980s, as it becomes more and more necessary to conserve energy and other material resources.

I am pleased to announce that nearly 200 speakers have confirmed their intention to take part in the forum at Toronto's Royal York Hotel between the days of June 9 and 13. The speakers come from across Canada, from the United States and from the United Kingdom.

From the United States, we welcome Lawrence Alexander, the director of Downtown Research and Development Centre, an organization which is co-sponsoring the forum. Mr. Alexander is editor of the Downtown Idea Exchange and has been involved in downtown revitalization for more than 25 years.

I am pleased also to announce that Mr. Andrew Tait, the director general of the National House Building Council of the United Kingdom will participate. Mr. Tait is regarded as one of the leading international specialists in the area of housing rehabilitation.

Canadian speakers will come from across this country: British Columbia, the Prairies, Ontario, Quebec and the Maritimes. These will include the former mayor of Vancouver, Art Phillips, and a member of the Alberta staff, who will be with us at that conference.

Several members of this House will also be speaking at the conference, and I wish to extend an enthusiastic invitation to every member of this House to pay a visit, however brief, to this important five-day conference. At this time, copies of the program are being put in the individual members' mail boxes here in the Legislative Building.

VISITORS

Hon. Mr. Davis: Before the orders of the day, I would like to mention that we have a very distinguished group of visitors in your

gallery, Mr. Speaker. I met them prior to the opening of the House. They are some citizens from Durham, England, who are here visiting the town of Durham, Ontario. It is a pleasure to welcome them here and in particular the chief magistrate of that municipality, Mr. Lattimer.

FLOWERS

Mr. Nixon: Mr. Speaker, just before you call the next order of business, I want to set your mind at rest. The flowers being worn by members are in aid of multiple sclerosis. I only mention it since the Provincial Secretary for Social Development (Mrs. Birch) was distributing these and selling them outside. I regret—perhaps this is a point of privilege—that I could not get a red one. The Minister of Health (Mr. Timbrell) has a red one for valour. The Minister of Community and Social Services (Mr. Norton) has a white one for purity and virginity. The Premier (Mr. Davis) has a blue one for depression. The pink, I guess, just stands for moderation and good judgement.

2:10 p.m.

ORAL QUESTIONS

AID TO CHRYSLER

Mr. Nixon: Mr. Speaker, I would like to ask the Minister of Industry and Tourism whether he can report to the House on the present status of the negotiations between himself, the officials in the federal government and the officials of Chrysler Canada, and what might be expected by way of an announcement.

Hon. Mr. Grossman: Mr. Speaker, I regret to state that I cannot give the House any more information at the present time than I have given previously, because there are no developments which have resulted in official announcements or official positions being arrived at. In simple terms, the negotiations are still continuing, talks are still continuing, and an agreement has not been reached.

Mr. Nixon: I would like to ask the minister whether there is any sort of a tentative deadline, and whether he would comment on the assessment that the government of the United States has an aid program that is contingent upon outside assistance, and some of that outside assistance could be construed as that which would be forthcoming from the government of Canada; that the government of Canada is contemplating some long-term interest guarantees, but that the short-term assistance depends on the policy of the gov-

ernment of Ontario; and that by this long, roundabout way the future of this international corporation seems to rest in the hands of our honourable friend sitting at the end of the front row.

Hon. Mr. Grossman: I would find that as hard to believe as the honourable member who asked the question would find it difficult to believe. If, indeed, the entire future of the Chrysler Corporation rested upon this minister or this government, one would have thought we might have had some success on some of the requests we have had to Chrysler Corporation to meet some of our concerns.

With regard to the deadlines, may I say that there has been a series of very legitimately proposed deadlines, all of which I think were real. When we got to several deadlines, at which point we did not have agreement, there was a desire, as there often is in negotiations such as this, to extend the deadline and to make alternative arrangements, and that is what has occurred.

In terms of short-term assistance versus long-term assistance, may I say that the deal, as discussed to the present time, does not break out short-term assistance from long-term assistance in terms of the provincial government looking after the short term and the federal government looking after the long term. There has been no breakout in that way whatsoever.

In terms of whether we—the Canadian government—are involved in matching the \$1.43 billion that Chrysler has to raise in the United States, I might comment at this time that in terms of the US loan package Chrysler was required to raise \$1.43 billion from various sources. The sum of \$250 million dollars was required to be raised from what was defined in the legislation as state, local and other governments.

I am told that figure has been reached from state, local and other governments in the United States, as was intended.

Mr. Nixon: That's triggered.

Hon. Mr. Grossman: The honourable member suggests that that has been triggered. No. Out of the entire package, either the \$1.43 billion figure is reached or it is not. There is no partial triggering of the US loan guarantees. They must reach \$1.43 billion.

In terms of whether the Canadian government, as part of the overall aid package, has contributed to some difficulty in freeing up the \$1.43 billion and the \$1.5 billion. I only point out that the \$250 million which was to be raised by state, local and other governments has been reached. Therefore, the Canadian government assistance, while I am sure

it is important to the overall aid package, is not particularly designated under the US legislation as being required.

Mr. Cassidy: Mr. Speaker, will the minister acknowledge that, whatever the result of the discussions with Chrysler, there is going to be a serious jobs problem in the Windsor area for some time to come; and is the government prepared to take some specific measures in order to get new investment and more jobs into the Windsor area in the automobile sector and related sectors, specifically by increasing from \$1 million or so to \$50 million Ontario's preparedness to invest in a parts research facility, by investigating the possibility of having the Dash-8 production moved to a plant in the Windsor area, and by looking into the possibility of having offshore auto makers or parts makers invest in the Windsor area?

Hon. Mr. Grossman: Mr. Speaker, the answer to the first part of the question is yes. I fully expect that, with or without Canadian aid, there will be at least a short-term reduction in employment in Chrysler Corporation's operations in Canada. That is a cause of very grave concern to us, and it is one of the items that have caused a certain attitude to develop surrounding our position in the talks. I think it is more a reflection of what the market is likely to be for North American automobiles, and Chrysler in particular, over the next period of time. That, in turn, will be a factor in terms of how we approach the negotiations. I do want to emphasize that I, for one, believe—and this may be denied by others; by Chrysler, for example—that we will see fewer jobs in Chrysler's operations in Windsor over the next few months and, indeed, over the next year.

In terms of the second part of the member's question, we have—as the member acknowledged—set up for the first time an auto parts technical centre at the Ontario Research Foundation. Regardless of whether the amount be \$1 million or \$50 million, I want to assure the leader of the third party that we will fund it to the maximum dollar needed by the Canadian auto parts industry to make it happen. Dollars will not be the problem. We will fund it adequately.

In terms of providing alternative jobs in that area, one of the things we are working hard at currently, with de Havilland Aircraft of Canada Limited and others, is seeing that as many of the fighter aircraft offset jobs that will be coming to Ontario do go into areas in which auto workers may find alternative employment.

I welcome the position of the leader of the third party when he indicates we ought to be seeking to obtain offshore auto parts investment in this country. It is a breakthrough for the New Democratic Party to acknowledge that at this point in time, or at any point in time, we need some foreign investment in this country. I can only say that with their support—and I am sure the soon-to-be-obtained support of the Liberal Party, if not the member for Windsor-Walkerville (Mr. B. Newman) and the member for Essex North (Mr. Ruston) and the member for Essex South (Mr. Mancini)—we will continue our effort to attract those alternative auto parts firms.

I will be attending the largest auto parts show in the world in Geneva at the end of this month, with a view to closing some deals, if we can, with six or seven major auto parts firms. To this stage, they have expressed a high degree of interest in locating in Ontario, as the result of an effort we mounted about a year ago to zero in on foreign auto firms—auto makers and auto parts firms—that might be interested in coming to North America.

Mr. Ruston: Mr. Speaker, since Chrysler's sales in Canada are 12 per cent to 14 per cent of their overall sales, is the minister considering that fact in his talks with Chrysler? Also, is he recommending that the Omni and Horizon, which now are being made in the United States, might be made in Canada?

Hon. Mr. Grossman: Mr. Speaker, I cannot comment at this time on various items that have been on the table, and off the table at other times. Chrysler Corporation does have a larger share of the Canadian market than it does of the American market and the Canadian company, Chrysler Canada Limited, is a much stronger company in itself than is the Chrysler Corporation itself. In view of those circumstances and others, I believe that Canada already has earned its way in terms of major participation in whatever future the Chrysler Corporation does have.

Therefore, when we go into negotiations with them, we will begin by saying Canada is important and has earned its way and position in the Chrysler Corporation internationally, and therefore is entitled to some extra, special or long-overdue consideration, notwithstanding whatever amounts are offered to the Chrysler Corporation.

Mr. Cooke: Mr. Speaker, it is clear at this point that no matter what happens with Chrysler Corporation—whether this government participates or not—there will be a very

long-term employment crisis in the Windsor area, and there has been for a number of months. Since it now has been seven months since the minister recognized in a letter to me that this government does have a responsibility to create jobs in the short term in Windsor, will he tell us today, or within the next few days, when he has made his plan, specifically how much money this government is willing to put into Windsor to create short-term jobs to help the 24,000 and growing number of people unemployed in the Windsor-Essex area?

2:20 p.m.

Hon. Mr. Crossman: In fairness, Mr. Speaker, one could not accuse this government of ever being hesitant to put money into Windsor to create jobs for the auto workers. In fact, the last criticism we received from across the floor was for putting \$28 million into Windsor to create jobs for the auto workers.

The track record of this government is clear. If we have the opportunity to invest money in Windsor and create short-, medium- and long-term jobs in an important and sensible fashion, then the members and the people of Windsor can be assured that this government will not hesitate. We have not hesitated before, and we will not hesitate again.

AID TO PENSIONERS

Mr. Nixon: Mr. Speaker, I want to direct a question to the Treasurer about his new tax grant program announced in the budget. Will he comment on the statement made by the Metropolitan Toronto social services commissioner that about 10,000 Metropolitan Toronto pensioners will lose \$3 million over what they would have received under the old program if the brave new program is implemented as it now is expressed?

Hon. F. S. Miller: Mr. Speaker, I would hope the member would look at the entire article that is in the newspaper today. It points out that the senior citizens in the homes for the aged and the nursing homes—and the article says that is where they are—who are already supported by the state, who are not paying taxes and who have a \$51-a-month comfort allowance, are not even spending the \$51 comfort allowance. Therefore, we directed the money to people who had obligations in society and did not have enough money to meet them.

Mr. Nixon: Would the minister consider, indicating to the House, before proceeding with the bill, that he is prepared to bring in an amendment that will make it clear that no

pensioner is going to get less under this new program than he or she would have received if the old program had proceeded?

Hon. F. S. Miller: No. The key thing is that we had a program before that had some aspects of income supplementation even when income supplementation was not needed. I have explained several times in the House that we cut it into two component parts, property tax and income. Then we could cover the essential property tax that one paid even if one is on minimum income, leaving for the daily cost of living—food, heat, clothing—a guaranteed minimum cash balance for all people. That was done. We then transferred about \$75 million more in the process to senior citizens. I think the member would agree with me that, as one goes around this province talking to senior citizens, this has been extremely well received because the people we helped are the people who are faced with higher costs of living.

Mr. McClellan: Mr. Speaker, I would like to ask the Treasurer whether he is aware that the rates for single pensioners under the guaranteed annual income system are still too low and that Gains pensioners who are single are still below the poverty line. Does he not agree that it is inappropriate for a single pensioner to have to use the property tax grant to raise his or her income above the poverty line and that the problem could be solved if he would increase the single rate for Gains to a more adequate level above the poverty line?

Hon. F. S. Miller: Mr. Speaker, there are at least four poverty lines to find.

Mr. McClellan: Statistics Canada revised the poverty line.

Hon. F. S. Miller: A poverty line is a statistic. The fact remains that the cost of living varies very much according to where one lives in this province. There are some places where the cost of living is higher than in other areas. For the member to give me any one of four figures he pulls out of a book to suit him does not necessarily tell me the problems people are facing.

As of July 1, it is my understanding that the combination of the enrichment at the federal level, the enrichment at the provincial level, indexing and the present base will bring the sum total of those to \$5,200, give or take a bit, in total net cash for a single senior citizen in Ontario. That is a considerable increase over somewhere around the current figure of \$4,100 or \$4,200.

I do not have the exact figure with me today, but I gave the honourable member a

figure of \$5,088 the other day. Someone challenged that figure, and when I checked my statistics—I believe I passed them on to my critic in the New Democratic Party so he could look at them—it was composed of about \$188 for old age security, about the same amount for guaranteed income supplement, and the Ontario supplement added on; it came to \$5,088.36, if I recall my figuring.

That did not allow for the indexing which was to take place every quarter in the basic federal payments, and I am assured when that indexing takes place those will add up to about \$5,200. We won't know until we have seen the exact figure.

That is cash flow in addition to the cash payment for sales tax, which is \$50 per person and 100 per cent of the property tax up to \$500, and free Ontario Health Insurance Plan coverage and free drugs. I sense, when one calculates what a poverty line is, one assumes one is paying those things; therefore, it is not unfair to add them to the base of \$5,200 in assuming what they get.

Mr. Peterson: Mr. Speaker, in his response to the member for Brant-Oxford-Norfolk (Mr. Nixon), the Treasurer referred to the people in nursing homes, particularly in Metro, and took a position with which we disagree. What about those other people, something like 50,000 people in this province apart from people in nursing homes, who will receive less?

Is the Treasurer prepared to entertain an amendment and to fix up his legislation before it comes into this House so that those people who receive less who are currently not in nursing homes will not receive less under the new system than they would have under the old?

Hon. F. S. Miller: Mr. Speaker, I get a lot of criticisms when programs are broadbanded. The fact is, many of the people the honourable member is talking about are living with their children in a house and not necessarily paying any tax. Our program is aimed at helping people pay tax in their own homes.

Our legislation, if the member has looked at it, has a clause in it which says that any senior citizen living in a home other than his own and who pays towards the maintenance of that home shall have the right to make a claim. Has the member read that part of it? That right is there, provided the owner of that home, be it a daughter or son or grandchild, shows the money the person pays as income.

Mr. Di Santo: Mr. Speaker, now that the Treasurer has had time to review the points we raised several weeks ago after he introduced the budget, I would like to ask

whether he is willing to introduce an amendment that will allow a tax rebate to all senior citizens over the age of 65, including those Canadian citizens who acquire citizenship after three years of residence but do not qualify for old age security.

Hon. F. S. Miller: Mr. Speaker, the honourable member knows we had a late show on this particular topic, and I feel I did cover the matter then.

FAMILY BENEFITS

Mr. Cassidy: Mr. Speaker, I have a question for the Minister of Community and Social Services about the inadequacy of family benefits in this province. Can the minister explain why it is that, according to the Treasurer, a single senior citizen of this province in the guaranteed annual income system gets the equivalent of \$433 a month, and a foster parent who takes into care two children under the age of 10 gets \$459 a month from the children's aid, while a single-parent mother with two children on family benefits allowance receives \$452 in FBA?

Why does the single parent with two children receive, for the three of them, less than a foster parent would receive just for looking after two children, and what action does the government intend to take to ensure that adequate benefits are given to people on family benefits?

2:30 p.m.

Hon. Mr. Norton: Mr. Speaker, the honourable member realizes that he is comparing some significantly different programs, some of which involve two or three levels of government in various ways contributing to the program.

If he looks at the experience historically in the area of family benefits, he has to recognize—I think he was quite accurate when he quoted a figure for FBA—that the FBA is not the sole source of income for persons in that situation. There are family tax credits from the federal government. There are other benefits from the provincial level. In fact, a mother with two young children, as of the month of April, taking everything into consideration, ought to be receiving a total income of \$533.27 a month.

When one is looking at those things, one has to consider the additional benefits that are available by way of dental care and health care for the children, and for the parents, of course. For those who are faced with the problem of heating their own homes, we pay the full cost of fuel, which probably has inflated more rapidly and dramatically in

the last few years than almost any other component of family expense. I suggest to the member that the situation is not as bleak as he has portrayed it.

If the member looks at the rate at which family benefits have increased over the last 10 years—not taking into consideration the other sources of income available to those families—they have increased by 103 per cent. During that comparable period of time, the consumer price index has increased by slightly more than about 111 per cent. That increase of 103 per cent is in reference to family benefits alone, but during that period of time there have also been significant enrichments in the program.

In addition to the child tax credits at the federal level, there have been improved special supplements, discretionary municipal shelter supplements, and the introduction of the back-to-school allowance, which also is effectively part of family income.

I could go on and on. I think the member is singling out only one component of family income, which over the past 10 years itself has almost kept pace with the rate of inflation. If the member compares it with the rates of increase in income of many other persons in the work force, the rate of increase has been fair. The member is deliberately distorting the situation by focusing on only one component of the family income.

Mr. Cassidy: Is the minister not aware that the income of family benefits recipients was far below the poverty line 10 years ago and has fallen even further behind the poverty line today because of inadequate increases? Is the minister not aware that today the income of a family benefits recipient with one child is about 36 per cent below the poverty line set by Statistics Canada; and if there are three children, it is about 40 per cent below the poverty line set by Statistics Canada? Is the government prepared to undertake to bring the income of family benefits recipients up to the poverty line and then to ensure there is an increase in family benefits every year geared to the cost of living?

Hon. Mr. Norton: Perhaps I could put the last part of the honourable member's question in some perspective. Then he might like to respond further.

If he is referring to the most recent requests that have been made publicly by the Family Benefits Work Group, with which I have met a couple of times in the last several months—if he is looking at their requests alone, at the present time the cost on an annual basis of introducing those changes, according to the most accurate calculations

that my staff have been able to do at this point, would involve about \$1.1 billion a year in increased costs to my ministry. He has to look at that in the context of the total budget of my ministry, which is about \$1.5 billion.

I ask the member to consider what he is requesting me to make a commitment to do in the context of how realistic it is. With the support of my colleagues on this side of the House, I will continue—as I have done—to try to make the appropriate improvements as we can, as the resources are available, but the kinds of demands being made are simply impossible to attain, and the member should understand that.

Mr. Blundy: Mr. Speaker, how does the Minister of Community and Social Services rationalize the situation in which a mother with two children is receiving \$533 and has to pay up to \$300 a month for a two-bedroom apartment, when subsidized housing rolls are six months to two years behind? How does he rationalize that payment for these people, in seeking living accommodation alone, to say nothing of food and clothing?

Hon. Mr. Norton: Mr. Speaker, I am not sure what the honourable member means when he asks how I rationalize it. He cited a number of different facts that I am not sure are capable of rationalization.

The reality of the situation in our society today is that we have to try to deal with the difficulties we face as we can and as resources are available. I do not think there is any need, for example, to rationalize intellectually what the honourable member has raised.

Mr. Di Santo: Mr. Speaker, if the minister cannot rationalize the question raised by the honourable member, can the minister explain why it is, as we have said many times, whenever there is an increase in the Canada Pension Plan disability allowance he takes that money away from the people? In Ontario, a person who is disabled because of medical reasons now gets, with the increase, \$314 a month.

Hon. Mr. Norton: Mr. Speaker, the honourable member opposite and I, and some of his colleagues, have exchanged views on this question a number of times. I will try to be brief but, once again, I will try to make two points.

First of all, as has been explained innumerable times to the honourable member, that is not a discretionary matter with the province. It is part of the requirement under the Canada Assistance Plan in terms of the requirement to take into consideration—

Mr. Laughren: Not true. The minister can change.

Hon. Mr. Norton: The other alternative, of course, is that the province can lose cost sharing. The province has the option of losing cost sharing on those increases.

The second point, for which I think there is a justification, and I don't wish to say that it does not create some misunderstandings and difficulties, is that we don't happen—I don't happen; I hadn't better label everybody with my opinion—I don't happen to support the idea of a two-tier discriminatory system of income support.

What the New Democratic Party is advocating—

Mr. Martel: Is a decent standard of living for people.

Hon. Mr. Norton: We all agree with that. But what they are advocating in the New Democratic Party caucus is simply that those with higher levels of income from secondary sources should get the same benefits as those who are in greater need because they don't have a secondary source of income. They are advocating a discriminatory system that would be harmful to those in greatest need. I ask them to stop and think about it. It is a sexy issue for the NDP, because it seems they can confuse people, they can confuse the perception; but if they sit down and be honest with themselves, they will see they are advocating a discriminatory system, and I don't support it.

MORTGAGE RATES

Mr. Cassidy: Mr. Speaker, if the minister wants to talk about discrimination, \$452 for—

Mr. Speaker: Do you have a question?

Mr. Cassidy: I have a question for the Treasurer, arising out of his statement, which we welcomed, about interest rate relief to farmers. That was promised in the budget, and now is a promise which apparently is going to be fulfilled.

Hon. Mr. Davis: We always do.

Mr. Cassidy: We will see about that.

2:40 p.m.

I would like to ask the Treasurer, now that the government has pledged to provide \$25 million in interest rate assistance for farmers who are affected by high interest rates as they come to the cost of their planting and so on this spring, can he assure the House that Ontario will have a program at least that generous for home owners who are also affected by the increase in interest rates when they renegotiate their mortgages? Will

he also assure the House that the assistance will be directed primarily to families with incomes of under \$25,000 a year?

Hon. F. S. Miller: Mr. Speaker, I should start my answer by giving the member one piece of good news. The central bank rate dropped 1.23 per cent today. That shows that letters from me to the federal Minister of Finance do get results. I am now about to write him some more letters.

Following what the member alleged to be his advice, and these days we are pleased to say it was—

Interjections.

Hon. F. S. Miller: I have been told to withdraw that.

We are making good progress with our study of the interest rate problem and, I have to say, continuing the kind of quiet negotiations with other ministers and the federal government that I hope will get results. We could take a public posture and try to make a lot of noise about it or blame them. When we are looking for solutions, I think we are better to keep the work going as well as we are, hoping that the kind of approach suggested—that is, help to the needy for mortgage interest, for those people who are going to lose their homes—can become a practical reality.

Mr. Cassidy: The Treasurer says the government is acting in the hope that the plan can become a practical reality. Can he tell the House when we can expect an announcement by the government with regard to interest rate relief for home owners; and can he assure the House that people who are being forced to pay more than 25 or 30 per cent of their income in mortgage payments because of the high interest rate will be provided with relief if they are on modest incomes?

Hon. F. S. Miller: That's exactly what the study is all about. My guesstimates were that the middle of May would be about the time the work would be done. I know it is coming along quite well. I know that I will be involved with staff within the next day or two on the progress of that study. I trust it will come in roughly on schedule. I trust also that the promise made in the federal budget that wasn't a budget, but said there would be help for people who had extreme conditions, will also be honoured by them. I would ask the member to give us the time to negotiate, as we are doing.

Mr. Peterson: Mr. Speaker, given the fact that we are all very happy about interest rates coming down, probably a little faster than anticipated, and granted that they will

probably continue to come down, is the Treasurer prepared to consider in this great paper of options he is going to prepare and submit to this Legislature, and which I hope will get the support of his friends to my left, the hardship of those people who have suffered, principally in the last two or three months? Those are going to become the forgotten people in this great interest rate fight.

I am hoping, as is the minister, that there will not be a problem two months from now, but we must do something to assist those people who have already been harmed very substantially. Is he looking at that problem and is he going to include it in his great study of options?

Hon. F. S. Miller: Obviously we would hope so, Mr. Speaker. I am told of a number of mortgages entered into in the last while have featured (a) shorter terms and (b) more rights to opt out without penalties. Those may apply to some of the people who have had the worst sets of conditions. We are looking at as many of the factors as we can in an attempt to get a full picture of the problem.

Mr. Laughren: Mr. Speaker, when the Treasurer is proposing the plan, and when he finally brings it forth, will he assure us that to get the maximum benefit to the people who need it most, the program will provide assistance to people whose mortgage payments, including taxes and interest, will be in excess of 30 per cent, and will not be a program such as the Liberal Party proposed, which would provide assistance to people earning almost \$40,000 a year?

Hon. F. S. Miller: Mr. Speaker, until we decide that there is a program and until we set the parameters, obviously I would be foolish to make promises. I have to say that kind of barrier is one we have been considering as realistic.

ASSISTANCE TO FARMERS

Mr. Riddell: Mr. Speaker, I have a question of the Treasurer regarding the announcement on the interest relief program for farmers.

Since the Treasurer and the Minister of Agriculture and Food have adopted the Ontario Liberal Party proposal almost in its entirety, why did they not see the merit in making the maximum amount of borrowed capital on which the subsidy is payable \$100,000 instead of \$50,000, and why did they not pledge \$30 million to the program instead of \$25 million, as was proposed by the Liberal Party?

Hon. F. S. Miller: Mr. Speaker, in view of the editorial comment, if one uses a shotgun one is bound to hit the target once in a while.

Mr. Kerrio: Yours is a double barrel.

Hon. F. S. Miller: Now you are getting personal.

Mr. Speaker: Just ignore the supplementaries and the editorializing.

Hon. F. S. Miller: Mr. Speaker, for a party that has lectured this government for overspending for years, I find that an interesting solution.

Mr. Renwick: Mr. Speaker, I am really speaking on behalf of the farmers in Riverdale. By the way, has the Treasurer noticed the unseemly haste with which the banks are dropping the mortgage rate these days?

I have often heard the Treasurer indicate that the ratio between federal assistance and provincial assistance is two to one. Is he going to ask the federal government not only to pick up an equal three percentage points, but also to pick up about nine percentage points so that the floor for farmers under the assistance program will be about nine per cent on interest charge?

Hon. F. S. Miller: Mr. Speaker, as is our wont in this government, we had some time to talk to the farmers, the Ontario Federation of Agriculture, because we felt we should get some practical advice from them. We understand that organization has made a presentation to the federal government. We endorse that presentation to the federal government. It asks for assistance, and I think it is best at this point to let the federal government make its assessment of what it considers to be an adequate floor level for interest assistance to farmers. We certainly hope it will assist also.

Mr. Peterson: Mr. Speaker, in our discussions and questions today we have asked about home owners and farmers. As a supplementary, do we have the Treasurer's firm commitment here that when he publishes this great study of options—probably after the problem goes away—he will also deal in a significant way with the problems of small businessmen? The Treasurer knows they are dropping like flies because of the problems in the economy today, compounded by the high interest rates.

Will he come up with a specific program—and he is welcome to borrow ours if he would like to, because it would help—and will he do it and do it fast?

Hon. F. S. Miller: Mr. Speaker, I am sure the member read the budget. One thing that was stated in most criticisms—in other words,

reviews, because no one could criticize it; these were critical reviews of my budget—was that the biggest winners in the budget were the small business people and the senior citizens, properly. The budget contained \$50 million dollars of income tax forgiveness and capital tax forgiveness. That is, in my mind better than arranging loans in the bank. We gave them their money back. Surely that is the best way to help the small businessmen.

2:50 p.m.

Second, to give the federal government its due, I think a move that is still grossly misunderstood and under-rated is the income debenture bond for the small business that is incorporated. I think it has tremendous potential to cut interest costs virtually in half for incorporated farmers and incorporated small businessmen, as soon as the federal government introduces this legislation. I have written another letter urging that the legislation be enacted, and I hope it has the same kind of success as my other one to the Minister of Finance.

Mr. Peterson: They take you about as seriously as—

Hon. F. S. Miller: Oh, they do.

I told the minister to be like Ontario and introduce the bills the night of the budget. I said to let the world see them so that knowing they will be passed by a majority government, that interest assistance can be available now for the small business people in Canada who so badly need it. Every day that government delays that, it is saving tax money. The member knows that. Our government is losing tax money on it too, but we are prepared to lose it. We asked them to hurry up the introduction of that legislation. The member should ask them too.

INCO MILL SHUTDOWN

Mr. Germa: Mr. Speaker, could I put a question to the Premier? Is the Premier aware that at 1:30 this afternoon Inco Metals Limited announced the closing of its iron ore recovery plant in Sudbury? Is the Premier further aware that, at the same time we are closing out iron ore production facilities of Caland Mines, Steep Rock and National Steel and now Inco, 45 per cent of our iron ore needs are being imported from the United States? How long can the Premier sit on his apathy and watch the iron ore production facilities go down the drain?

Hon. Mr. Davis: Mr. Speaker, I think the record will show rather conclusively that the Premier sits on his apathy far less than does the member for Sudbury. But I would not

want to make that as a totally objective statement.

Interjection.

Hon. Mr. Davis: I am glad to know the member for Carleton East (Ms. Gigantes) has a modest sense of humour and can find a way to laugh. If I can bring a little joy into the life of the member for Carleton East, then I think I have accomplished a great deal in the course of the day. I am delighted to hear it.

I was not aware of that situation at Inco. I will look into it for the honourable member, and either I or somebody, if we have an opportunity tomorrow morning, will give him a point of view with whatever information we have.

Mr. Laughren: Mr. Speaker, is the Premier aware that Canadian steel companies have invested in iron ore mines in the United States and are committed to purchasing a proportion of the iron ore from those mines based on the investment they have in them? Does the Premier think that is proper? Is he prepared to sit idly by while our production capacity is idle here and we purchase iron ore from the United States?

Hon. Mr. Davis: Mr. Speaker, I think we had this discussion as it related to Caland and one or two other situations. In those discussions, the government made it quite clear we would much prefer the utilization of the domestic resource whether it is for iron ore production or anything else. But I think it was also made abundantly clear that there are some types of ore that are more suitable than others. I am not sure—

Mr. Foulds: That's not true. You swallowed that line, hook, line and sinker, without examining the facts.

Hon. Mr. Davis: I have to say to the member for Port Arthur that if anybody swallows lines and sinkers with the hook, he does it with great regularity. He has done it ever since he became involved in political life. If that had not been the case, he would not be a member of the party to which he bears allegiance. He had to, to have swallowed that. The member for Riverdale (Mr. Renwick) nearly did not. He was nearly a Tory at one stage in his history, and he made that fundamental error, for which he has been very unhappy ever since.

Mr. Renwick: Wait a minute. My colleague knows an endangered species when he sees one.

Hon. Mr. Davis: I see.

Mr. Speaker: Back to the question.

Hon. Mr. Davis: Yes, back to the question, Mr. Speaker.

I said to the member who asked the question about Inco that I will look into that and have a report for the members of the House.

SOCIAL ASSISTANCE REVIEW BOARD APPEALS

Mr. Blundy: Mr. Speaker, I have a question for the Minister of Community and Social Services. Does the minister recognize the need to make the Social Assistance Review Board a more openly democratic agency than it is now, by permitting transcripts to be taken at the hearings, by informing applicants of their rights, such as the right to legal aid, as well as continuing, until a decision is given, any previously approved benefits? Those are areas that I would like the honourable minister to comment on in relation to the Social Assistance Review Board.

Hon. Mr. Norton: Mr. Speaker, I am certainly under the impression that on the points the honourable member cites, the Social Assistance Review Board is, as he uses the word, democratic. I would say it is quite democratic in its approach to dealing with appeals on decisions of persons in my ministry.

Interjection.

Hon. Mr. Norton: I hope the day will never come when being a Tory renders one ineligible for such a responsibility in our society, since the Tories have in their ranks some of the most capable people in this province.

However, coming back to the question the honourable member asked, he was very careful not to attempt to cast any aspersions upon the political affiliations or lack thereof of any members on the board.

With respect to the information that the member suggests be made available to the people, as I understand it, anyone who has a decision rendered, especially a negative decision, by anyone in my ministry, is advised of his or her rights to appeal to the board. He or she is given reasons for the decision by the staff of my ministry: that is required of them at the present time. I am not sure whether they are specifically advised of their right to appeal for legal aid or whatever. I will check into that and see.

The board does a very good job of attempting to be accessible to people. Generally speaking, its proceedings are informal. It is true that in some of the more complicated cases recently, especially relating to learning disabilities, with the involvement of legal counsel, there is a risk of the board's proceedings becoming more formalized. I hope

that does not become characteristic of all its proceedings, because it was intended originally to be something that would not be intimidating to an individual who had an appeal to bring to its attention.

The board travels in panels throughout Ontario to make it unnecessary for citizens to travel to Toronto. In fact, in terms of trying to be accessible they have gone so far as to have held hearings in people's living rooms when they were unable to move from their home to attend before the board in any public forum.

I think, on the whole, the board is trying to be what the honourable member suggests is a democratic, accessible agency. If he has any specific recommendations that he would like me to consider, I would welcome them. I cannot guarantee that I could implement them all.

We discussed the question of transcripts last year in estimates, as I recall. Given the number of hearings and the length of hearings, if we were required to prepare transcripts of every hearing, it would be a very costly matter, considering the kind of checks that would have to be made on the personnel to make sure there was a guarantee of accuracy in the reporting that did take place.

Mr. Speaker: The minister seems to be going on unnecessarily.

Hon. Mr. Norton: In cases that appear to be complex, we provide for transcripts to be made at present.

Mr. Speaker: I thought the answer was very comprehensive.

Mr. Blundy: In view of the fact that the time from initiation until a decision is handed down may be anywhere from four weeks to eight weeks, is the minister considering ensuring that previously approved benefits will be carried through until the final decision time?

Hon. Mr. Norton: Mr. Speaker, that is within the discretion of the board now.

CARE OF PHYSICALLY HANDICAPPED

Mr. McClellan: Mr. Speaker, as you are aware, there are a number of citizens in your gallery who are here through your good offices, having come down out of concern with respect to the Three Trilliums Community Place, and I am pleased that they are meeting with the minister later this afternoon.

3 p.m.

My question is to the Provincial Secretary for Social Development. In view of her in-

volvement in the past with independent community arrangements for the physically handicapped, and in view of her previous commitment to 100 per cent provincial funding, may I ask the minister to take the issue of 100 per cent provincial funding back to her committee and to come up with a solution, based on 100 per cent funding, that will get this program back on the rails in time to save the Three Trilliums Community Place project?

Mr. Speaker: I would like to clear up something that the member for Bellwoods said. He indicated that our guests were here through my good offices; they were accommodated by the Office of the Speaker.

Mr. McClellan: I don't want to be unclear. My reference, Mr. Speaker, was to your being so kind as to provide the space in the gallery and to arrange for the staff to assist them in entering the gallery.

Hon. Mrs. Birch: Mr. Speaker, I am sure the member is aware of this government's commitment to provide home support services community living for all of those who require it.

In Metropolitan Toronto we already have programs under way, and we are hoping we will be able to work out the details with Metropolitan Toronto so that we can be assured that all of those within our midst who are handicapped and who can benefit from this kind of living will be given the opportunity to do so.

Mr. McClellan: Surely the minister agrees that it is inappropriate to charge a municipal share for these kinds of services when no municipal share is charged with respect to housing or support services provided for the developmentally handicapped, and no municipal share is charged—I believe I am correct—for group home programs. Why should she be insisting on a municipal share in this program?

Hon. Mrs. Birch: I am sure the honourable member knows this is a new direction we are going in. We believe very much that the local municipality has a share to pay in the development of these kinds of accommodations, and it is something we have been discussing with the chairman of Metropolitan Toronto.

We are looking very carefully at what we can do to come to some kind of agreement so that the people we are trying to accommodate will not be caught and will benefit from this kind of accommodation. We are very anxious to see that they are housed in a manner we think is appropriate for them.

Mrs. Campbell: Mr. Speaker, is the minister not aware that by taking this approach she is encouraging the very thing which she spoke of with such disappointment just the other day? There will be no such places if in some areas the municipality has to pick up its share. Does she not understand that?

Hon. Mrs. Birch: Mr. Speaker, what I do understand is that municipalities have a responsibility to help provide for the citizens who live in their community. This is what we are attempting to persuade them to do, to accept that responsibility.

BOARD OF OPHTHALMIC DISPENSERS

Mr. Conway: Mr. Speaker, my question is to the Minister of Health.

Is the minister aware of statements attributed to the recently retired investigator for the Ontario Board of Ophthalmic Dispensers, a certain Mr. George Adamson, in an article that appeared in the *Toronto Globe and Mail* of March 20? In that article, the board's only full-time inspector at that time was quoted as saying that the present Ophthalmic Dispensers Act is simply not working in this province; that a great many Ontario buyers of eyeglasses are being served by unlicensed student opticians, cosmeticians and even receptionists; that a good lawyer could drive a "truckload of high-fashion spectacle frames through the loopholes in the present act"; and that the Board of Ophthalmic Dispensers and its officials have become the laughingstock of the business?

Is the minister aware of those comments? If he is, what, if any, comments does he have by way of assurance for the people of Ontario who are buying these services?

Hon. Mr. Timbrell: Mr. Speaker, I am aware of those comments in that article. As a matter of fact, I saw Mr. Adamson on Friday evening at a reception at the annual meeting of the Ontario Association of Dispensing Opticians. There was an opportunity there for him to pass on those remarks, but he did not.

I hope that by now the member has received the letter, which I asked to be distributed to all members of the House, which was signed by all members of the Board of Ophthalmic Dispensers and which was sent to the *Toronto Globe and Mail* on March 27 in answer to several articles which it published. The letter very clearly refutes the allegations. Unfortunately, the *Globe and Mail* has not seen fit to publish it.

Mr. Conway: I have asked the minister a question, and I want him to deal with what

I believe to be very serious charges. Will he undertake to pursue this with Mr. Adamson, a man who has had a very long and distinguished experience in this particular sector, to see whether it is true that the board and its officials have become the laughingstock of the business? Is it the case that a good lawyer could drive a truckload of high-fashioned spectacle frames through the current act? Is it a fact that many Ontarians are buying eyeglasses from unlicensed student opticians, cosmeticians and receptionists? Will he make an investigation to assure us that the board's recently retired investigator, a man who said he retired in absolute frustration, does not speak for the government and that this horrendous set of circumstances is not the case? If it is the case, can he assure us he and his government will do something about it?

Hon. Mr. Timbrell: First, it is my understanding that at the plenary session of the association meeting last weekend a vote of confidence was passed in the Board of Ophthalmic Dispensers. Second, I invite the member to look at the legislation and realize that the role of the Board of Ophthalmic Dispensers is not to regulate the sale of eyeglasses. The legislation gives it the responsibility to oversee the professional activities of the individuals.

Third, I would say to the member—and perhaps he would go back to some of the individuals, such as Mr. Adamson, on whom he relied for his information—that the Board of Ophthalmic Dispensers several months ago transmitted to me—and we have since met to discuss them—some proposed new regulations. One of these deals with the question of maintaining what I think is called a register of student opticians in order, at the board's initiative, to address some problems it sees in this field. I think the Board of Ophthalmic Dispensers has the matter well in hand.

CALEDON VILLAGE CONDOMINIUM DEVELOPMENT

Mr. R. F. Johnston: Mr. Speaker, my question is of the Minister of Consumer and Commercial Relations. Is the minister aware of the Caledon Village condominium development in North York which has been in the news recently? It has been plagued by poor building standards, horrendous property management difficulties, intricate litigation, which even involves the Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation, and a high rate of absentee owners. Has he been approached by the Attorney General (Mr. McMurtry) to

assist with his investigation of the matter, as recently requested by a unanimous resolution of the North York council which stated a full and judicial inquiry may be warranted?

Hon. Mr. Drea: No, Mr. Speaker, I have not been approached.

Mr. R. F. Johnston: And the minister is not aware of it?

Hon. Mr. Drea: I understood the question was had I been approached by the Attorney General on a request to the Attorney General. The answer is no. I am aware of a great number of things.

Mr. R. F. Johnston: With great respect, I do not want to know all the prurient details of those other things. What I am interested in is this particular development and the minister's knowledge of it.

As a recent North York building department report on that complex identified 120 major deficiencies in the building, including major structural problems which may very well have enormous ramifications for the condominium owners who are already facing difficulties trying to sell their properties because of the reputation of the building, does the minister believe that the Condominium Act will provide adequate coverage for those owners should there be major difficulties in keeping up those buildings?

3:10 p.m.

Hon. Mr. Drea: Mr. Speaker, in terms of any building deficiencies, it is very interesting that North York has identified them because, if my memory serves me correctly, at the time that structure was put up, it was North York that was charged with the obligation to make sure there were not building deficiencies.

From day one, and I cannot recall the exact number of years, there have been enormous difficulties in that particular project. It has been looked at from time to time on the basis of internal disputes by the management et cetera. I think the best service I can do for the honourable member is to table, by Monday, a complete history of all that has gone on in that particular structure, rather than to give a piecemeal reply to him.

WRITTEN QUESTIONS

Ms. Gigantes: Mr. Speaker, I rise on what I believe is a question of order. Roughly a week ago, I asked you to try to discover, if you could, when I would receive an answer to a question which was tabled many weeks ago and for which, for the last two and a half weeks at least, there has been a special notation in the orders of the day, at the bottom. It says that for my inquiry of the Minister of

Health (Mr. Timbrell) concerning whether and when he would table the report of his ministry's committee of review for the Badgley commission report on abortion, the approximate date the information would be available is April 30, 1980. Have you been able to discover what will happen to this question?

Hon. Mr. Timbrell: Mr. Speaker, I think I can help you in that regard.

First, I am glad the honourable member has noted that we did say we would reply on or about April 30. Due to a typing error in the Order Paper, I think she was under the impression last week it was April 18, and at that point felt it was several weeks late.

Second, that answer has been signed and should be tabled today or tomorrow.

REPORTS

STANDING ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE COMMITTEE

Mr. Philip, from the standing administration of justice committee, presented the following report and moved its adoption.

Your committee begs to report the following bills without amendment:

Bill Pr2, An Act to revive Christian Reformed Church of Wallaceburg;

Bill Pr9, An Act to revive John Madronich Limited;

Your committee recommends that the fees, less the cost of printing, be remitted on Bill Pr2, An Act to revive Christian Reform Church of Wallaceburg.

Report adopted.

INTRODUCTION OF BILLS

INNOCENT PERSONS PROTECTION ACT

Mr. Stong moved first reading of Bill 68, An Act to protect the Reputation of Innocent Persons from Untimely Publicity.

Motion agreed to.

Mr. Stong: Mr. Speaker, the purpose of this reintroduced bill is to protect persons who have been charged with an offence from adverse publicity until such time as the court begins to hear evidence in the case or the person enters a plea of guilty to the offence.

ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS ON NOTICE PAPER

Hon. Mr. Wells: Mr. Speaker, I would like to table the answers to questions 136, 137 and 138 standing on the Notice Paper.
(See appendix.)

ORDERS OF THE DAY

DEBATE ON CONFEDERATION

(continued)

Resuming the adjourned debate on the constitutional resolution.

[Translation from Ukrainian]

Mr. Makarchuk: Mr. Speaker, I wish to start my part in this debate on the future of Canada in the Ukrainian language. The reason I do this is to notify the people involved in this great debate that there are other than francophones and anglophones living in Canada, and although the others have perhaps been here longer, that should not preclude me or my other ethnic colleagues from making major contributions to the discussions.

I wish to point out that each and every one of us has only one lifetime to give to this country. My parents, the same as parents of thousands of other Ukrainians, worked and struggled all their lives to create a better existence for themselves and their children in this country we call Canada.

Because of our contributions and because to us Canada is also our country, we find it difficult not to participate in this great debate, for what is being discussed is the future of Canada—and this means not only the future of English Canada or French Canada, but also the future of millions of other Canadians who are not French or English.

I want to say that nobody gave us anything, what we have we earned. Our parents worked in the lumber camps, the mines, the railways, the factories and the farms in this land. They worked under the most adverse conditions, with no advantages, no understanding of what was happening, suffering in cold, in heat and quite often in hunger. We paid the price to this country; we helped it to grow and we are prepared to work to ensure it continues to grow and prosper.

[End of translation]

Mr. Speaker, I wish to continue my speech in the language I first heard in primary school, because in the area where I lived in Saskatchewan in my youth there were no English-speaking people around. There were Poles, Swedes, Ukrainians and a lot of Doukhobors.

Growing up among that mixture, I was able to learn and understand Polish and Russian as well as Ukrainian, which was my parents' native tongue, although when they came to Canada from Poland the area they left was under Polish control. It has since reverted to Russian control.

As a youth I had all the advantages. I was born in a dugout near a place called Stenen, Saskatchewan. Due to the fact that during

that time my family couldn't afford a calendar, or didn't merit a calendar, there is some doubt as to the date I was born. My birth certificate says it happened on November 1. My mother says it happened on October 14. I am inclined to believe my mother. In order not to sort of miss out, I celebrate both days for my birthday.

I want to point out that there are some advantages to poverty. Being poor, we had the opportunity to avail ourselves of the public housing that was available at that time. We eventually got it. In this case it was a large grain bin which was abandoned by the Doukhobors. They had a collective farm in the area where we moved to later, near a place called Arran and not far from a place in Manitoba called Benito. We lived in one bin, and my uncle took up residence in another bin. It was very cheap, but it didn't have too many services. There was no light, no heat, no running water; in fact, there weren't any windows in it, but if you opened the door you could look out.

3:20 p.m.

It wasn't an easy existence. Sometimes when I think of the horror stories of living in those areas, and particularly the medical care we got—it was provided by a local veterinarian who lived a few miles down the road, and he treated with impartiality the animals and the people—I can understand why the people in Saskatchewan, particularly the ethnics, voted for medicare when it came and for hospitalization.

When the Premier of Ontario (Mr. Davis) talks about "the Canada I know," I want to say that the Canada he knows is not the Canada I know. That is something he has to recognize, not only because it is necessary, but also because our perspectives on the Canada we live in are different.

My schooling is an example. I had a Polish teacher originally, and then a Doukhobor lady taught us in a clapboard school. We had no books. We had one scribbler. We had a nice ethnic mix. We had even some French people there. But there were no English.

The only time I started realizing there was something quite different about me as a Canadian, or that I wasn't really a Canadian, was when the Doukhobors started telling us that we were recent immigrants and we really didn't rate in this country. When the Doukhobors tell you that you are not quite a Canadian, later on in life you start thinking about it. They were the superior group.

We lived in a society at that time where we actually did consort with the elite. I remember when Bronfman and Peter (The

Lordly) Verigin, who was the spiritual leader of the Doukhobors, were involved in a joint-venture enterprise called bootlegging in that area, and they made use of one of the bins in that area. We were on the periphery. We know there were other things happening in the world, but we really didn't know what it was all about.

The family eventually squatted on another farm. We purchased it for \$5 down and something like 10 cents an acre. We still possess it. It was the kind of life where your father disappeared during the winter; he went to work in the bush camp. You worked on the farm, and you did everything that was possible. You helped your mother, you looked after the cows and the horses and the pigs and everything else, and you tried to make ends meet and tried to provide food.

You remember the war starting in Europe—your parents talking about relatives they had. You realized they were in occupied territory. You don't know; you lose track. To an individual like myself the fact that you had relatives was rather an indifferent thing. You didn't know about relatives, because you had never met them. You didn't know what they were. You hadn't talked to them. You had only heard about them. When the war was over you found out that a dozen or so of them had been killed or had died in battle.

You had no sense of future. You had no sense of citizenship. You had no sense of really being able to do anything about the society you lived in. The only connection you could make was the CBC. They finally relented during the war years; they used to put on a half-hour program—I think it was called *Songs of My People* or something of that nature—and we used to listen to that. The fact that they recognized there were other people in Canada besides French and English was rather gratifying or reassuring, but my parents used to laugh at some of these people who used to try to sing the songs in the ethnic languages. They mutilated it and twisted it and everything else.

I joined the armed forces, more out of a sense of adventure, but also because when you finished high school there was no hope of going to university. You never thought about it, because there was no way you could afford it; so you joined the armed forces as an escape. I joined the navy, where I found that most of the officers seemed to be more British than the British. They used to walk around with handkerchiefs stuck in their sleeves. It was there that somehow I got the feeling that because I was an ethnic I was a lesser human being.

What sticks in my mind was sitting in the officer's wardroom where I had to answer the telephone. There was a coffee urn across the way, and I went over to get a coffee. Some officer with a British accent—who probably was from Moose Jaw, Saskatchewan—came over and said, "You put that coffee down; it doesn't belong to you." He asked me my name first, incidentally. He asked me my name first, and then he told me to put the coffee down because it didn't belong to me. I put the coffee down and went back to discuss it with the other fellows. They said, "The English chaps didn't mind that the coffee was—" They were allowed, and I wasn't.

Anyway, there were occasions afterwards when I used to work in the kitchen in the wardroom at HMCS Naden, and at that time I thought perhaps one should strike back. It was a nice kitchen, but you would see the odd cockroach and, if you prepared the food for an officer, you made sure that you tucked in a dead cockroach in the food. It was an effort; it was my way of getting back at some of the things.

In the service, you saw people from other parts of Canada. At the odd time you would have a rumble in the barracks—this was after I switched to the air force—and it generally ended up with the French and ethnics against the Anglos. So we developed a very close relationship which I have continued all my life.

I flew all over the world. I also flew all over Canada. We were up north doing various searches. We were doing resupply in places like Mould Bay, Isachsen, Resolute, Alert and Snag. Some of these places now are more or less everyday places, but at that time that was the frontier. You talk about Nahanni Valley or Headless Valley, or Norman Wells. These were the places that were almost your home. You got a sense of the country. You got a feeling for this kind of country, that this was your land even though you almost found it difficult to belong to it or difficult to recognize you were a Canadian because nobody in Canada at that time would acknowledge the fact there was such a thing as a Canadian, that this was Canada, that you were part of this country and so on.

We would go overseas. We would go to London—I was there during the Coronation—and various other places and we would hang out in places like the Chez Moi in Paris and in Greece and Turkey. I was in Pakistan, India, Hanoi and so on. We would come back to Canada and would start to appreciate this land. Although those other areas were

exciting and were great to visit, it was always great to come home and know that this was where we belonged, this was where our roots were. As a Ukrainian, in the middle of a cold war, living in Canada with absolutely no knowledge about one's background, one had a country but, at the same time, didn't really have a country. One didn't have any roots and tried to establish roots in this country.

This was a matter that was discussed to a great extent in the services, between the junior officers especially, and particularly the junior officers who were ethnic, who were not Anglo. The feeling there was very positive. We felt that somehow the Anglos in this country were not very serious about the country; they did not have the feeling about the country that we had. Somehow, we sort of looked to them to provide the leadership. In all our hassles through the world—I was bounced out of Iceland twice and told not to come back ever again. The reason was that I refused to bow to American authority. The military worked very closely with the Americans, and our people were enthralled with them; they had the bigger toys, the bigger aeroplanes and the latest gadgets, and our boys really loved them. But whenever we got into a situation where we were Canadians and they were Americans and they had no authority over us, we found that our officers quite often would just knuckle down and accept what some American officer, who had no authority over them, would tell them to do. They would do it. I didn't, and I used to get into trouble.

I remember we once took a group of officers out to Maxwell Air Force Base. These were senior officers going on staff training. The Americans always imported officers. It's the way they keep the people down in Latin America just as they make sure they get rid of their dissidents, by shooting them. The Americans laid on a pretty good reception. There was a group of Latin American officers and a group of Canadian officers, and when they played "O Canada," our fellows stood around, hands in their pockets, slouched over. Even the regulations stated one stood to attention and saluted when "O Canada" was played. Our officers didn't. I must admit, that night in the officers' club at Maxwell Air Force Base—I was on the way out of the air force at that time I made that decision—they received quite a lecture from one Flight Lieutenant Mac Makarchuk on the benefits of Canada and the benefits they should have some concern about in this country.

3:30 p.m.

I am proud to be a member of the New Democratic Party, because we and the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation have managed to build in Canada what I consider to be a reasonable and humane society, particularly when compared with the United States. We have introduced social measures that help to diffuse the frustrations, desperations, et cetera, which eventually break out in violence, as they do in the United States. Our cities are safe and livable; and it is not, as some people want us to believe, because we have a great police force, even though we have a great police force, but because we have taken those social measures to diffuse that alienation, hatred and frustration. I am grateful that movement started in Saskatchewan, and I am grateful the federal government decided they had to do something—they were forced into that situation.

Despite the fact we feel we have a reasonable and humane society, I want to caution that the barbarians are always at the gate trying to dismantle the programs we have in effect. This is no time to relax. The crux of the matter is that the federal government has to organize a system that will ensure the hopes, the aspirations, the security, et cetera, are available to the people of Quebec in the same way they are available to the people of Ontario or in any other part of this country.

When I cannot pay a mortgage in Ontario, I have no choice if I cannot refinance it. In Quebec, if a man cannot refinance his mortgage, he can probably opt for separatism. Why not? What has he got to lose? Why shouldn't he? If a man is unemployed in Ontario he can argue, he can change governments, he can do certain things. In Quebec, he can heed the call to separate: "We will get you jobs." Sometimes I wonder. How long was the matter of auto industry jobs raised in this House and in the federal House before any government decided to speak on it? It is only recently they thought to speak on it. I have a feeling Levesque would have spoken on it sooner if he had any control over it.

I want to point out to my French compatriots in Quebec that the corporate elite which exploits the workers in Ontario or in other parts of Canada also exploits them in Quebec. It is the same group. It is the same corporate ripoff artists we have to deal with on both sides. We have to recognize among all of us that we have something in common, an identity of interest.

Let us look at some of the things we have done to Quebec. Under the War Measures Act,

we started a war on our own people. We stand here and talk about freedom of association and freedom of speech. How would the members like to have been in Quebec or Montreal on those nights when they came to people's doors in the middle of the night and hauled them away? I can understand the seeds of resentment planted in that kind of country and why some of the people there are upset.

I do not intend to stop fighting. I do not want out. I want in, and I am going to remain in. Being in, we can fight the battles of this country much better together than we could if we separated. I am not happy to accept the things we have, but I see solutions are there and possible.

I ask my French friends to join with us, to be with us, because we realize the hopes and aspirations of French Canadians are very similar in many cases to the hopes and aspirations of some of the ethnic groups who have been kicked around as much as they have. They also have their hopes and aspirations, the same hopes and aspirations of all Canadians. Together we will win and together we will build a better country. Otherwise, we may have to join the United States of America.

Mr. Williams: Mr. Speaker, I appreciate very much the opportunity to participate in this vitally important debate in the Legislature this afternoon. I can think of no issue that is more important to us in this Legislature and to all of the people in Ontario than the one that pertains to the very survival of our nation as we know it today. It is quite appropriate, therefore, that we have seen fit as a Legislature to suspend the normal House business for this week and to engage in debate on this vitally important issue.

I have listened with interest to the speeches made by many of my colleagues in the House over the past three and a half days. I must say I have been impressed to learn that many of my colleagues have particular business or personal associations, or even kinships, with the Canadian people who live in Quebec. I have been most impressed with the fact that so many of our colleagues in the Legislature have been able to converse totally or in part in the French language during this debate, and rightfully so.

I have to be quite candid this afternoon and say that I am not able to boast of these personal associations or accomplishments. I would not dare torture this Legislature by endeavouring to impose, even in a token way, my high school French on the members of

the Legislature this afternoon. But I must point out, and I cannot stress this too strongly, that even though I may not have any of these particular associations and kinships, I am no less concerned than the other members of the Legislature who have these attributes. I am no less concerned with the issue of the Quebec referendum and the consequences that are associated with this vitally important debate and decision that is going to be made later this month in Quebec.

I am no less anxious that there be an equitable solution found for the people of all of Canada to ensure that we all can live our lives in this fine nation in which there is such diversity within our economy, within our cultures and within our geography. I would challenge anyone, therefore, to suggest that I am any less concerned about this vitally important issue. It seems to me that the heart of this issue is to find a solution to preserve and accentuate the unique cultural and regional differences within Confederation.

I would like to take this opportunity to discuss briefly the political structure of Canada, and in particular to consider the constitution as it has been in the past, as it is in the present and what it will be in the future. To discuss our constitution, we must have an understanding of the nature of the federated state of Canada. I don't think there is a finer definition of federation around than the one that was enunciated in the Pepin-Robarts Task Force on Canadian Unity. In that report we have a definition of federation as follows:

"A federation has been defined as a form of political organization by which common desires for unity and diversity within a society are accommodated by the establishment of a single political system within which central and provincial governments each exercise autonomous constitutional authority so that neither order of government is legally or politically subordinate to the other."

3:40 p.m.

I feel there are two particularly important clauses in that definition that I would like to dwell upon for a few moments.

First, there is the assertion that there is a need for common desires, for unity and diversity. As a member of the Legislature who represents an urban riding in the fourth largest city in Canada, the city of North York, I have had the opportunity to experience at first hand the meaning of unity and diversity.

Outside of the inner Metropolitan Toronto core itself, I cannot think of any urban riding within the province that is more urban and cosmopolitan. There are, I believe, more na-

tionalities, more cultures and more languages represented in the riding of Oriole than one would find in virtually any other ridings within the province. I find this particularly stimulating, and a challenge to me, to be able to represent the many cultures in the riding.

Over and above the two main cultures, the French and English Canadians—and there are many of us who, of course, represent the backbone of Oriole riding—there are these many other cultures with which I have become associated as a representative for the riding.

I am pleased to know that the French-Canadian community within our riding has its own facilities, such as the Etienne Brule high school in the community and the Ecole Jeanne Lajoie public school, which the students can attend and conduct their classes totally in the French language. I am pleased to have, within the area one of the French churches of Metropolitan Toronto, the St. Louis de France church. I have the privilege of knowing many of the parishioners on a firsthand basis.

From this personal involvement, working with the many different cultures, our own two basic ones and the many others that have come to Canada and are contributing to the very fabric of our nationality and culture, I have learned to understand that we can have diversity within unity. In fact, diversity can contribute to our unity. This can be borne out when I refer to some comments made by my colleague the member for York West (Mr. Leluk) in 1978 when he was one of the keynote speakers in the proceedings of a multicultural conference on Canadian unity held in Toronto. At that time he made the observation that multiculturalism means that ethnocultural communities work together, even though these communities are not working to resolve their differences but to preserve them. He pointed out that the dedication of the different cultures to their own way of life has imparted a deep understanding of the cultural aspirations of other groups. It was in this way that he felt the nation's ethnocultural communities would bind the nation together and help to preserve its unity.

The other clause in the definition of federation that I find of great importance is the one that states "neither order of government is legally or politically subordinate to the other."

I have had a unique opportunity to understand how the federated system of government works. I have experienced it on a personal and more intimate basis, having served as an elected official at the local level within

the Metropolitan Toronto corporation, which in itself is a federated state.

We have six local governments within the Metropolitan Toronto corporation. There is a diversity of powers, distributed between the local governments and the senior level of government, which appears to make the system work well by means of a series of checks and balances. Each level of government knows its responsibilities, its limitations and its obligations.

As one who served at an earlier point in time as an elected representative of what is now the city of North York, and as one who served on the Metropolitan Toronto council, I can see how the diversification of interests between the two levels of government can work well.

I know from that experience there has to be give and take; there has to be an appropriate form of checks and balances. This has existed and worked well within the Metropolitan Toronto corporation. In fact, it works so well it has gained worldwide recognition. People come to Metropolitan Toronto from all corners of the world to study our Metro federated system.

The same principle exists at the national and provincial levels. It is embodied in our constitution, the British North America Act. Many people have been critical of that legislation, feeling that it did not provide the appropriate checks and balances; that too much power was given to the federal authorities; that they did not recognize clearly enough the cultural differences within our nation. I suggest that the people who fashioned our constitution in the 1800s were indeed men of vision.

I believe the British North America Act is a finely honed and excellent piece of legislation that has kept our country together for in excess of 100 years. While amendments have been made to that constitution, one has to give credit to those men, our forefathers, who were able to conceive such a working arrangement, one that has been able to continue down to this very day.

They did not envision, however, some of the technological and cultural changes that would occur in our country. Because of that, they could not possibly have built into the constitution changes that we feel now are necessary in this second century of Canada's life.

The fact that the British North America Act did spell out specifically certain powers of the provinces, as well as those of the federal authority, and gave residual powers to the federal government, has left the im-

pression with many that the federal authorities have too much power, to the detriment of the provinces. But I would point out that historically, down through the years, through our judicial system, judicial interpretation has modified considerably any powers of the federal authorities that had been considered excessive.

3:50 p.m.

For those who would suggest that no one cared about updating and refining our constitution until the recent events in Quebec, I would suggest that those people who make that assertion have not studied the history of Canada. Since 1927, efforts have been made to determine and conceive a workable formula that would permit an amendment of our constitution which would satisfy not only those in federal government but also the needs and desires of all of the provinces of this great country.

In more recent times, two proposals have been made to bring about constitutional reform. In 1964, the Fulton-Favreau formula was developed. In more recent times, we had the Victoria formula in 1971. This latter formula appears to be the one that has received the greatest support. Unfortunately, however, it still has not gained unanimous support from all provinces. Nevertheless, we must continue to work towards a refinement of and an improvement upon our constitution. Not only must we be concerned with the repatriation of our constitution—that is, the bringing home of our constitution to Canada from the United Kingdom, whereby on our own initiative we could make those changes without the approval of the Parliament of the United Kingdom—but also we must work to bring about changes that will give greater flexibility to the provinces, as well as the federal government, to bring an even greater balance between the responsibilities of the provincial and federal authorities.

While there has been a long search for an appropriate amending formula for our constitution, there is no question that the urgency of the matter has been no greater than it is at this particular time because of the events in recent months in Quebec.

This province stands ready to take the initiative with our other sister provinces in going back to the table to try to work out an appropriate amendment to our constitution that would give us what is necessary to meet the needs of Canada in its second century.

Not only have federal initiatives been taken in this matter, as represented by the Task Force on Canadian Unity, but also they have been taken within this province. The

Ontario Advisory Committee on Confederation has been working diligently to make appropriate recommendations for change in our system. All of these different reports that have been brought forward in recent times, including the one produced by the Canadian Bar Association in 1978, have merit and are worthy of much further consideration. They have put forward proposals that have considerable merit as to the ways and means of bringing about the necessary change.

I am satisfied that the people in Canada, in Ontario and Quebec, are determined to work together to bring about a resolution of the problems and to ensure that the people of Quebec, the people everywhere in this country, are fully recognized within the Canadian constitution.

While none of us in this Legislature may be here to celebrate Canada's bicentennial birthday, my fondest hope and ambition is that my children, my grandchildren and my great grandchildren will have an opportunity to celebrate that birthday in a Canada that we know today with a stronger, unified force of people than we have ever known in its history.

Mr. Bradley: Mr. Speaker, it is my pleasure and honour to participate in this historic debate at a time when our nation faces yet another crisis in Confederation. It is a crisis which threatens to divide us, not only along linguistic and ethnic lines, but also along economic and philosophical borders.

It is significant, I believe, that this debate is taking place in a provincial legislature. While parliamentary rules do not preclude members of provincial legislatures from engaging in discussions of national issues, the present preoccupation of provincial political representatives with issues and questions of a federal nature is indicative of the fact that we, as legislators in a somewhat confined jurisdiction, are no longer prepared to permit those elected to federal office to determine unilaterally the constitutional future of this country.

In Ontario, where the nation's capital is located, where much of this country's commerce is conducted, and where the majority of the major financial decisions have been made in the past and now, we have not experienced the same sense of alienation that has been present in other sections of the country. Yet we are aware, through the news media, and in conversations with those whose residence is outside the borders of Ontario, that a bitterness exists amongst those who have felt left out of the decision-making process at the national level. In the months and

years ahead, we will have to address ourselves to overcoming those hostilities and removing that feeling of alienation.

Although we in this Legislature could deal at some length with constitutional issues which have arisen in all parts of Canada, we recognize that the timing of this debate and the wording of this resolution are profoundly influenced by the holding of a referendum in the adjacent province of Quebec. It is appropriate then that I direct my remarks this afternoon to both the people of Ontario and the people of Quebec.

There are those who contend that a oui vote in Quebec on May 20 would not necessarily signal the desire on the part of the people of Quebec to separate from Canada—nor, indeed, should it automatically suggest that the majority of people in that province have opted for sovereignty-association, whatever that might be.

There are many supporters of the yes option who see their affirmative vote as a prod to the federal government and the other provinces to get on with the job of constitutional reform. It would be a tragic mistake, however, for these people to assume that either the Parti Quebecois or the people of the other nine provinces would view the vote in that context.

As a political organization dedicated to independence for Quebec, the Parti Quebecois would interpret a yes vote as a mandate to bring about the kind of changes designed to realize their goal of political independence. The people of the rest of Canada, by and large, would see such a result as a rejection of Canada and would harden their attitudes towards constitutional changes. Indeed, the bitterness that would follow such a vote would poison the atmosphere and federal-provincial relations for years to come, eventually creating a lack of resolve to keep this country together.

4 p.m.

Speaker after speaker in this assembly has made it abundantly clear that a no vote would not be seen as an endorsement of the status quo or a capitulation to pressure from English Canada. Rather, it would be viewed as an invitation to renewed federalism.

No nation can be fully free until all of its citizens are free. We in this country enjoy more freedoms, more rights, more privileges than the citizens of any other nation on this planet. I shall not reiterate the list of freedoms that has been extolled so eloquently and articulately by the previous participants in this debate.

These freedoms were born of a desire by mankind to have the opportunity to fulfil the human potential, to achieve personal and collective goals without the limitations of authoritarian rule. They have been maintained and guarded by a vigilant population, quick to denounce those who would abrogate them and determined to do battle with those who would remove them.

The history of the defence of freedom in this country is a source of pride to all Canadians. We are, however, slowly yielding to the limitation of our freedom of movement as it relates to the obtaining of employment. Residential requirements for construction workers have been a source of interprovincial tension, particularly in the recent dispute between our province and Quebec.

Alberta stipulates that resource development projects should give preference to that province's workers. Newfoundland has recently enunciated a similar policy regarding employment opportunities in the new oil industry.

The freedom of Canadians to purchase recreational or agricultural land has been somewhat limited in recent years by legislation passed in several of the provinces. No longer is Canadian citizenship a sufficient criterion to exercise the freedom to purchase land anywhere in this country. Procurement practices that allow provincial governments to establish preferential treatment of goods produced within their own provinces, or of goods having a high provincial content, once again interfere in the free market process.

Any action taken by a provincial government to limit the freedom of an individual Canadian to carry on business or to make a livelihood in any part of this country diminishes the rights of all Canadians. If such restrictions exist within Confederation, one might logically assume that those restrictions would be substantially more prohibitive between two separate political entities. Both an independent Quebec and a Canada without that province would be adversely affected in this regard.

Most of the speakers in this debate have alluded to a personal experience in their relationship to the people of Quebec or French-speaking people elsewhere in this country. They have drawn upon these experiences as a source of strength in their arguments in favour of the maintenance of this political entity called Canada. I, too, wish to relate to this House my own personal encounters with the people of that jurisdiction, which over the years we have affectionately referred to as La Belle Province.

For the past few years, I have taken the opportunity to spend a few days in the city of Drummondville during the international midget hockey tournament, which is held in the latter part of January and the early part of February. Each year I have come away with a feeling of warmth and admiration for the people of that town. I call it a town because the people display the kind of hospitality and friendliness that one usually associates with a town rather than a city.

The people from my home city of St. Catharines—the players, their coaches, the parents, the fans—were, and have been, for the most part, unilingual, English-speaking Canadians. The people of Drummondville, our hosts, were largely unilingual, French-speaking Canadians. Yet the barrier of language soon disappeared as we entered somewhat animated conversations, each trying to put together enough words in the other language to be understood. I came away from Quebec each of those years, with a positive, confident feeling that there was resolve in those people to continue in partnership with the people of other parts of Canada.

In relation to the kind of very personal thing that happens to us when we travel in other provinces and in other jurisdictions, I found it particularly interesting that on two occasions I experienced problems with my automobile, which required service at local service stations or along the highway. One usually anticipates that one will run into the problem of being charged an additional amount of money because of the out-of-province licence plate or, if we are in the jurisdiction south of the border, the out-of-state or out-of-country licence plate.

On both occasions I found to my pleasant surprise that, with my very limited knowledge of the French language, not only was I accommodated very well in technical terms, but also—let's face it; I was at the mercy of these particular people—the charges that were levied were most reasonable and the service most friendly.

I guess when I visited Quebec I was not looking for the scowling faces. I was not waiting in expectation of a rude reception. I was not attempting to confirm any predetermined feeling of resentment on the part of the residents of that area of Canada towards an anglophone from Ontario. Without these preconceived ideas, I found the experience a rewarding one and one that I shall not soon forget.

Permit me to share with members of this assembly more of my personal impressions of the people of our neighbouring province to

the east. The temptation in a debate of this kind is to engage in platitudinous rhetoric about constitutional questions and to extol the virtues of national unity in the federal system in either flowery verbiage or factual dissertations. But Canada is more than a federation of provinces, more than an economic unit, more than a land mass rich in resources. Canada is people, and I want to talk about those people who will be asked 12 days from now to mark a ballot which will have ramifications far beyond the borders of that province or even the borders of this country.

I want to talk about the people of Pierre-ville, who extended such a warm welcome to their guests from the Niagara Peninsula on a cold winter night in January at an old hockey rink in Nicolet. I want to talk about the people of Magog, who played host to a group of weary players and fans from 500 miles away, people they had never met before and would not likely meet again. The warmth of the hospitality extended by these people had to penetrate even the hardest shell of resentment and prejudice that might have existed in residents of Ontario who had never been exposed to a person-to-person relationship with their French-Canadian countrymen.

Time after time, our hosts expressed a depth of feeling for this country that would match that found anywhere from the Atlantic to the Pacific. Time after time, we were assured that the similarities between the people of Ontario and the people of Quebec far outnumbered the differences.

Let me humanize my contributions to this debate further, for I have dwelt on some dry, yet essential, facts earlier in my remarks. Let me see in a young family in Drummondville, Quebec, the Canada that offers hope for our future. The family consists of Ron and Pierrette Labbé and their three children, Michel, Lynn and Stephan. They are a family fiercely proud of their French-Canadian heritage, their distinct language, their unique, rich culture. They are a family in the strongest sense of the word: loyal, loving and mutually supportive. Yet, tied as closely as they are to their Quebec roots, they are proud Canadians, reaching out each year the hand of friendship to their fellow Canadians from our province.

When all the economic arguments have been heard, when the political rhetoric has been exhausted, when the cold logical facts have been laid before the people of this country, it will be the Labbé families of this country who will decide the fate of Canada. To them, we, the people of Ontario extend

the invitation to a new beginning, a stronger, more vibrant Canada responsive to the needs and aspirations of all Canadians.

4:10 p.m.

Mr. Ziemba: Mr. Speaker, I rise to continue the speech begun by the member for Parkdale (Mr. Dukszta). I want to tell this House of the contribution of the working people who have come from around the world to build Canada since 1867. I want to tell this House also of the New Democratic Party's dissatisfaction with the efforts that have been made in Canada to extend equality to all working people, whatever their origin. Our party views the new constitution as a chance to create new opportunity for the people who have been shut out and downtrodden in Canadian society.

I am not interested in a debate about constitutional law. I am interested in a new Canada where the goals which brought me into politics are realized. I am interested in a new Canada where people, no matter where they were born or what language they speak or how much money their father made, have access to health care on the same level as the richest person in this society. I am interested in a new Canada where there is full employment. I am interested in a Canada where our families are not driven apart because of lack of economic opportunities, who are not driven apart because of school systems or bureaucracies which do not understand their cultures and constantly kick them around.

The people who own this country have their spokesmen in this debate. Peter Lougheed well represents the multinational oil companies. The Premier of this province has little difficulty presenting the case of the Canadian Manufacturers' Association. The Prime Minister of this country and the Liberal Party have never had problems making the case for foreign owners of this country.

Today my colleagues and I are all speaking on behalf of the people whose backs were broken in building this country. We are speaking on behalf of those people who still believe Canada is the greatest country on earth, and we are asking only that their contribution be recognized. We seek a society where equality is real. All talk about constitutional amendment or debate over every piece of the constitution is, for me, a great waste of time if the result is not a new Canada where we have moved significantly in the direction of opening up our society to the participation of every citizen.

I don't want the Portuguese or the Maltese or the people from the Balkan states or the

Ukrainians or the Poles or the Greeks to go on living in this country, dreaming of a day when they are fully Canadian. I want the new constitution to say: "You are Canadian now. You love this country. You have sacrificed for this country. You belong." Let me tell you, Mr. Speaker, about my roots in this country.

[Translation from Polish]

My parents came to this country at the beginning of the Depression. In order to get work, my father had to take free rides on railway trains. Of course, he had to ride in the freight cars and dodge the railway police. When he arrived in new towns, the reception committees were waiting for him. They weren't friendly reception committees. They were the local townspeople waiting to make sure that no one got off the train and took their jobs. They had big clubs to keep you going.

The only time you were allowed to stay was when they needed cheap labour to exploit for the harvest. As soon as you got your wages the railway police knew now was the time to arrest you and take your money. The police would usually tell you: 'You're very lucky we're only going to take your money. We're not going to punish you for stealing rides on the railway.' Every time I look at my MPP free rail pass, I'm reminded of the free pass my father had in the 1930s.

Like many Poles, my parents came east. Of course, they couldn't afford to come at the same time; my father came one year, my mother the next. My father worked in heavy industry in the foundries and machine shops of this great industrial city. My mother came and worked as a presser on Spadina Avenue. I can remember how happy my mother was when she got her first paycheque. It was \$9—exactly double what my father had earned in Regina, 20 cents an hour. I can still see the women doing piecework, the pushing and the lousy working conditions. I can remember all this. I know too, when I go to Spadina today, that although the Poles are no longer there, there are an awful lot of other people working for the minimum wage or less in conditions that are still appalling.

I can remember how my father quit one job. He couldn't take the metal dust anymore; he threw down the piece of metal and he walked off the job. His boss couldn't have cared less. He did not bother to put an exhaust fan in to take out the metal dust.

That's why I say to this government I'm appalled by the way it has dealt with asbestos. How can it be that in 1980, after we have finally got an occupational health and

safety bill, this government can move so slowly to do anything to protect the health of working people?

It's easier to ignore the needs of people who don't speak English, but it still appals me that at this point in time we have a government that ignores documented cases such as at Johns-Manville, Bendix Industries and others. It's even more appalling to me to find asbestos contamination at Harbord Collegiate.

Why is it at the schools that have working people and ethnic minorities that we find these sorts of problems occur. I don't believe it's a direct plot on this government, but it's certainly a symbol of their neglect.

There are a number of people in this society whom our government has failed to realize count. I believe in a new constitution that is going to change that.

My father continued working in plants like that for the next 20 years. Conditions were bad and he became sicker and sicker. I can remember him coughing up blood because of his work-related disease. Through all of this my parents worked harder and harder so that my brother and I would have a better life. In fact, whatever they saved they gave us so that we could start a small business. And we did have a better life.

[End of translation]

I have related this personal history, not from a sense of sentimentality, nor to show that an immigrant can make a good life in Canada. I don't want the next generation of immigrants or the next generation of working people to have to go through needless dangers to their health. I don't want them to be victims of exploitation. I say that because in the city of Toronto today, and in sweatshops across the province and in nonunionized shops, I know these problems remain.

The resolution says Ontario is willing to enter with all Canadians in developing a new constitution. I hope that constitution will speak to the problems of working people's rights. I believe a healthy work place, free of unnecessary dangers, injury and disease, ought to be a right. The time has come to guarantee these things.

When I think of all the great things that have occurred in Canada, one of the greatest has been the system of universal health care, an accomplishment of this party. In Saskatchewan we fought against the most powerful lobby organized in Canada to create a system whereby everyone, no matter who they were, or how rich or how poor, had the right to health. We worked and provided a medicare system so that no one had to fear the cost

of having poor health. This significant accomplishment of the New Democratic Party in Saskatchewan was then taken up by the federal government in every other province.

4:20 p.m.

The people of Ontario live in fear that they will lose their health-care system. The present Minister of Health knows he dare not totally abolish the health-care system. Yet he allows 18 per cent of the doctors to opt out; he allows doctors to extra-bill; he closes the hospital beds that are necessary to assure good health care; he underfunds hospitals so that across this province hospitals are understaffed and health-care workers are stretched to the limited. That is not good enough for Canadians. Good health care should be provided by this province as a right.

Central to this party's concern for health care is the provision of service. One of the things that universal health care has done is to provide guaranteed incomes for doctors. They know all their regular bills will be paid, at least at the basic rate. But I can assure you, Mr. Speaker, that is not why the New Democratic Party fought for health care. We didn't fight for medicare so that free enterprisers could use it as a milch cow. We didn't fight for medicare so that the private labs could make millions ripping it off. We didn't fight for medicare so that pharmacists could rip off the Ontario Drug Benefit Plan. We fought for health care because we did not want people dying too young. We did not want people disabled who need not be, and we did not want people losing their life savings because of illness. We continue to be committed to that principle.

We believe that the new constitution must speak to that. We have the federal Liberals, against the advice of the New Democratic Party in 1978, giving the provinces much more control over their health-care dollars. This government couldn't wait to cut back and take away health services from working people. The federal Liberals did not want to begin even to address the question until the New Democratic Party put the pressure on them in the 1979 election. My party will never stop fighting for one-cost health care.

In conclusion, because six of us are giving one speech, I did not have to touch on every item we would like to see changed in the new constitution. I do want to conclude by saying I am proud to be a Canadian and I am proud of my country. I want a united Canada, but I also want a Canada where all Canadians belong, be they French, English,

Maltese, Greek, Portuguese, Latvian, Ukrainian or Polish.

New Democrats do not believe we are being critical of Canada when we say it can do much better. We are being critical of the people who have not had the strength to dream of a greater and better Canadian society. We are critical of the leaders who have failed to deliver the economic and social justice which our people want. We are committed to the struggle on behalf of the working people of this province and this country.

Hon. Miss Stephenson: Mr. Speaker, I rise to participate in this debate humbly aware of the fact that I am enjoying a privilege not widely shared by approximately 4.3 million other women citizens of this province. Their opportunity to express publicly their concerns for the future of their country is, for many reasons, limited. However, thousands of them have made personal contact with their counterparts in Quebec, I believe with great advantage.

I am also uncomfortably cognizant of the fact that we Canadians have not yet learned that it is fitting and proper from time to time to demonstrate for all the world to see the deep and abiding pride and love we bear for this the most beautiful and bountiful country of the entire planet. During the past three days, almost all members of this Legislature have moved beyond narrow and parochial and partisan political vision to express not just their personal concerns and suggested solutions, but their feelings about Canada as well. I, for one, hope that each of us has found this emotional exercise beneficial and that in future we shall be very much less reluctant to wear our Canadian hearts on our sleeves when appropriate.

I speak in firm and unwavering support of the entirety of the motion before this House, because I want the Canada of the future to provide as much opportunity and as much challenge to all future generations of Canadians, from whatever background, as I have been privileged to receive in this country.

A few days ago, I was walking through a hotel lobby in Toronto—it happened to be the Royal York—and I overheard a conversation between two young men. One was seeking directions to York University, and the other was trying to give them to him. One's mother tongue was English, the other's was French, and they were, I'll admit, having some trouble.

I am sure the Parti Quebecois would highlight that conversation as an example of their thesis that a French-speaking Canadian outside of Quebec is a stranger in a strange land

and that sovereignty-association, which is their euphemism for total separation, is the only answer for francophone Canadians. I think they would be missing the whole point of that conversation. The young French-speaking Canadian and the young English-speaking Canadian were having difficulty communicating, but the important thing was that they were trying to communicate.

The francophone minority in Canada has legitimate concerns; there is no doubt about that. But so do all Canadians, no matter what their cultural or linguistic heritage. We are trying to build a multicultural nation in this country, creating unity out of diversity, and it is difficult. Very few nations have ever attempted it. But it is an idealistic concept that I think is worth the pursuit.

The people of this province want to make Confederation work. Nobody told us it was going to be easy forming a unified nation in our vast geography, out of 10 provinces, two territories, thousands of communities, and millions of citizens of differing cultural, ethnic and linguistic backgrounds. And it has not been easy. But a yes vote on May 20 will compound the difficulty immeasurably.

Despite the difficulties, this province, Ontario, is committed to a united Canada. Ontario firmly believes that francophones should be able to be educated in their mother tongue, and for more than 140 years has provided elementary education to French-language students right across this province. In the past two decades, it has undertaken many initiatives to expand the programs to the secondary school level and beyond, and has supported federal initiatives to bring about equitable linguistic policy.

As recently as January 20, 1980, the Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs (Mr. Wells) reiterated this government's support for the entrenchment in the constitution of English and French as the official languages of Canada, including, as well, the right to minority-language education in all provinces.

We firmly hope that an early constitutional revision will incorporate this principle, a principle to which this government has given firm support. We have already taken some steps towards its implementation, because since 1968 there has been a legislative right to French-language education in this province when requested by 25 elementary students or 20 secondary school students. There has been the election of French-language advisory committees to boards of education in order to ensure that programs and services recognize the needs of francophones. There has been the establishment of the Languages of

Instruction Commission of Ontario to assist in the resolution of disputes concerning official minority-language education services.

4:30 p.m.

As we have heard in the past few days, the number of students being educated in the French language has grown to 100,000 in Ontario. Of those, 70,000 are enrolled in nearly 300 elementary schools, and 30,000 are secondary students in 26 wholly French-language schools and 35 mixed schools.

In addition to that, we have moved to meet the French-language school needs for personnel and materials through significant supplementary grants to school boards for every single pupil enrolled in French-language schools; through financial assistance to publishers within Canada for the preparation and dissemination of French-language learning materials; through the funding, every year, of a centre to publish and distribute French-language learning materials, which last year produced about 50,000 items; and through the provision of French-language consultative and specialized services to school boards operating French-language schools.

French-language education for francophone students is one ministry priority. However, an equal priority is based upon the recognition of the great potential for increased sensitivity and improved mutual understanding which is fostered by facility in both official languages. Thus, French-language instruction for anglophone students is an important objective of this province.

As a result of financial encouragement by the government, all school boards, with the exception of a very few small, isolated boards in Ontario, offer programs to teach French as a second language. There now are approximately one million students enrolled in French-as-a-second-language courses in this province, of whom 660,000 are at the elementary level.

This government and this province co-operate actively with the federal government and other provinces in many educational activities. Some of them are organized through the Council of Ministers of Education of Canada, which is the primary interprovincial educational mechanism. The programs within this group include the summer language bursary program, which is designed to provide post-secondary students with the opportunity to learn one of our official languages as their second language. There is co-ordination of French minority language education in all provinces, which is enhanced by the co-operative activities of a committee of French-language education officials from all prov-

inces, including Quebec. Ontario and Quebec have participated for many years in formal exchange programs for both teachers and students.

But to be realistic, in spite of all the progress to date, in spite of all the legislation that has been enacted, in spite of all the policy statements and all the good intentions, we have not yet achieved the full flowering of our linguistic and cultural objectives. But I don't think that means we should turn our backs on them at this time. Equally, I believe the fact that the concept of full Confederation has not become totally and appropriately developed to this point should not be deemed to be the rationale for the decision of our country. It should provide us reason to improve. But reason for dismemberment of Canada? Not at all.

It would be a great deal easier to manage Canada—if that's the right expression—if we were a bland, homogeneous people. Easier, no doubt, but Canada would be the poorer for it.

The loss of the French heritage, which would surely follow separation, would be a major loss for all Canadians. But the separation of Quebec, I believe, would just as inevitably dissect the remainder of Canada, leading to the loss of the many diverse heritages brought to Canada by many of our people.

The Ministry of Education in this province funds a program specifically in support of those diverse languages—the heritage language program—to enable persons whose mother tongue is neither English nor French, to understand, to value and to maintain appropriate linkages with their linguistic and cultural roots.

The heritage language program is not designed to make participants less Canadian. Quite the contrary. We believe that this added program helps young Canadians of other linguistic backgrounds to develop a strong sense of cultural self-worth, which enables them to be better citizens of this country.

We believe a citizen should retain a sense of his or her cultural and linguistic heritage, be it English, French, Japanese, Chinese, Hungarian, Pakistani, Italian, Greek, Portuguese, German, Ukrainian, Polish, Armenian or any of the approximately 40 other languages currently being taught in the heritage language program to ensure more complete and vigorous participation as full contributing citizens of this magnificent country.

Somehow the French- and the English-language groups, and by extension their re-

lated cultures, are often discussed as if they comprised the totality of Canada. That, of course, is wrong. One third of Canada's population has roots which are neither English nor French. In Ontario, we are very much aware of this. In areas like Toronto, the cultural diversity of residents is absolutely staggering. But whatever the type or degree of cultural development in the different areas of Canada, all of it is important because all of it is Canada. No region, no culture, no language has a monopoly on wisdom, intelligence or talent.

There is a tremendous cultural awareness awakening in this land at this time. Its expression varies tremendously from region to region, but it is truly Canadian cultural development. The increasing interest of Canadians everywhere in the development and expression of their own culture has led to demands for greater provincial autonomy in fostering that development. Ontario, like its sister province Quebec, has constantly maintained the primacy of the provinces in establishing goals and determining priorities in all aspects of the arts and culture.

At the same time, we have recognized vital areas in which the federal government must play an important role. As Canadians, we are all familiar with the measures adopted by the government of Canada to balance the weighty influence of the American media upon our culture. As Canadians, all of us are subject to American influence wherever we live, and we have to strive to counter this influence in order to give expression to our own culture. I am sure that Quebec feels doubly threatened, because Quebec is subjected not only to the strong culture of the United States, but also to the influence of English from all over the rest of North America.

The Pepin-Robarts task force reported: "Quebec is different, and Quebec should possess the powers necessary to preserve and develop its distinct character within the confines of a viable Canada."

Ontario supports Quebec's efforts to give expression to its distinct character and to strengthen and extend its culture, but we believe this development can be best achieved in the context of a renewed Canadian federalism which recognizes the unique characteristics of each of the parts which make up the whole of Canada. A separate Quebec would be a loss to all of us, because we would lose the benefit of our exposure to Quebec's ideas and customs. I believe that Quebec would surely suffer as well if it were to ignore

totally the cultural awakening being experienced by Canadians of all regions.

In a land of such monumental proportions as Canada, a strong central government is an absolute necessity for unity, for international relationships and for economic policy. The government of Canada through its emanations has provided in the past, and I hope will continue to, grants to assist artists of all kinds and cultural developments of various kinds in all the regions to give expression to the growth of our cultural heritage. The federal government role in this area, I believe, is to permit cross-pollination and exchange amongst the regions and the cultural groups, all of which are vital for a vibrant, expanding and thriving artistic and intellectual community.

I hope that the ideas and the sentiments expressed this week in this Legislature will be heard and will have meaning for our fellow Canadians in Quebec. My purpose is not to coerce, persuade or dissuade any Quebecker. The decisions which they take on May 20 must be theirs. I just pray that each one of them knows one thing, that the rest of us in Canada care about Canada and care a great deal about Quebec's role in Canada.
4:40 p.m.

I would like to say to each Quebecker before he or she casts the ballot in this interesting exercise, which I heard described as a *separendum*, and I think that may be an appropriate word, that we have worked very hard to build a Canada for all Canadians. We have tried, and we want the opportunity to continue to try, just like those young men in the lobby of the Royal York Hotel were trying, because millions of men and women from all parts of this country have worked for Canada because they believe in the country.

My generation played an important part. We served in Canada's armed forces. Thousands of my contemporaries, both French and English, died for this country. I believe that if the people of Quebec decide to excise an integral part of my heritage and my country, if they really believe that we cannot work together to create a renewed Confederation, they will be stating clearly and unequivocally that our relatives and my close friends died for nothing.

I hope that history will record that we set ourselves in this country a noble goal, a goal to create a nation of equals, sharing in equality and in justice. God forbid that history record that we failed. Let history record that each one of us tried. I pray the record will show that, because each Canadian made a

personal commitment to renewed Confederation, we succeeded in building a nation to match the magnificence of Canada.

Mr. Haggerty: Mr. Speaker, I appreciate the opportunity afforded me to address the resolution before this assembly and express my views on Canadian unity.

The political debate on constitutional reform is certainly not new. It has been debated from its infancy in 1867 to May 1980 and will be debated in the future. For the past 52 years, many attempts by the federal and provincial governments have been made to arrive at an agreement on an amending formula. It has been studied to death, largely because the inability of governments in Canada to reach an agreement on procedure that would strike a balance between the need for protection and stability and the requirements of flexibility.

There have been nine attempts since 1926. At the most recent attempt, the Victoria amending formula was almost adopted. This formula would have replaced the present need for the unanimous consent of all 11 parliaments—that is, the Fulton-Favreau formula of 1964.

Under the new formula, constitutional change could have been achieved by securing the agreement of Parliament and at least six provincial legislatures distributed among four regions of this country, representing about 80 per cent of the population of Canada. The four regions would have been Atlantic Canada, Quebec, Ontario and western Canada, whose consent would have been required for the more important amendments. Amendments applying to one or more, but not all provinces, would have required the consent of the provincial legislature concerned and the federal Parliament.

Frankly, I find this proposal acceptable. It provides the opportunity for full debate in the Legislature, and I would hope that if a debate of such importance took place it would involve a free vote of members.

The debate has continued in Quebec at an exhilarating pace since the election of the Parti Quebecois government. The referendum campaign on the question of sovereignty—association with the rest of Canada is of deep concern to all Canadians.

If Rene Levesque, one of Canada's most persuasive political leaders and a determined individual, gets his way in the referendum, Canada's union of provinces will surely disappear.

If Confederation has been successful, all Canadians can say they have been part of its evolution. However, one must admit there

have been shortcomings that may well have some bearing on the grievances of any one province. Our Canadian heritage has been founded on the principle of sharing our fortunes and misfortunes. Our key interests should be to develop programs in the support and interest of various political subdivisions and to strengthen those elements in their respective cultures that elevate and protect the dignity of the individual against any measures that may impede his or her rights as a Canadian, regardless of their historical background.

A renewed federalism must be based on our national heritage and our national interests. Federalism must be considered the most appropriate political system. Although designed 113 years ago, it has provided Canadians with an avenue of coexistence between various culture groups and with the opportunity of access to two main international languages. However, the isolation of the French-speaking Canadians outside of Quebec and the neglect of their rights in a country which is supposedly dedicated to the principle of bilingualism should be a source of concern for all Canadians.

Sir John A. Macdonald in his address to the Quebec Parliament on March 6, 1865, agreed "that the use of the French language will form one of the principles on which the Confederation will be based, and that its use as it exists today will be guaranteed by the Imperial Act" (article 6-133 of the British North America Act).

The agreement reached was expressed in legal terms by the delegates from the provinces on the equality of the French language in New Canada. This was no small matter for the Fathers of Confederation to deal with. It was a delicate principle needed to guarantee the quality of opportunity and wellbeing for all individuals in Canada. For some reason, the historical facts are somehow forgotten until the matter of individual rights are placed before the highest courts in Canada.

I have had the opportunity of visiting St. Joseph's School in Port Colborne this week, being Educational Week. St. Joseph's is an elementary public separate school teaching French only. My colleague the member for Welland-Thorold (Mr. Swart) has also brought to the attention of the Legislature the Catholic elementary French schools in Welland that are part of the Niagara South Public-Separate School Board. At St. Joseph's, graduating students have the opportunity of continuing their education from Grades 9 to 13 at Confederation Secondary School, a completely

French school with an enrolment of 670 students from Niagara Falls, Welland, Pelham, Port Colborne, Fort Erie and Wainfleet, and now including Niagara North.

Confederation school originated as a private French school in Port Colborne, but in 1968 was transferred to the Niagara South Board of Education. This surely indicates the goodwill and understanding that exists in Niagara South, an example that can and should be followed by many school boards. Tolerance and understanding are the qualities Canadians must practise if Canada is to succeed.

The present confederation in Canada is by nature a political system, not an economic association. In a sense it has provided the provinces with the power to develop most of their own economic base in fierce competition within the federal system. It is my feeling that Canada cannot be accountable to a federal economic employment strategy program. What action has been taken has been of an ad hoc nature, which is perhaps the reason that regional disparities continue to exist.

With Canada's great abundance of wealth and its natural resources all given to us with the blessings of our Creator, Canada's economy should be in a much healthier and less precarious state. I strongly believe, and in fact am convinced, that sovereignty-association with Quebec could not provide the people of Quebec and every Canadian with equal shares in Canada's future. I am not convinced that giving the provinces more statutory power is the solution to our problems. I feel that the present balkanization is perhaps one of the causes of conflict between provinces now.

4:50 p.m.

Professor R. M. Burns, director of the Institute of Intergovernmental Relations at Queen's University, stated, at a conference in 1968, "No government which lacks effective authority in the field of fiscal and economic control, in foreign relations, in trade, or in the ability to support and consolidate the interest of the various political subdivisions has any hope, or even any excuse for continued existence.

"The ultimate result of a drift in federal-provincial relations would be to challenge federal authority in each of those areas. The concept of federalism held in Quebec is not far distant from that of a customs union or an associate state."

My experience as a union member and as a chief steward sitting on a negotiating committee has put me in a solid position to assess labour-management agreements, which

I believe can be compared to the process we are discussing when we talk of the need for renewed federalism, collectively. Both are a process of bargaining and, historically, in order to bargain under the principle of good faith, a new agreement can be finalized in unity in the best interests of the majority for the common good.

The new Canadian constitution should include broader provisions for economic partnership. The British North America Act of 1867 truly created a confederation of provinces with a head of state, the Governor General of Canada, representing the crown. The present Quebec referendum campaign does not follow that principle. It is clearly aimed at establishing a separate state for Quebec. Were this attempt to be successful, it would surely shatter the hopes and dreams of all Canadians who believe that this land can provide a better quality of living for the generations that follow us.

Constitutional reform cannot be achieved when the Premier of Quebec wants to separate from Canada rather than reach an obviously needed accommodation. As a result of this, the conflicts and concerns of politicians from all parties are being heard in this Confederation debate. One cannot exclude the western provinces, for their political leaders are also in disagreement with many of the existing rules of government, currently the law under the British North America Act.

Like many Canadians, I find it difficult to understand, after more than 50 years of discussion, why we have not been able to agree on a formula for amending our constitution. It seems to me that, if our politicians are not flexible enough to reach an agreement, perhaps another body should be established, which might be known as the Confederation constitution committee, to prepare amendments to the constitution. Perhaps three Supreme Court of Canada judges should be members of that body. These amendments could improve the socio-economic climate in Canada, and proposed amendments could be put to the people in a referendum to let the people decide the changes.

The Task Force on Canadian Unity has provided many recommendations for discussion, one being the abolishment of the Senate, to be replaced by a Council of the Federation composed of delegates representing the provincial governments. I believe change is required in the present Senate structure but, for fair representation and accountability, I feel it should be a body elected by the people.

Another interesting suggestion is the establishment of a national industrial council on economy, comprising members from the public sector and representatives from labour, business and other groups in the private sector. Japan and Germany have had such a council for a number of years, and it has worked very well in establishing economic policy.

The late Dean Acheson served as Secretary of State under President Harry S. Truman from 1949 to 1953. He had some interesting comments about Canadian and American relations which have some bearing on this debate. He said: "Americans take Canada for granted, and Canadians are forever saying so. By this they mean that Americans assume Canada to be bestowed as a right and accept this bounty, as they do air, without thought or appreciation. Perhaps they do; and perhaps they should. For if it were not taken as a bounty of nature, America might not grasp Canada at all for sheer difficulty in figuring out what Canada is."

We should learn from those remarks that until we Canadians become masters in our own house foreign economic penetration will make it difficult for us to control our own destiny. Canadians are certainly different from Americans, but neither are all Canadians alike. It seems to me that Canadians, as a whole, regardless of where they were born, educated or work, have become complacent as it relates to identity. That is one thing that can be said about the Confederation debate. As a result of this struggle, the citizens of Quebec, supporting the no forces, have shown Canadian identity. This debate has now given us in the Legislature that opportunity.

I am proud to be a Canadian. I come from a large family of nine children—seven boys and two girls—with Irish blood on my father's side, Scottish on my mother's and Pennsylvania Dutch. My wife, Marie, is French and her family hailed from Brittany in France. My father-in-law, who is a rather interesting individual, believes that the Parti Quebecois is making a grave error by hoping to secede from Canada. He has often stated that in the two great wars, if it had not been for the Canadian soldiers from all the provinces, France would not be a country today, that victory has secured France's independence.

It is my hope as a Canadian that Quebec remains within the Confederation of Canada. More can be accomplished for the common good of all Canadians with tolerance and understanding. The Bible can be quoted to serve a variety of ends. Therefore, I shall

finish my remarks by quoting from Ephesians 4 on exhortations to unity. "That we henceforth be no more children, tossed to and fro and carried about with every wind of doctrine, by the sleight of men and cunning craftiness, whereby they lie in wait to deceive."

I support the motion put forward by Mr. Davis and seconded by my leader, Mr. Smith, and Mr. Cassidy: "That, we the Legislative Assembly of Ontario commit ourselves, as our highest priority, to support full negotiation of a new constitution to satisfy the diverse aspirations of all Canadians, and to replace the status quo which is clearly unacceptable; and further, we affirm our opposition to the negotiation of sovereignty-association; and, therefore, we appeal to all Quebecers to join with other Canadians in building this national constitution; and further, we hereby appoint a select committee of the Legislative Assembly of Ontario on constitutional reform to consider and report with dispatch on ways to achieve this objective."

This is a good resolution. It provides an avenue by which members from all parties will have an input in the decision-making and what direction Ontario and Canada will head in the 1980s or the year 2000. This opens the door for communications and understanding. It is to be hoped that this committee will have some dialogue with other provinces in finding some resolution to solve the problems we face in Canada as they relate to Confederation.

5 p.m.

Mr. Di Santo: Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to be the sixth ethnic NDP member to take part in this constitutional debate. In many ways our contribution may be rather difficult to follow in that we six members have delivered parts of our speeches in different languages.

I would like to make my own addition and summarize what has been said thus far. We recognize that we have spoken in many languages of Canada which are not the official languages and not normally used in this House. We chose to do so because we wish to recognize symbolically and realistically that all Canadians must participate in the building of a new constitution.

Nous avons parlé des langues autres que l'anglais et le français, Monsieur l'Orateur, parce que nous sommes très convaincus que le référendum dans la province de Québec et la nouvelle constitution sont très importants pour les Canadiens. Monsieur l'Orateur, nous croyons qu'il est très important pour tous les Canadiens qui sont venus de toutes les parties du monde, qui parlent différentes langues et

qui sont venus ici au Canada, leur nouvelle patrie, il est très important qu'ils puissent trouver ici leur raison d'être et de bien être.

[Translation from Italian]

We recognize the very serious challenges which the referendum in Quebec brings to Canadian society. But we as democratic socialists also recognize that this is an opportunity to have all peoples involved in changing the rules of our society. We are, perhaps, the new parents of Confederation.

Anyone who has heard the contributions from the New Democratic Party today knows that, while we are speaking specifically of the needs of ethnic working people, their needs are held in common by many other groups. We are referring to the groups that are systematically excluded from our society. I think of the working people who work in the construction industry of this province. I think of the people with low education who toil in our factories and create our wealth. I think of the women who are denied equal pay for work of equal value. I think of the thousands and thousands of people in Ontario whose human rights are not protected by the Ontario Human Rights Commission. I think of the pensioners, and particularly those who are citizens but are denied pensions because they are more recent arrivals in this society. I think of the senior citizens and the other people who are losing their homes through high mortgage rates right now. I think of all these people who have built and worked to make Canada the great society that it is. They are not certain Canada is working for them.

Our contribution has been a call for change, a call for a new way of doing things.

We are trying today to speak for those who are not normally included in such things as constitutional debates. These are the people who we constantly try to speak for in this House and everywhere we appear as members of the Legislative Assembly of Ontario.

We have managed to make our contribution by recognizing the complex reality of Canada. We have made our speech without criticizing Canadian society or the country we love. We have made our contribution in a positive light. Our contribution is to say that we as Canadians must have a greater say in our own society. We have faith in this country that, working together, we can build the best and most exciting culture in the modern world; that our human resources are outstanding if we will allow them to flourish and stop trying to fit them into a monolithic whole.

We believe that by allowing these resources to flourish we can develop here in

Canada a culture that is very different from the American culture to our south. We believe that we can have an outpouring of working people's culture. These are worthwhile goals, and we will continue to fight for them.

[End of translation]

As democratic socialists, we believe just as firmly that we can build an economic strategy that will lead us to economic independence, which will be the underpinning of our culture. We believe that the 1980s provide opportunities as there have never been before for Canada to come of age. This is why we have taken the time to speak against the selling off of our resources.

On a personal note, when I was first elected I remember in 1975 that my election material contained a phrase saying, "You can't afford another Davis government; vote NDP." That slogan is as true in 1980 as it was true when we were first elected in 1975. At that time, we referred to a number of scandals that had been rocking the government. We referred to the fact that we knew the government was unable to control ripoffs by health laboratories. We knew the government was unable to keep farm land from disappearing. We knew the government was unable to develop a policy of reforestation. We knew the government was unable to develop a fair system of property tax—and that is still true today.

When one looks at the unemployment in the city of Windsor, when one looks at the fact that nearly one in five auto parts workers is laid off, when one looks at the crisis of the branch-plant economy developed in this country, when one looks at the frightening process of deindustrialization of Canada, one has to ask what is happening. Why do we have a government that has failed to get our fair share from the auto pact? Why are we in a situation that, when the Canadian market is buoyant, more and more of our auto workers are being laid off? The auto parts makers are the most important employers in our economy, and the Liberal government in Ottawa and the Conservative government at Queen's Park are helpless in negotiating with the multinationals, as we have seen today.

The government of this province, at our insistence, has taken the suggestion of our leader that any new plants given to the auto makers must have iron-clad guarantees of jobs and the right type of jobs for Canada. It should have learned its lesson from the Ford fiasco, but if it does not make clear to Chrysler Canada that it wants jobs for Canadian workers, then this government will prove that it has neither the strength nor the will

to represent the working people of this province.

5:10 p.m.

I believe a fundamental consideration in negotiation of a new constitution is getting the power to develop an industrial strategy aimed at creating full employment so that the government will work and speak for Canadian working people. I am not for a minute advocating that the government of Ontario should stand idly by and wash its hands of the responsibility of providing economic opportunities and developing an industrial strategy in Ontario. But I believe in a strong national economy and in the federal government's having the power to create such an economy.

I also look at our resource policy. Why, when Ontario and Saskatchewan produce about the same value of materials, is Saskatchewan extracting more than 10 times as much revenue from its producers than is Ontario? Saskatchewan takes that money and puts it to work to create a better life for the people of that province. Ontario forgoes that money to make sure that the owners of our resources, residing south of the border, are able to maintain their comfortable lifestyles. We will never build a great country until we use our resources as a basis for building a strong economy.

As I watch the Treasurer (Mr. F. S. Miller) and the Minister of Industry and Tourism (Mr. Grossman) hand out grant after grant to pulp and paper companies to keep them from leaving this province, I am vitally concerned. Surely the money of the taxpayers of Ontario should be used in a more creative investment. Yes, we want the plants to modernize. But must we subsidize huge corporate interests like Canadian Pacific Investments? Have they no obligation to the people of Ontario? Must we subsidize plants to get them to recognize their responsibilities to the community?

The New Democratic Party has always said that it could build a society based on the needs of the working people and the needs of Canadians. We would not have to go about offering taxpayers' money to help people meet their responsibilities. The New Democratic Party is convinced that the road to economic growth for Ontario and Canada goes through the creation of a strong Canadian economy controlled by Canadians for the benefit of Canadians.

Economic independence and a new commitment are crucial factors in the debate for a new constitution. I want to make it very

clear that changing the rules in the constitution will have no impact if we do not change the people who are running this country. We need leaders committed to economic justice. We need a new political system where the people of Canada can judge how well and how committed our leaders are to that goal.

When we have been critical, we have had to be critical of the present government, this government which has constantly betrayed the aspiration of the working people, be they English, French, native or otherwise. As we have called for new social programs, we have been told there is no money. The people of Ontario are paying higher taxes than in any other province in Canada, and yet there is no money allocated for basic services.

The reason our health-care system is in danger, our social service system is declining and we do not have money to expand our cultural development is that this government has failed to develop and maintain a healthy manufacturing sector. It has been a government without plans and directions. It is asking the working people of Ontario, not foreign investors, to pay for the mistakes of their government.

There can be no new Canada unless we have people committed to the principles of building a Canada for Canadians. Our goal is a Canada that reflects the many cultures which have contributed to building a Canadian society and which have been refined through being in Canada. We must have a commitment to building a Canadian economy owned and directed by Canadians for Canadians.

We need a constitution which will make that possible. Ontario will participate in the negotiation of the terms of the new relationship among the peoples of Canada, whatever the result of the Quebec referendum. Today we have all been addressing the problems that are making it difficult for Quebecers to believe there is a future for them in Canada. The fundamental problem in this country is that the people have lost faith in believing the country can work. They have not lost faith in the people of Canada. They have lost faith in the posturing of the Liberal and Conservative governments which have misled and misguided us and the people of Canada. They have lost faith in the governments which have squandered their future.

We believe a new constitution must take into account the possibility of building a new society. We believe that can best be done according to the principles of our party, along with mass participation of English,

French, native, Italian, Portuguese, Polish, East Indian and all other Canadians. We have not taken the time today to spell out the specifics. We do that every day in speaking and in this House. We have tried to talk about the principle, the spirit of a new Confederation. However, if we want this debate to be truly meaningful, we should make a very clear commitment.

At this point, I want to repeat the basic concerns with multiculturalism as set out by the member for Parkdale (Mr. Duksza) this morning. First, a new constitution must assure that ethnic groups are permanent and not a disappearing feature of Canadian society. We want to make that very clear.

Second, programs oriented to the equality of groups are an important extension of the principles of equality of all individuals and citizens. A proper policy of multiculturalism will be carried out in a way that is not diminishing to individual human rights and civil liberties.

Third, a multicultural policy must aim at achieving greater equality in the distribution of wealth, prestige and power in Canadian society.

We have presented the spirit of a new, vital and exciting Canada, based on our belief that we can build a new constitution. We can build a new Canada which even René Levesque will want to be part of. But the debate is on, and the debate must continue. The people we have spoken for today must not be ignored. The problems we have addressed today must not be swept aside. They must be confronted head on. Inside of an approach such as this, there is a new Canada. It would be a new Canada which would be strong, free and democratic.

Hon. Mr. Wells: Mr. Speaker, I would like to ask the consent of the House to revert to motions so I can move a motion to allow us to sit over the supper period, to make room for all the speakers who wish to take part in this debate.

Agreed to.

MOTION

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE

Hon. Mr. Wells moved that the House continue to sit from 6 p.m. to 8 p.m.

Motion agreed to.

5:20 p.m.

DEBATE ON CONFEDERATION

(continued)

Mr. McCaffrey: Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to enter into this debate. After some four

days of the by and large important contributions here, one wonders if there is any new ground left to break, although the topic has not been restricted at all; some members have chosen to speak quite widely. None the less, I am going to try to make a couple of new contributions to it.

While I think the quality and nature of the discussions for most of this week have been first-rate, I was particularly impressed with the contribution made by my colleague the Minister of Education (Miss Stephenson).

I rise to support the resolution standing in the name of the Premier (Mr. Davis) and seconded by the member for Hamilton West (Mr. S. Smith) and the member for Ottawa Centre (Mr. Cassidy). I join other members of this assembly in supporting a full negotiation of a new constitution for Canada to satisfy those diverse aspirations of all Canadians. I support, further, the commitment to replace the status quo, which is clearly unacceptable to me personally, as it is to most of my constituents, and to reaffirm my opposition to the negotiation of sovereignty-association. Like other members I appeal to all Quebecers to join with other Canadians in building this national constitution.

I shall be brief and touch on three topics—bilingualism, constitutional change and some personal comments I would like to make at the end about my own family and how they perceive not only this discussion, but also the future of our country.

Bilingualism is a sensitive topic, and no one in this assembly wants to raise issues which might aggravate our sometimes delicate position. We are here, after all, to help the cause of national unity, and it is my intention to do just that.

However, I read a newspaper column the other day which, quite frankly, made me angry. I thought, here we are prepared and even anxious to publicly discuss matters which make Quebecers angry and frustrated. There are things that make me angry too. I would like to tell the House about one of them. Let me quote first from this article, which appeared shortly after our Premier's visit to Quebec.

"The Premier is to be praised for having made the effort of publicly reading French—the first time ever, according to news reports—but it is a symptom of the problems of Confederation that the Premier of Canada's largest province is unable to speak Canada's other official language."

I think that is outrageous. While it would be presumptuous of me to pretend to speak on behalf of English-speaking Ontarians, I

have no reluctance to say that the vast majority of good Canadians in my own constituency would be equally outraged by the comment that "it is a symptom of the problems of Confederation that the Premier of Canada's largest province is unable to speak Canada's other official language."

It is really very different. I think one of the symptoms—perhaps one of the causes—of many of our problems of Confederation is that group of journalists and politicians persisting to try to make language a central issue when it is not. This approach for more than a decade has served no one, and I would be remiss if I did not state that it has caused some anger and frustration in my community.

I cannot speak French. I took five years of French in high school and studied it for one year in university. I cannot speak French. I am not proud of that, but neither am I ashamed.

Hope springs eternal, and perhaps I will develop the skill and find the time and the opportunity to speak our other national language. But that is not now the case and, about this, I feel no guilt. I am no less a Canadian for that. It follows that my French-speaking, fellow Canadian citizens in Noranda, Val d'Or, Rimouski, or anywhere in that great province, who perhaps have no facility in the English language, are no less Canadian for that.

I am concerned that those people who persist with this theme, and almost all of them are English-speaking Canadians, are close to the point where they seem to be equating our patriotism with our facility in the French language. It is an unnecessary tack anyway, for the simple fact that, even if I and every one of my constituents could speak French fluently now, we would still be here today addressing this resolution, or something very similar to it, and we would all be equally determined to alter the status quo and to change our constitution.

On the matter of the constitution, the British North America Act: I am neither a lawyer nor a constitutional expert, but this document has remained intact for 113 years, with minor changes. Many experts say the mere fact that it has served so long is evidence enough that it is working. Yet that simply does not balance with the incredible rate of change and the rapidity of that change in our social and economic life. It is time to review the constitution and to rewrite it to reflect those changes.

The point has been made before in this Legislature—forgetting Quebec for the mo-

ment—that the matter of resource revenues and the fair distribution of revenues from the sale of those resources in itself would prompt a readjustment, a rethinking, a review and a rewriting of our constitution.

My last, and personal, comments have to do with my own family. I am a fourth-generation Canadian. My wife was born in Europe and arrived in this country at the age of six. She was born in Holland and, like her family, she can, and often does, still speak her native language, and in some ways our home reflects some of her Dutch upbringing and Dutch culture. To paraphrase a friend of ours, she is proudly Dutch and fiercely Canadian, and in that regard is no different from those other, newer Canadians in my own community and in our country who have enriched our land so much.

We have two children, my daughter Shawna, who is nine years old—and who, by the way, is studying French in grade 4, and one would hope she will have more opportunities than many of us of my generation had to practise that language—and my son Ryan, who is seven. I asked them last weekend what Canada meant to them. Quite frankly, I was hoping to get some answers that I might be able to use today in this debate, but I got nothing at all profound. You see, Mr. Speaker, Canada, to them, simply meant fun, a place to have fun, particularly now that it is getting warmer.

The fact that there was nothing profound is perhaps the best message of all. It is only as we get older that we consume ourselves in this search for a national identity. We consume ourselves in trying to find the one and complete answer about this country.

Not very long ago our two children were heard singing in the den, and it seemed quite spontaneous, O Canada. It might have been in response or reaction to a television program; I don't know. We don't always go around the house singing O Canada, just in election year, but there they were. In its way—there has been a little humming going on in the House the last few weeks—it was beautiful to hear because of that refreshing simplicity that younger Canadians have, that beautiful, easy and natural kind of patriotism.

Always as adults we can learn from young people, and I think we would be better served, frankly, if we stopped and relaxed sometimes; stopped in this exhausting search for the one and the complete answer to our national identity. Surely there are many answers. The major strength must be that we are, after all, a free country, it is fun here and thank God it is getting warmer.

As Canadians, we have great reservoirs of goodwill and affection for each other. We are all proud and committed to Canada, a unified Canada.

5:30 p.m.

Mr. G. I. Miller: Mr. Speaker, I must admit when this important debate was first discussed, I hesitated for a while before deciding to participate. It seemed to me there were many members in this House who would make a far better job than I of stating the case for Canadian unity, of appealing to the people of Quebec, of trying to persuade those who might be hesitant about what their decision should be on May 20.

I asked myself: "Can I contribute to a debate of this kind on a question which is so crucial to every Canadian?" Of course, it is possible that all the wonderful and sincere speeches which have been heard in this Legislature over the last few days will go no further than the Hansard record, and that what we say here will have absolutely no impact on the people of Quebec and absolutely no influence on the decisions they make. That's as it may be.

The fact remains that we all have to try. We all have to do whatever we can to preserve and protect this country which we all love. In recent years, and particularly in recent months, we have heard much from the opinion leaders, the journalists, the editors and the politicians in Quebec and the rest of Canada. As I have listened to and read all of the thousands of words which have been pouring out on this subject, I have often wondered what the people of Quebec think about it all. What do the ordinary people, those who never get quoted in the newspapers or appear on television, think of it? Do they really believe they are in some way threatened or discriminated against by other Canadians? Do they honestly want to go it alone? Or are they being persuaded, carried along almost in spite of themselves, by those who are able to use convincing arguments to rouse the emotions, to seduce with words?

Time and time again I have asked myself three questions: How can we reach out to these people? How can we make them understand how we feel? How can we convince them that we want them to stay as an integral part of our Canadian family?

Unlike some members of this House, I cannot claim to be bilingual either perfectly or partially. Whether this is my fault or the fault of our education system really doesn't matter. The fact remains that I am not. But my lack of linguistic ability is no indication

of my feelings with respect to Quebec or the people of that province.

These people are my fellow Canadians, as are the people of Ontario. I care as much about them and their future as I care about the people elsewhere in this country. I might add that we have travelled from coast to coast, and we have friends in every province. I am proud of every inch of Canada from the Maritimes to British Columbia. We are all Canadians, whatever our ethnic origins, whatever our mother tongue. We are all in this thing together, and it's up to all of us to make this country the great place it was always intended to be.

In my riding of Haldimand-Norfolk we have a French-Canadian club, Club Laval. We have visited many times, and we have always found that the hospitality and fellowship which we shared there is exceptionally warm and strong. We have a number of French-Canadian people in the area. Many of them have come to work at the new industrial developments of Stelco, Texaco and Hydro. I have met many of them and, from what they have said, it seems quite clear that above all they want to be part of Canada, while at the same time retaining their own language and culture. They want what the rest of us want, our just desserts, no more, no less.

Last February, my wife and I had a wonderful holiday in Quebec. During that vacation we met a great many French-speaking people. If the Quebecers we met did not always understand our words, and if we did not always understand what they were saying, it really did not make a great deal of difference to the good feelings we all had about one another. We managed with a word here and a phrase there and a lot of handwaving and a good deal of laughter, because we always enjoy a good time no matter where we go in Canada. We travelled down the north shore of the Ottawa River to Montebello to spend some time cross-country skiing. I might add that we are not the greatest cross-country skiers. We had no trouble going up the hills, but we did have a little trouble coming down and ended up with a few sore shoulders.

From there, we went to Quebec by way of the north shore of the St. Lawrence through that pretty farming country with those narrow farms. We could tell they were active. Just looking across the countryside, we could easily pick out the maple forests. We spent a few days in Quebec City, visiting the Citadel and many other historical places. We dined at many wonderful French-Can-

dian restaurants. Wherever we went the story was the same. There was no unfriendliness, there was no feeling of being outsiders, there was no lack of helpfulness and co-operation. We were greeted and welcomed everywhere with warmth, with hospitality and with enthusiasm.

As a matter of fact, coming out of the lobby of the Chateau Frontenac, we ran into friends of ours from Cayuga. We had been chatting with them only a couple of moments when the Provincial Secretary for Resources Development (Mr. Brunelle) came along. We were pleasantly surprised to meet two friends within the space of a few minutes. We really enjoyed chatting with them. They were having a good time also.

One evening we had tickets to go to a hockey game to see the Nordiques play at the Coliseum. Being an old hockey coach, and a hockey player in my younger days, I was looking forward to that. Frankly, we anticipated we would be left pretty much to ourselves the whole evening because those around us would be busy talking French to one another and caught up in the excitement of the game.

What actually happened was that my wife and I hardly had a chance to say a word to one another all evening. The people who sat on either side of us, not to mention those in front and behind, were so friendly and so determined to talk to us, to make us feel at home, to make us understand what they were saying and to try to understand what we were saying, that we missed most of the game. In the process, we had a simply wonderful time just getting to know one another. As a matter of fact, the Nordiques were beaten that night by the Atlanta Flames, but it was a particularly good game and we enjoyed it.

Never at any time during our vacation did we feel that we were in a foreign or different environment. The hospitality and friendship everywhere were fantastic. We made a number of friends and returned home more sure than ever that Quebec, as it has always been, is a vital and integral part of our country, Canada.

I might also say that we stopped in Plessisville, which is the heart of the maple sugar area. They process it there, and it is the centre of the business. We also stayed in Granby overnight and did some shopping there. That is the heart of the milk processing industry, and the folks were just beautiful.

We are all aware of the importance of the Société Saint-Jean-Baptiste in Quebec. I was interested to read recently about the first

national banquet of this group, at which one of its founding members referred to the maple leaf, which at times was considered to be the symbol of the French-Canadian people. Obviously, after one sees the woodlots there, the maple tree has to be the beginning of our heritage.

He said: "This tree, the maple, which grows in our valleys, at first young and beaten by the storm, pines away painfully, feeding itself from the earth, but it soon springs up tall and strong and faces the tempest and triumphs over the wind which cannot shake it any more. The maple is the king of the forest. It is the symbol of the Canadian people."

It occurred to me that those words, spoken nearly a century and a half ago, might almost be prophetic. If the maple tree is indeed the symbol of the Canadian people, as we consider it to be, then we certainly have been beaten by the storm, a storm brought about by differences in culture, language and political approach. We did for a while pine away, but we turned away from the difficult task of solving the problem of reconciling the wants and needs of the people of Quebec and the wants and needs of others in this country. Recently, we have returned to our roots, feeding from the earth as we got down to the basics and recognizing the importance of coming to terms with one another.

5:40 p.m.

Shall we fulfil the rest of the prophecy? I wonder. Shall we spring up tall and strong, facing the tempest and triumphing over the winds of resentment and anger at the dissatisfactions and provocations which have attempted to destroy us? We are living in the era of the global village. Daily we become more aware that this world of ours is a very small place in this modern age. International events fill our newspapers and our thoughts. The danger and the drama in Iran, the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, the flood of refugees from Cuba—all these are brought right into the living rooms of our homes by television. As never before in the history of mankind, the people of today are made aware almost constantly of what is going on beyond their immediate surroundings. We hear almost on a day-to-day basis of the population explosion, hunger in the world, international pollution of the environment, chronic inflation and bloodshed and warfare in other lands.

I would like to refer to an article which appeared on November 9, 1977, in the *Globe and Mail*. "Developing countries were warned in the UN yesterday that mass starvation

could occur in some parts of the world as early as 1985 if they did not quickly move to increase their food production.

"Geoffrey Bruce, Canadian deputy permanent representative to the UN, told the economic committee that 'it has become clear that the current increase in population is outpacing the increase in food production in the Third World.'"

Canada has made huge amounts of food available for the struggle against hunger, contributing more than \$100 million this year alone. I think that is going to be a serious problem as we go down the road and one that Canada can contribute to in providing food for the many millions.

As never before in our history, we need one another. We need friends. We need allies. We need alliances. For with unity comes strength. Nations throughout the world have recognized the importance of banding together against a common foe, be it another nation or a group of nations or rampant inflation or some natural or environmental threat. Jean Monnet, considered the founder of the European Economic Community, claimed that "the Europe of sovereign states was incapable of bringing forth, however great the goodwill of its leaders, the wise decisions that were needed for the common good."

Against this background, it is difficult to understand the determination of some people to destroy the Canadian unity which has given this country of ours so much strength and vitality over the years. It is good to hear our friends on the left indicate—I know there are many new Canadians over there—that they can see the good of keeping Canada together as one strong country.

We all originated from a foreign country at one time. How can we ignore the fact that older and more experienced nations than our own have tried to go it alone and have finally come to realize, reluctantly perhaps, that they need one another if they are to survive and prosper? Here in this country, in the Canadian Confederation, we have created a society where individual liberty is respected and where human rights are protected. We have also, for many years, enjoyed an economic standard of living that is the envy of many countries less fortunate than our own. Again, our friends who have come over in recent years must be able to testify to that and to verify it.

For more than two centuries, French-speaking and English-speaking Canadians have lived side by side in political association. Over the generations, many relationships

have sprung up between the people of our French-speaking communities and other Canadians. Are these years and these relationships to go for nothing? Is the Canadian dream really in danger of becoming a nightmare? For my part, I find it impossible to believe that this will happen, because I do not consider what has been happening in this country since the early days of settlement to be a dream. It is, rather, a living reality which cannot be allowed to shatter on the rocks of misunderstanding, of lack of patience, of inability to agree to compromise.

In my view, we should not be prepared to negotiate sovereignty-association which, after all, is simply another name for separation or fracturing of this country. If the vote on May 20 is a no vote, then I believe we should lose no time in beginning the process of renewing Canadian federalism. We should make it clear that we are eager and anxious to undertake this process with Quebec, the other provinces and the federal government.

In Canada we have a society that is comparatively free from prejudice and fear, in which we Canadians for the most part deal with one another in a spirit of understanding and generosity. Canada is fortunate in that it encompasses two of the most important cultures of western civilization, two cultures which have been immeasurably enriched by the addition of many other cultures as people have come here from many other countries to make a new life in a new land.

I believe we need to make changes in our system of federalism to take into account present-day needs and demands. We must also take into account the serious and heartfelt concerns which have been raised by the people of Quebec through their representatives and spokesmen. Canada is a proud and strong country. If compassion, intelligence, understanding, patience and wisdom are brought to bear on our present problems, I believe we shall find the necessary solutions and emerge from our present dilemma, if not exactly unscathed then at least victorious and united.

I would like to close my remarks by saying that what we have done for ourselves dies with us; what we have done for others and the world remains and is immortal.

Mr. Laughren: Mr. Speaker, I am very pleased to take part in this debate, because I think we all have a sense that it is a significant debate just a couple of weeks before the Quebec referendum. I view this as a referendum debate, not as a debate on a new constitution, nor as a debate on the merits or demerits of sovereignty-association.

I am an unabashed federalist. As one who was born in Quebec, educated in Ontario and lived for some considerable length of time in Manitoba, Saskatchewan and British Columbia, I feel I have an appreciation for more than just Ontario and even the constituency I represent in northern Ontario. I get excited when I talk about Canada, and I remain convinced that we can, along with French Canada, build a stronger Canada, one with a unique identity.

My approach to Quebec and the present referendum debate is based upon the important assumption that the people of Quebec constitute a nation. The Quebecois share a common language, boast a distinct history and have their own civil institutions and cultural traditions. They possess a strong sense of national identity. In the 1760s, Sir Guy Carleton, the second Governor of Canada, recognized the potential strength of a people's sense of identity when he said, "Barring catastrophe too horrible to imagine, this land must always be peopled by the Canadian race." He was referring, of course, to French Canadians.

I suggest that encouraging the growth of that nation is not only possible but also desirable within Canada. If the rest of Canada is lacking in such an identity, we should look to ourselves for a remedy, rather than deny French Canada its right to full expression.

I want this country to remain intact, but I am not convinced the present arrangement is best. I do not believe there is anything contradictory with defending Quebec's right to self-determination while at the same time declaring a commitment to the maintenance of a single Canadian state, provided both Quebec and English Canada are joined in a voluntary union.

I became a democratic socialist because I came to realize the economic status quo will not be altered by those who enjoy its rewards. French Canada has come to understand the rest of Canada will not alter the political status quo without substantial pressures. As a matter of fact, a very serious threat to this country's existence has been necessary to drive home that point, especially here in Ontario.

5:50 p.m.

This resolution we are debating states that the status quo is unacceptable, and I heartily support that position. But I would like to make it quite clear that I do not interpret the phrase "opposed to negotiate" to mean that we in this Legislature or the federal government will refuse to talk about sovereignty-association in the event of a yes vote.

This resolution devised by political parties here will be perceived by the Quebec people as saying, regardless of your popular will, we will dictate the terms of any further discussions on a new political and economic arrangement. This government, and the Premier in particular, argues that to negotiate sovereignty-association would be negotiating the breakup of Canada. Therefore, argue the Premier (Mr. Davis) and others, they will not negotiate sovereignty-association regardless of the results of the May 20 referendum.

That kind of logic does not make sense. It is like an employer telling a union that it cannot bring certain demands to the bargaining table because they would bankrupt the company. I know there is a difference between countries and companies but the analogy is valid, because if there still is one key factor they have in common it is the need to sit down and bargain in good faith. The workers have every right to bring their demands to the bargaining table as does management, and Quebec has every right to bring its demands to a post-referendum conference on a new constitution.

New Democrats believe in the process of free collective bargaining. Provided there is bargaining in good faith, agreements are reached. What is true for labour-management relations can also be true for dealings between the people of Quebec and the rest of Canada. With good faith we can overcome our present difficulties and achieve a new agreement. We have talked to each other in the past and we must continue to do so again.

The fact that we do not like the concept of sovereignty-association is not crucial to the necessity of sitting down with our friends in Quebec. What is crucial, however, is the necessity of saying to the people of Quebec, "We want to talk to you." We must not say that sovereignty-association cannot be on the table for discussion. How outraged we would be if French Canada said to the rest of us that they would not talk to us about anything except sovereignty-association. Of course we must talk about sovereignty-association just as we must talk about a renewed federalism, a new constitution.

Perhaps I can refresh members' memories concerning the position taken by the Pepin-Robarts task force on national unity on this very issue. I quote from it: "If in the course of the next few years Quebecers definitively and democratically decided to secede, ought that decision to be respected and accepted by the rest of Canada? To that question we answer an unequivocal yes."

That was the Pepin-Robarts report, and in it they were talking about secession. If they say that about secession, do we say to the people of Quebec, "We won't even talk to you about sovereignty-association, let alone separatism"? I am opposed to sovereignty-association, but I would never deny French Canadians the right to come and sit down and talk with us about what they decide is their preferred option. I would hope that we could convince the people in Quebec that the French-Canadian nation can thrive, not just within the borders of Quebec, but also all across Canada.

I am appalled at the message being delivered to the people of Quebec. That message is designed to convince them that if they vote yes their decision will not be recognized by the rest of Canada. That message offends my commitment to the democratic process. Our party policy affirms New Democrats' commitment to support a federal Canada. Our party policy also states that New Democrats believe: "The people of Quebec have the right to make their choice without coercion."

We will never build a strong Canada by dictating to French Canada the limits of our discussion with them. I am a strong and confirmed federalist, but I must say that our commitment to a free and open democratic process without coercion or intimidation is absolutely critical if we are to maintain our own integrity. The reaction of those like the Premier who presume to speak for English Canada has been appallingly monolithic and insensitive. This government has decided, in its own wisdom, certainly not the collective wisdom of the people of Ontario, that it will not negotiate sovereignty-association with Quebec.

I am offended by the fact that this government chooses to ignore the views of a very substantial proportion of Ontario's population. According to public opinion polls tabled by this government, more people feel Ontario should negotiate economic union with a separate Quebec, should that be the outcome of the current crisis—and I very much hope that it won't be—than oppose such negotiation. Even when it comes to sovereignty-association, opinion in Ontario is not monolithic. Nearly 40 per cent of Ontario's people want the federal government to negotiate if Quebec votes yes in the referendum.

Yet the Premier, on Monday of this week, had the following to say in his speech: "Sovereignty-association, the polite term for the breakup of Confederation, has no associates in Canada. Negotiations to pursue such

a proposal have no negotiators. As a bargaining weapon, it has as much chance of winning a better deal for Quebec as I have of winning a million dollars playing solitaire. I am confident that I have faithfully represented my province on this matter."

In my view, it is wrong for the Premier of Ontario to go to Quebec and say, "We will not negotiate sovereignty-association." This position is not a true democratic reflection of how the people of this province feel about this very crucial issue.

I began by confirming my commitment to federalism. I would like to conclude by underlining why I believe the federal system provides the framework and the flexibility to respond to the demand for change within Canada.

The federal system is, by its very nature, a system of tension and dynamism, of dialogue and negotiation. If the provinces and the federal government come together to dialogue in good faith, then there is great potential for constructive and positive change to reflect the demands of a developing and maturing nation such as our own.

In the case of Quebec, the province has secured substantial changes in its control over its own affairs since the 1960s. In 1965, for instance, Quebec signed agreements with the French government in matters relating to culture and education. In 1968 and 1969, Quebec sent its own delegation to international conferences on education. Most significantly, in 1964, the Quebec government negotiated an independent scheme for its state-run pension plan, and to date is the only province to have done so.

In the mid-1960s, Quebec also successfully negotiated significant modifications in the cost-sharing programs in the social services field, specifically regarding hospital insurance, old age assistance, and disabled persons' allowances. The Quebec government also secured greater control over its public housing programs.

Quebec separatists argue that the negotiations by which Quebec obtained these changes represented not an enhancement of provincial jurisdictions, but rather a regaining of powers which belonged to the provinces in the first place. This may well be the case, but the obvious point to be made is that since our federal system has provided the flexibility for this shift in powers, there is every reason to believe the mechanism exists for future constructive evolution of our federal system.

I am a democratic socialist, and I am a fervent Canadian nationalist. I believe I

have some sense of the emotions felt by French-Canadian nationalists. I say to our friends in Quebec: We want you to stay. We want to talk to you. We want to bargain with you in good faith so that we can all express our will, as we believe the best expression for French-Canadian nationalism and the fullest expression for Canadian nationalism can best be done in a strong and united Canada, and we should work together to do that for all of us.

6 p.m.

Hon. Mr. Drea: Mr. Speaker, I rise to participate briefly in this debate. I wish to commend the previous speakers not only for their very deep and abiding care and concern for the particular issue that is the focus of our attention, the future of the country, but also for the fact that they have been able to convey that interest and concern to the level of the individual Canadian.

I am sure that in the hours which will follow today, and in the hours tomorrow, the speakers who will follow me will continue to underline and underscore what has been said before.

There is a very fundamental question before the voters of Quebec. I think our role in commenting upon that was best set out by the member for Ottawa East (Mr. Roy), who said that were it another question that was being posed to the residents of Quebec, the question might be raised as to why we would comment upon their right to make a decision.

The question the voters of Quebec are being asked to vote upon—regardless of how one chooses to vote—is one which involves the attitudes and the policies of the other nine provinces as well as of the federal government of Canada.

The Premier of this province (Mr. Davis) has made it abundantly clear that this province will not negotiate sovereignty-association. Other provincial Premiers—some candidly, some probably not as bluntly—have made it plain that they cannot, and will not, negotiate sovereignty-association.

The Prime Minister of this country has made it very plain that the federal government will not negotiate sovereignty-association. Therefore, one concern the voter of Quebec must have, since negotiation involves not just his own province, but also others, is that when he or she casts the ballot, a yes vote is entirely meaningless and entirely futile.

In that vote, there is the concern that the voter of Quebec may be confused as to the

impact or the real meaning of the question. The events of the past few days in this Legislature must put that to rest. There can be no excuse; there can be no rationalization: A vote of yes is a futile vote because what they are voting for cannot happen. Therefore, in one's own conscience, when one casts a yes vote, no one can rationalize, and no one can make apologies about misunderstanding. One must accept responsibility for what that vote means. On that basis, this Legislature has done the people of the entire dominion of Canada a very great service.

The second aspect of the dialogue, because there is little debate, is the underscoring of the very fundamental principle that the people of Canada and the people of Ontario do not want to continue on with the status quo. Whether the status quo involves the rights of provinces or the rights of the federal government, or whether the status quo involves the eminence of regions or the very great disparity that has at least one major region of this country underprivileged, the people will not accept a continuance of the status quo.

That is not to say that the people of this country, the people of this province and the members of this Legislature do not respect and admire the thoughts and abilities of those who framed the British North America Act. The refusal to continue indefinitely the status quo is no reflection on the merits or the historical prominence of the BNA Act. It is a recognition that the British North America Act, with all of the evolvments that come from it, was not the finality for the orderly development in perpetuity of this country.

Instead, it is the recognition that it is a marvellous foundation that has stood the test of more than a century and has stood the test of the change in this country from a rural to an urban society with all of the implications in that. It is one that has stood the test of the industrial revolution and then the technological revolution. It is one that has met the ever-rising expectations of the individuals of this country.

The negotiations for constitutional change will be based upon that foundation. I prefer the word "change" rather than "reform," because the changes that will come are ones that will enhance the orderly development of government and the ordinary development of self, rather than express a concern that something has to be drastically changed if, as individuals or a province or a country, we are to achieve our destiny.

In many areas there is a need for change, for clarification, for adjustment, for balance, for consideration of the matters that simply

were not here 10 years ago, let alone more than a century ago. The Confederation of Canada was achieved as almost an impossible dream.

6:10 p.m.

If the political pundits of today who foresee such a gloomy future for this country had been in their same positions in the 1860s, their forecast then of, first, the achievement of a meaningful Confederation, second, a lasting Confederation and, third, a Confederation that would meet such enormous social, economic and world changes would have been even more gloomy about the initial phase than their long-term outlook for the Canada of tomorrow.

That Confederation was achieved because of the good intentions, the dedication and, above all, the personal contribution of people who were willing to make accommodations and who were willing to see other points of view but who did not engage in the politics of timidity and did not engage in the politics of expediency that any agreement was better than no agreement.

Today the politics of diversity, the politics that some call regionalism and others call provincialism, are not the politics of timidity. Perhaps that is difficult for outsiders to recognize, because nowhere else in the world are the politics of diversity as successful and as beneficial to individual human beings as they are in this country. It is all very well to talk about Europe and certain parts of Asia that have varying forms of multiculturalism. Those forms of multiculturalism are so historic that they were imposed upon those states. There was no alternative but for those states to accept them.

In the New World, the only nation that has made the free choice of enabling its individuals—and not just as tokenism—to preserve, enhance and expand their cultures and their traditions has been Canada. Canada is also the only nation in the New World that has inscribed not only in its documentary procedures, but also as a way of life, that there were two founding groups. It is not a situation whereby we had to accept either founding group as something that was so historic that we could not achieve a nation without it. It was the choice of free people and the recognition of the contributions of both.

When a nation is founded upon principle, when a nation is founded and continues on the basis that there can be dissent, debate and differing views, then quite naturally there is very seldom unanimity. The fact that there is not unanimity in all the degrees and in all

the aspects of the call for constitutional change should not be an inhibition.

The challenge before us is to accept the expansion of time-tested principles which are based upon what was and is right, what was and is orderly. The one concern I have in all this is that there appears to be almost a spirit of euphoria that constitutional change alone will bring about the true destiny of this country. Noble as the intent may be, idealistic as the viewpoint may be, I suggest that we must be realistic.

Thirteen years ago there was a similar euphoria, the road to Expo. Many today look backwards upon centennial year as the high point of Canada. That disturbs me a very great deal, because to me it was only the beginning of the modern or second phase of Canada. But at that time there was such idealism, such good feeling, that the very significant problems that faced us then and still face us today, albeit a little bit more visibly, perhaps more demonstrably, could be overcome by that great spirit of euphoria.

That is the politics of the yellow brick road. There was idealism at the time of Confederation, but there was also realism. There was good intent at the time of Confederation, but Confederation was not made necessarily in its entirety of good intent. It was made of difficult decisions, of fair accommodations and indeed, because it has survived for more than a century, of extremely practical consideration.

Tomorrow, 30 or 31 hours from now, this House will unanimously pass this resolution. To pass it is not the end or the beginning. It is a simple reaffirmation that we are going forward to build, not just a country, not just a society, not just a community, but a total environment that not only will enhance not just the economic sphere and not just the social sphere, but will enhance and bring new meaning into the life of every Canadian.

Mr. McEwen: Mr. Speaker, first, I want to say that I am very pleased to have the opportunity to speak in regard to the situation that exists in our country today.

As the citizens of this country attempt to follow the activities of its political leaders, they cannot help but notice the strong regionalism that exists in Canada. On almost any given day the newspapers are very likely to contain articles about a difference of opinion between the central government and the provincial governments or a similar debate between provincial governments. There are those who would seize on these issues as examples of the failure of the Canadian federation and would therefore despair of Canada's future.

6:20 p.m.

Such doom and gloom fails to recognize that Canada is a federation. As a result, the individual partners in this union have powers which are legitimate and must be recognized. The use of these powers does not in any way indicate a lessened commitment to Canada as a whole. To say that the provincial governments' use of their powers is a threat to Canadian unity is unfair and incorrect.

Federalism is an appropriate form of government for Canada. For too long some Canadians have failed to appreciate that federalism has made this a country which finds strength through diversity. Canadian unity does not hinge on all parts of this country being the same, or on all its people acting the same. What it does entail is that all Canadians must recognize a greater commitment to the wellbeing of the entire country.

This recognition must be accompanied by the acceptance by all Canadians of the deep ties that link people of this province together into one united country. These ties run deeper than purely economic consideration.

It has often been said that Canada is a nation that defies geography. Indeed, any schoolchild can tell one that geography would decree the movement of people and goods would naturally flow north-south and not east-west. In addition, economics would have long ago denied the logic of those pursuing a confederation from sea to sea.

These two observations—that Canada defies geographic and economic considerations—are perhaps clichés, but this is only because they are so obvious and true. It is not true, however, that Canada defies logic. When the conferences which resulted in Confederation were held during the 1860s, Canadian politicians had to decide on the path to be taken by the former British colonies in North America. They came to the conclusion that the differences between the regions were unlikely to disappear and that the federal form of government would provide the means to reconcile differences. From these beginnings has sprung the historic preference of Canadians for conciliation over confrontation.

While in the past there has not always been unanimity, we have had unity. The people of Canada can take pride in a system which does not force one political opinion over all participants. Rather, it allows differences to be aired so that solutions may be found. Within this system, Canada has provided a wide range of opportunities for people from all provinces. Consider how different the lives of Canadians would have been if

they had been forced to confine themselves to one province or one region of our country. I believe it is at this personal emotional level that we must consider the benefits of federalism.

This great nation of ours has found strength through diversity, not only at the level of intergovernmental relations, but also in the lives of individual Canadians. Their lives have been made more rewarding because we, as people, have been made aware time and again that differences between people are not barriers to co-operation and trust. There is no provincial border which even remotely represents a barrier to freedom or goodwill. There is no Canadian who would deny himself access to the opportunities which can be found throughout our federation. Surely all Canadians realize that these opportunities exist not only because of our approach to political unity, but also because individual Canadians have been raised on the good common sense which is the basis of courtesy, respect and goodwill between people of different backgrounds.

I said earlier that Canadian unity has not entailed unanimity, but Canadians can be unanimous in taking pride in our country. This pride is justified by our ability to overcome geographic and economic obstacles, to create a country with one of the highest standards of living in the world.

While I could go on for some length about our economic strengths, they are by no means my only reason for supporting Canadian unity. There are many things in life that can be put on a ledger or added up on a balance sheet, but the future of this country is certainly not one of them. Canadian unity has preserved for all of us things that money cannot buy. We can justly take pride in the multicultural heritage of Canada and the way in which native-born Canadians traditionally have recognized the contribution made by all ethnic groups which have made Canada their home.

We can also take pride in Canada's role on the international scene. Negotiations, discussions and expressions of loyalty to the concept of peace and democracy, which have always been taken for granted in Canada, are the exception rather than the rule throughout most of the world.

While in a typical newspaper we see articles on problems within Canada, we also see articles describing acts of terrorism and civil war between groups which have abandoned all hope of finding a peaceful settlement of their differences. Indeed, some nations have never brought their differences

to a conference table, and in some cases no hope has ever been expressed that a peaceful settlement can be found.

Canada has had a great tradition of peace-making during international crises. We have played a leading role in the League of Nations and, later, at the United Nations. Our armed forces have been an integral part of the UN peacekeeping forces in Cyprus, in Indochina, and in the Middle East. I am sure we all remember this country's justifiable pride when Lester Pearson was awarded the Nobel peace prize for his efforts in bringing about reconciliation in the Suez Canal incident.

If we cannot find a basis for settling our own discord, this country's voice for reconciliation and compromise will lose its credibility. In a world where so few people enjoy the many benefits which we have as Canadians, our failure to solve our internal dissensions would surely severely damage the hope of other nations finding a peaceful solution to their problems. At this time in our history, we here in Canada are in a unique position to show a world troubled by discord and disunity that people of good will can reconcile differences and reduce tensions.

In a federation, the partners in the union are not expected to agree on all details of day-to-day life. In fact, the federal system provides for airing disagreements among the partners. Today, with various members of the Canadian federation voicing their unhappiness with the present arrangements, a new form of federalism is being discussed openly and honestly. It is a discussion that does not bury the differences but airs them so that a solution satisfactory to all parties can be found.

There is much that must still be done to make Canada a better, more united country. We must reach out to those who are dissatisfied with the present system and work towards bridging the gap between diversified groups within our federation. We can do this only by continuing to respect our varied characteristics and by giving new life to our tradition of mutual goodwill within Canadian federalism.

What can Canadian federalism achieve that 10 separate provinces could not? The answers are obvious when one realizes we are pooling not only our physical and economic resources but our human resources as well.

The trade in goods and services that goes on between provinces is only part of the movement of ideas and people that all countries should enjoy. By working for a new federalism for Canada, the interchange of resources should be enhanced, so that we can

take new strength from our country's existence.

Confederation remains a good deal for all Canadians. It provides us with a free and open country, with room to grow and prosper. It has permitted our development as a sovereign nation and strengthened every ethnic group within it, because of the respect that federalism gives to different people of different regions. We are therefore not burdens to each other, united by a fear of the unknown, but partners in a great country which can grow even greater.

Our nation is rich in resources and resourcefulness, and I say with all confidence that people from every province will resist the pressures that challenge our unity. Clearly, at this time we need to retain and strengthen the legacy of those who worked together to create Confederation, a difficult task which required the co-operation of people from all regions. Those people saw in Canada what most Canadians see today: unrivalled opportunities for freedom, for growth and for individual civil liberties.

6:30 p.m.

Unfortunately, our history is taught in a way that makes it seem boring and dull. Lists are given of important dates and the men and women who achieved great things against tremendous odds. But the true history of our country, like the true history of any country, is made up of the day-to-day stories, the exchanges and the co-operation of people from various social backgrounds, ethnic origins and different regions.

Canadians have drawn from every possible source in order to advance our culture, our economy, our society and our country. If we had not been united, could we have lasted out the great Depression? Without unity, would we have been able to take the role that we did in the two world wars? Could we have provided the social services which exist to help those in need throughout the country? In fact, would we have survived until now but for Canadian federalism?

We need to retain and strengthen the flexibility which has been an essential part of our federation at the same time as we attempt to refine and adapt it to present-day politics. The flexibility which is built into our system has permitted, and will continue to permit, accommodation and change. Because of this flexibility, I believe that Canadian unity today does not face a threat. Rather, it faces a challenge to respond to fair and just demands for change. I believe we should face this challenge with a determination combined with optimism. Canadian federalism has always

needed to respond to change. The differences of opinion which exist in Canada today are not new. What is new is that they are now being presented with a greater forcefulness. I do not believe we should be disheartened by this forcefulness. We have responded to great challenges in the past and we shall do so at the present time. However, we must retain our willingness to compromise.

The conditions which encouraged the Fathers of Confederation are still present today, and we should consider this a major reason for working together. Together we can preserve our historical heritage and our multicultural background, and we can maintain the atmosphere of respect and trust that has been the core of Canadian federalism. Canada has always been, and is today, a great country, a country which is second to none. To splinter it would be a tragedy.

The benefits that we Canadians enjoy justify a sense of pride and patriotism. Patriotism does not lie in being faithful to just one small part of our country. For Canada, it lies in being proud of all this great and beautiful country, from the rugged Pacific coastline to the Atlantic Ocean. Therefore, I do not believe that we should negotiate sovereignty-association, because we know this is another way of saying separation. I do believe that a no vote should be a signal to begin the process of renewing Canadian federalism, a process that we are eager to undertake with Quebec, the other provinces and the federal government.

I support the resolution which is before this House. In closing, I appeal to all Canadians to be proud of this homeland with all of its diversity. Let us draw on this diversity to build a unity which graces our differences. If we can succeed in the great endeavour of preserving a nation which has overcome its internal obstacles, we shall be the envy of other countries and, I hope, we will encourage others to follow our example.

Finally, I appeal to all Canadians to stand up and be counted when it comes time to demonstrate our faith in our future together and our trust in the goodwill of our fellow citizens.

Mr. Lawlor: Thank you very much, Mr. Speaker. Cry the beloved country! This will not be an inspired or inspiring speech. It will be limited to largely concrete matters, the division of powers within a new constitution, an abstract concreteness, I suppose, the terms of which would be such as would be in a new constitution itself. First, may I say that I agree with the sentiments of most of my colleagues in this House on both

sides of the assembly about the beloved country and our recognition and concern, which is not only economic or in any way primarily economic, but for the true aspirations, distinctiveness and heritage of the people of Quebec. This is not a time for partisanship here or anywhere else. We must for a few minutes seek to become statesmen. However, soon that begins to dissipate.

We are ready and willing in Ontario, even anxious, for change and ask the people of Quebec to participate with us like brothers and sisters in a common destiny. For us too, "*Le cœur a ses raisons que la raison ignore*," as Pascal said. The heart has its reasons of which reason does not know.

For a long time, since law school days when I studied constitutional law under our prime federalist, leaving aside Pierre, the now Chief Justice Bora Laskin, I dreamed of assisting in the writing of a new constitution. It was needed 35 years ago, but with even a small group of people it was too massive, too formidable an undertaking to tackle. Today it is much easier because of the numerous studies, assessments and reports which have been forthcoming in recent years from the western provinces and from a dozen groups.

The five major documents on which this speech is based are the Ryan, or beige, paper; the Pepin-Robarts report, which report has great merit and regretfully—I think we all say regretfully—was shelved, disregarded when it might easily have been taken up; the Ontario Advisory Committee on Confederation which I term the Macdonald Study; and the fine work, generally speaking, done in the Canadian Bar Association report, *Towards a Better Canada*.

Any one of these reports might be taken as a basis for discussion on negotiations for a new constitution. All four of these together, with others, disclose striking resemblances internally, anglophone and francophone or concordances of thinking among them. It would take several hours to go over and analyse these reports and I have only 20 minutes, and besides, it is the basic job of the new select committee of this House being set up under this resolution.

We are for profound constitutional change, not simply to meet Quebec's legitimate aspirations but because the British North America Act is archaic and does not at present meet the needs of all the people of Canada. Rene Levesque's proposals are, as another great French speaker, Charles de Gaulle, said, "inacceptable," because they are unworkable,

and for other reasons which I hope to get a chance to set out. Now, to get to work:

I shall for convenience and because of its relative logic, clarity, distinctiveness—the old Cartesian categories—and magnanimity use Claude Ryan's so-called beige paper as the basis of my remarks. It can be well used as a pregnant starting point for any reform. Basically, I agree with Ryan with certain serious reservations, as the House will see. A considerable measure of decentralization is necessary if this country is to survive or be saved, and I have not just Quebec in mind.

Taking point by point, as far as I can get within the limits of this speech, the various matters that a new constitution must contain, let us take a look at the several reports involved. The first area would be what Ryan calls unilateral powers. Those are those very broad and vague powers utilized in or outside our constitution as at present written, which many of the provinces, and for quite justifiable reasons, feel invade their territory, impinge upon what they think is their right and have been construed to do that over the years.

6:40 p.m.

The first of the powers is the power of reservation and disallowance and Ryan says abolish it. Curiously, the Pepin-Robarts report says the same thing and the Macdonald study doesn't discuss the matter particularly. Some mention of it is made in the Canadian Bar review but not very much because I think they take the same position, they don't place the matter under severe discussion.

The declaratory power, that power of declaring a work for the general advantage of Canada, et cetera, which has been used quite invalidly on occasion and sometimes supported in that regard in the old days by the Privy Council which set it up, Ryan says abolish and so do I. Pepin-Robarts says keep it but subject to the consent of the province involved. The Canadian Bar Association review wants a two-thirds majority of what it calls the upper house unless the province concerned agrees.

In terms of the spending power, that critical power, that's a shared-cost program. Ryan would retain the spending power, which may be quite surprising because others take great exception to it, they want to limit it severely. He would retain it, but in fields where that power, the new spending policy, impinges upon provincial jurisdiction, he wants that two-thirds majority, which I find questionable, of what he calls his federal council to agree to it, and the right of the province to opt out and get compensation in

the process. The opting-out formula and the compensation thing seem to me perfectly acceptable and valid.

On the residual powers of the constitution called the peace, order and good government clause, Ryan basically comes down on the side of putting those powers, the residual powers, those powers that are not spelled out as belonging to anybody, where they fall and on whoever has possession of them—until now, under the federal constitution, the federal government has taken them—Ryan said it should be the provinces and, hold on to your hats, so does Pepin-Robarts and so does the Canadian Bar Association review and so does Macdonald's report.

They have a consensus on this particular issue and it would be a matter of negotiation of when they come together or lock horns, but bear it well in mind that there is a strong case which I, at this moment—I could change my mind—am in fundamental agreement with, that the province should have the residual power and that is a major step because it is a reversal of the whole present situation and would appease many provincial sensibilities.

It doesn't, to my opinion, hurt the federal government all that much because it will retain an emergency power and will retain a spending power besides the enumerative powers that would be negotiated for. Once that is all set down, then it would be possible to take a major step forward in conciliation, in coming to terms, et cetera.

The emergency power—Ryan says that should be retained. Again, there are all kinds of critics who say that iniquitous power ought to be abolished, but Ryan doesn't go that far. He says it should be retained and be retained under certain circumstances, again impinging upon provincial jurisdiction, again two-thirds vote in the federal House, that federal assembly that he put forward.

And so for those basic vague powers. Coming down to a series of other matters, Ryan suggests all judges in the province be appointed by the province, and I can see no harm in that. I would like to hear counter arguments against that and no doubt we will eventually hear those. At the present time, the federal government appoints Supreme Court judges and county court judges and the province appoints the lower court judges. This proposal is that the provinces should have appointment power over all levels of judgement except, of course, the Supreme Court of this country.

In constitutional matters Ryan says there should be court of parity, an equal number of French Canadian or Quebec judges and

judges coming from the rest of Canada to adjudicate constitutional issues. In that narrow area, I think that again it can be well accepted. To save this country I think we're going to have to make some moves in this direction and be very open with respect to these things. If an odd thing sticks in the craw, we'll just take a long drink of water and get it down.

In terms of penitentiaries and parole, Ryan says turn them over to the provinces. Our federal penitentiary system is in such a lamentable condition that we couldn't do anything better. Besides, our present system is truncated with the reformatories under provincial and the penitentiaries under federal, and the two-years-plus-a-day business all the time. That can be resolved. Why shouldn't the provinces, if they want it, accept that responsibility—and Ryan wants to accept that.

In international relationships, the provinces will have a role. I think that's to be conceded to them. We've always exercised it informally and outside the constitution. Ontario House in London—no one has ever raised an objection. I'm sure it is unconstitutional, but what a delightful place to visit.

The province is to have a role, but the federal government is to retain its traditional role, except in treaties and matters pertaining to provincial jurisdiction when the consent of the province concerned would be required. The provinces may establish offices abroad, acting subject to the federal diplomatic policy, and conclude their own treaties in matters within provincial jurisdiction within the overall diplomatic framework and foreign policy of the country.

Wouldn't that go a long way to meeting the objections of Rene Levesque and others who take off for North Africa and former French colonies, et cetera, and under our present system are obliged, much against their will, I'm sure, to thumb their nose as they go.

Citizenship would be exclusively federal and all these reports all agree to that.

Immigration—Ryan says this should be a shared responsibility. The feds authorize the entry, the provinces participate in the selection, and the Pepin-Robarts report advocates that. In other words, there is a concurrence there, with divided jurisdiction, where they work together. Surely the province should have a role since the new immigrants coming in become the responsibility of the provinces in a very direct way, in the business of settlement and training, and have a voice as to the selection that would go on.

In taxation—now we're getting to the nub of the bourgeois virtues—things begin to stir.

Who cares about other things? Ryan, and I think all the others too, say—and we've all said it for a long time and done nothing about it—that both levels of government ought to be able to tax by any means they wish, excluding tariffs and custom duties which would be a federal responsibility. I don't think I have to labour that proposition.

In monetary matters—and here's where Rene Levesque joins the entourage—he wants a monetary union. How self-serving can you get—to give nothing and to want to retain whatever benefits there are. Ryan says that should be exclusively federal. The control of banking, regulations of interest, foreign currency, competition policy, the federal companies strictly as federal enterprises, all fall within the federal jurisdiction. Provincial jurisdiction covers co-ops, trust, insurance and loan companies.

I would go one step beyond Ryan in this matter. I would give recognition—official, constitutional recognition—to provincial banks. They all exist now. Two banks amalgamated recently in British Columbia. We even have our own, believe it or not. We've come that far forward. So why shouldn't the provinces be given that authority, of course, within a central banking system, as would be necessary?

Marriage and divorce and juvenile law all should be provincial. There are reservations in the bar report. They say the divorce law should continue to be handled by the federal government, to get uniformity of divorce grounds and procedures right across the country. These matters are very close to the heart and I think the more local they are, probably the better-handled they are. There can be arrangements among the provinces as to mutual recognition in this regard.

6:50 p.m.

Defence really bothers me. What does Rene Levesque say about defence, except for some vague mouthings to the effect that he is prepared to carry out some obligations vis-à-vis NATO on the one side and try to make some accommodations with the rest of the country? If one starts making accommodations in defence, they reach very deep indeed into the whole financial apparatus of the country and into the contributions being made.

In effect, what Levesque does, as I read it, is to strip us of defence, as some countries do—and do rather well—by not spending any money; they rely on others to do that, according to the domestic economy, to their own aggrandizement. We have some responsibilities in this regard, and so has Rene Levesque.

However appealing a human being he may be, he is intransigent in the extreme. My re-

marks are all predicated upon the fact that one really cannot deal with him. He may be only holding a posture at the moment in this referendum, but he can hardly back up, having taken such adamant positions. The repudiation by his own people, who have supported him throughout this thing, would be too great. He does not leave himself any room whatsoever, and has not indicated the slightest interest in doing so. How is it possible to negotiate subsequently, even as he is appealing to the Quebec people on that very ground that he wants a mandate to negotiate?

Negotiate what? Negotiate a community council on his terms? Will one get complete parity and a double veto on every conceivable important issue under the sun? Sometimes it is difficult in the United Nations to keep the assembly going, but they have to do it, perforce, if there is to be any world stability at all.

We are not quite in the same position as that. On the first veto, I am sure the whole apparatus, the house of cards, would fall apart. This extends all the way down into his court of justice and his monetary authority, where he does make the only concession that he ever made. He says that monetary authority ought to be proportional to provincial products and Canadian products in terms of numbers, but he immediately, of course, takes away with the left hand what he has just given with the right by saying that it can be appealed up to the council when the veto exists.

Then there is trade. Ryan says interprovincial and international trade are basically federal and so do all the others. There is federal primacy and no provincial veto. As to bankruptcy, Ryan says personal bankruptcy ought to be in the provincial jurisdiction and commercial bankruptcies of all kinds in the federal. It does not seem to me to make much difference. I do not feel we are going to have a civil imbroglio as to where bankruptcy resides, whether up in Ottawa or down at Osgoode Hall. It could be provincial. The provinces could handle it, except for criminal law which has to be federal.

My next topic is the areas of disagreement, as though I have not got a few already. One is with respect to the proposed Senate—what Ryan calls the federal council and Robarts calls the council of the federation. There are all sorts of flowery terms, as for racehorses, in connection with this new assembly body. I believe the body to be absolutely critical, necessary to have. The Senate has to be abolished and something substituted. There must be a buffer, it seems to me, between those two levels of government.

The meeting of the first ministers has not really worked over the years, and even the meeting of the second ministers has not done very well. Therefore, we are going to have to have some middle, balancing mechanism. I do not think it will be elected because that sets up a parallel competing house against the House of Commons in Ottawa. It, therefore, has to be appointed. The question is, and it is a hard enough question to deal with, how appointed? Does one use proportional methods in the process of dealing with it? I leave that kind of thing open, and this is precisely the point of the discussion. But such a House has to exist.

Where I find my greatest aggravation with Ryan is that he says a very broad area of things has to have a two-thirds approval in that House, many fiscal matters and anything impinging upon the provinces. Everything touches the provinces one way or another these days.

Mr. Acting Speaker: Maybe the member can continue this in the budget debate.

Mr. Lawlor: What is that curious light doing on there?

Mr. Acting Speaker: It is the first time we have had it in this House.

Mr. Lawlor: I will finish up very quickly. This country is and can be a marvellous, unique and historical experiment, a coming together of many peoples, but particularly of the two founding peoples. The vision of a homeland and a demesne of the north, uniting two distinct cultures, both with diverse and complementary native ways and languages, enriched by many other racial and linguistic traditions is, and can be, if we have the will, a sense of sacrifice, and the dedication a beacon to the world and the fulcrum of an enhanced destiny for each and all of us.

The active presence and contribution of Quebec in this mosaic is the *raison d'être* of this country. It is our genius and our possible contribution to the world. In separation, Canada would lose its soul. I believe such a folly would be as detrimental to Quebec in its new sense of direction, in its precious cultural heritage, its linguistic integrity and, lastly, in its straight economic interests, as it would be to the rest of the country—probably more detrimental.

We need Quebec and Quebec needs us simply to be and grow as a just and compassionate society. Quebec has suffered much wrong for too long a time. I acknowledge this and, personally, I deeply regret it, but we are willing to change and to meet more

than half way the legitimate aspirations of Quebec and others.

By the bowels of Christ, let us sit down, talk and set some harmony in this Canadian house which we all ineluctably share and love. Cry the beloved country!

Hon. Mr. McCague: Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to participate in this debate and particularly pleased that my friends, the member for Stormont-Dundas-Glengarry (Mr. Villeneuve) and the Provincial Secretary for Resources Development (Mr. Brunelle) are here this evening. As members know, the member for Stormont-Dundas-Glengarry has spent 32 years in service to the people of Ontario and Canada. Members will be pleased to know that the Provincial Secretary for Resources Development will celebrate his 22nd year in this House on Monday. I know and members know they understand what this debate is all about much better than do some of us on both sides of this House.

In the course of this Confederation debate there have been several interesting historical references to the people who shaped the pattern of relations between Ontario and Quebec. We have heard about Lafontaine and Baldwin and their creative solutions to the problems of the early reform movement. The deep personal commitment of men like Macdonald and Laurier produced the first evidence that the true differences of a bi-cultural country could be fostered by a national government. I have a different kind of reference to make, but one that I believe clearly describes the kind of effort Canadians have been capable of in the process of building their country.

My constituency includes part of Simcoe county, named for the first Lieutenant Governor of Upper Canada, John Graves Simcoe. Simcoe is possibly best remembered as a capable civil administrator who laid out the first roads in the colony. I refer to him because of his efforts to establish, while the country was still young, a British province based on the traditional aristocratic principles of class structure and hereditary privilege. His vision of a new colony permitted the development of the Family Compact and brought Canadians quickly to a crossroads in their history. Simcoe failed to see that the electorate would refuse to be stratified in this system and within a generation the Family Compact came under attack.

7 p.m.

Among those items that record Simcoe's place in this country was the fact he was the representative of a system that Canadians

ultimately chose to reject. It is not a very flattering reference to Simcoe, but the reason I raise it is it shows quite clearly that Canadians made a conscious choice in those early days about the kind of Canada they envisaged. Responsible government for both Ontario and Quebec was the logical result, and the next generation set its mind to the task of nation-building.

My constituency of Dufferin-Simcoe was settled at the beginning of the last century by Irish, Scottish and English immigrants, most of whom made their homes on the farms. It is still very much a farming community, although, with industrialization and the proximity of the city, the split between urban and rural is now about equal.

It appears to me that the people of Quebec have a perception of rural Ontario that might lead them to think we have little in common. We tend to be perceived as reluctant to change and accepting the status quo. Whatever the reason for this might be, I believe if we were to take a closer look at the people of Dufferin-Simcoe, we might find we have more in common with a similar community in Quebec than may be evident at first glance.

Everyone knows what a small community is like. We work hard. We go to church. We are good neighbours. We have a strong sense of community and understand the strength that comes from working together to achieve common goals. We have a deep emotional commitment to Confederation and the historic ties that link us to other provinces. We are not cosmopolitan. We tend to stick close to home simply because that is where we feel most comfortable.

In a country such as ours, with its variety of people and languages and cultures, we understand it isn't realistic to think we should feel completely at home wherever we go, but that doesn't stop us from travelling. What makes us proud of our country is that wherever we may visit we are treated with respect.

It is true we are not quick to change, and at times that might make us appear unwilling to change, but that is a characteristic common to all small communities, whether it be a town in British Columbia or a farming community in the Eastern Townships. I think you will find that we make a special effort where our children are concerned because we naturally recognize what is best for them and for their future.

While many of my generation may not speak French, we are proud that our children do. We may not take many vacations in

Quebec, but we find it exciting that our children travel there on a school trip or a hockey exchange. It is reassuring to see that they are at ease with a second language and coping very well on their own in a different culture. It is a small thing, but it still makes us very proud of them.

I say these things to show that, for all our differences, there is much we have in common. I have tried to show that whatever the perception may be, we are sensitive to the concerns at present being expressed in Quebec. I have tried to explain there is a growing realization, especially among our young people, that there is a genuine need for change. After 100 years, it should not surprise any of us that the constitution is in need of review.

For my contribution to the debate, Mr. Speaker, I would like to join with my colleague in support of this resolution and urge that we seize upon this opportunity to strengthen the partnership that has served this country so well.

Mr. Peterson: *Merci M. l'Orateur, je veux dire que ça me fait bien plaisir de vous adresser la parole aujourd'hui au sujet du référendum et de l'avenir de notre pays. A mon avis, c'est un débat de très grande importance.*

Je veux dire que je suis très fier de tous mes collègues de la Législature, de l'esprit et des paroles qu'ils ont dites au sujet de mon pays et du pays de tous les Canadiens.

Je veux dire que j'ai eu l'opportunité, M. l'Orateur, de voyager au Québec et d'étudier dans le petit village de Trois Pistoles. C'est un joli petit village sur la rive sud Saint-Laurent. Il y a une école d'été de l'université de Western Ontario. Comme vous savez c'est dans la circonscription de London Centre. J'ai passé deux étés là en étudiant le français. J'ai fait la connaissance de beaucoup de Québécois, et j'espère à ce moment de l'histoire de ce pays qu'ils ont la même impression de leur pays que moi-même. J'espère qu'après le référendum nous pourrions dire que nous avons choisi notre pays ensemble, et nous pouvons fabriquer ensemble une nouvelle constitution, un nouvel arrangement pour ce pays.

Et je veux dire, il importe beaucoup au cours d'un débat sur l'avenir de la confédération de souligner les liens affectifs qui nous unissent les uns aux autres et qui nous attachent à notre pays. On doit prendre également un certain recul pour réfléchir aux raisons économiques, commerciales et pratiques, et nous devons souhaiter vivement la survie du Canada en tant que pays formé de

dix provinces et de deux territoires. Les provinces et les régions de notre pays ont besoin les uns des autres. Cent treize ans de confédération ont prouvé que l'interdépendance et le partage des richesses qui caractérisent le Canada profitent à tous.

Nul autre pays n'offre une démonstration aussi éclatante du fait que le tout est plus grand que la somme de ses parties. Lorsque le gouvernement du Canada décide d'encourager et d'aider financièrement une entreprise canadienne qui réside dans une partie du pays, c'est nous tous qui en profitons. La raison de notre activité économique a toujours été la redistribution de nos richesses. Différentes régions sont ainsi venues en aide aux autres à diverses époques de notre histoire.

7:10 p.m.

De 1961 à 1972, l'Ontario, le Manitoba, la Colombie-Britannique ont acheté le pétrole canadien à un prix supérieur à celui du pétrole importé. Les subsides ainsi affectés à la production de pétrole en Alberta et en Saskatchewan ont dépassé \$600,000,000. Depuis 1973 en revanche, les prix internationaux de pétrole et de gaz sont plus élevés que les prix canadiens. Ce sont donc l'Alberta et la Saskatchewan qui aident maintenant les provinces consommatrices à supporter les prix élevés du pétrole et du gaz.

Depuis l'époque déjà reculée de la politique nationale de Sir John A. Macdonald qui présidait le premier aux destinées de notre pays, nous avons adopté une politique d'encouragement à toute région et à tout secteur dont le potentiel nous semblait de nature à profiter à tous les Canadiens. L'un des buts de cette politique nationale a été de favoriser la croissance de nos secteurs manufacturiers en augmentant les droits de douanes aux articles fabriqués à l'étranger de 17 pour cent à 30 pour cent. Ce système permet aux producteurs canadiens d'augmenter le prix des articles à un montant juste un peu inférieur au tarif. Cela revient à imposer une taxe indirecte au consommateur pour soutenir les industries protégées. Dans ce cas particulier, le secteur manufacturier important surtout, Monsieur l'Orateur, au Québec et en Ontario le tarif a donc engendré une source de subvention considérable pour le Québec et pour l'Ontario.

Il y a d'autres exemples, peut-être moins frappants, d'avantages économiques qui favorisent une action coordonnée. Il est impossible d'estimer la valeur en dollars des services offerts par le gouvernement national.

On peut toutefois tenir pour acquis que chaque province réalise des économies non négligeables du fait qu'Ottawa se charge de

la représentation diplomatique, de certains aspects de l'application des lois et la protection militaire, de la promotion de nos ventes à l'étranger, de la recherche scientifique, de la protection des pêcheries, des services de main-d'œuvre et des réseaux de communication.

La Confédération est également source d'autres bénéfices qui échappent à nos calculs. Comment évaluer, par exemple, les gains réalisés par chaque province au niveau du développement économique grâce aux sommes que contribue le gouvernement fédéral aux chemins de fer, aux routes, aux ports, aux aéroports? Les avantages issus de la libre circulation des produits, de la main-d'œuvre et des capitaux partout au Canada? Des profits apportés par les travailleurs qui font des études dans une province pour ensuite travailler dans une autre? S'il semble indéniable que toutes les provinces bénéficient des services communs offerts par le gouvernement fédéral, on entend encore trop souvent répéter que la redistribution des richesses au Canada se traduit en l'enrichissement de l'une ou de plusieurs provinces aux dépens des autres. Pourtant, rien n'est plus faux. L'existence même d'une société canadienne plus grande, plus variée et plus capable que ne le serait n'importe quelle province prise isolément, présente d'énormes avantages.

Tout d'abord, comme je l'ai déjà mentionné, nous partageons les frais généraux qui couvrent l'administration et le maintien des services utilisés partout au pays. Viennent ensuite les avantages de notre marché commun intérieur. Le marché canadien est suffisamment large pour permettre l'existence d'une industrie de l'automobile, d'une industrie sidérurgiques, d'une industrie de produits chimiques et d'articles ménagers, des industries du textile. Ce genre d'activités ne pourrait exister dans la plupart des provinces prises isolément en raison des cycles de production plus grands qui assurent la rentabilité.

Constituant un marché unique, le Canada peut se lancer dans une production plus spécialisée et plus efficace dans de nombreux secteurs. Nous profitons également des échanges interprovinciaux en matière de recherche et de développement technologiques. C'est d'ailleurs mon dernier argument. En tant que pays, notre réserve de personnes-ressources est beaucoup plus considérable que celui de n'importe quelle province. Quant à nos relations avec le reste du monde, il va sans dire qu'un Canada uni a un pouvoir de négociation autrement plus fort dans le contexte commercial hautement compétitif du monde actuel qu'aucune des provinces prises séparément.

Nous participons aux importantes rencontres des pays industrialisés de concert avec les Etats-Unis, la Grande-Bretagne, l'Allemagne, le Japon, la France et l'Italie.

Lors des négociations qui ont abouti aux accords du GATT, il nous a été déjà assez difficile de nous faire entendre en tant que pays. Il est certain qu'une région ou une province à elle seule n'aurait pas une voix forte. Maintenant que les accords ont été conclus, nous avons plus que jamais besoin d'un vaste marché national intégré pour préserver nos industries et pour tirer profit de la libéralisation qui va marquer le commerce international.

Il suffit d'observer les relations qui unifient le Québec et l'Ontario pour réaliser que nous avons bien des choses que nous partageons outre nos frontières communes. Nos deux provinces sont l'une et l'autre vastes, riches en ressources naturelles et humaines et nous constituons ensemble le pivot de l'activité manufacturière au Canada. Nos deux provinces sont pareillement concernées par l'avenir de nos secteurs manufacturiers et ont le même désir de les soutenir et de les encourager autant que faire se peut.

L'Ontario et tout particulièrement le Québec dépendent l'un et l'autre fortement du marché intérieur pour la vente de leurs produits manufacturiers. En 1974, l'Ontario a vendu plus de 78 pour cent de ses produits manufacturiers à l'intérieur du Canada et 21 pour cent à l'extérieur. La dépendance du Québec envers le marché national était et demeure encore plus grande. Quatre-vingt-cinq pour cent de ses produits fabriqués étaient vendus au Canada contre 14 pour cent à l'étranger. La plus grande partie du commerce national de produits manufacturiers s'effectue entre l'Ontario et le Québec.

En 1974, les ventes de l'Ontario au Québec dépassaient les \$300,000,000. Le Québec est réellement un marché de très grande importance pour l'Ontario.

Bien que l'Ontario est son principal acheteur, le Québec tire d'avantage de profits en termes de balance commerciale intérieure de ses ventes au reste du Canada. Il est bien connu qu'une grande partie de l'activité manufacturière du Québec s'exerce dans les secteurs mous, c'est à dire dans les domaines qui ont besoin d'une importante protection tarifaire pour soutenir la compétition.

En 1974, le Québec a vendu pour plus de six milliards de dollars de produits manufacturiers au reste du Canada dont plus de \$358 millions provenaient d'industries telles que le tricot qui jouissent d'une protection tarifaire supérieure à 20 pour cent, tandis que 1.7 milliards provenaient d'industries dont la

protection tarifaire se chiffrait à 10 pour cent, et 3.6 milliards des industries jouissant d'une protection tarifaire de plus de 5 pour cent.

Plus encore que l'Ontario, les exportateurs Québécois ont besoin non seulement d'avoir accès au marché canadien pour vendre leurs produits manufacturiers mais aussi de bénéficier de la politique tarifaire du Canada qui empêche l'importation de produits qui feraient concurrence au Québec sur le marché intérieur. La politique tarifaire au Canada a permis à l'Ontario comme au Québec de bénéficier de subsides considérables. Bien que des changements soient prévus aux termes de GATT, il a maintenu dans une large mesure la protection canadienne dans les secteurs mous tels que les vêtements, les textiles et les chaussures.

Si l'on pousse l'analyse au delà du Québec et de l'Ontario, on se rend compte que si le volume d'échange est moins important, l'interdépendance des provinces est cependant très grande en ce qui concerne les produits manufacturiers.

En moyenne le commerce interprovincial compte pour 25 pour cent du mouvement de produits manufacturés au Canada. Le reste du Canada est un important marché pour les produits manufacturiers de chaque province.

En 1974, la Colombie-Britannique a vendu plus de 14 pour cent de sa production aux autres provinces, les Maritimes, 18 pour cent, les Prairies, 23 pour cent, l'Ontario, 24 pour cent et le Québec, Monsieur l'Orateur, 31 pour cent, plus que 31 pour cent. Le Québec était la province qui dépendait le plus du marché intérieur canadien. Les statistiques parlent d'elles-mêmes.

7:20 p.m.

Nous avons besoin l'un de l'autre. Nos gouvernements provinciaux et national ont reconnu cette interdépendance et ont travaillé ensemble lors des rencontres fédérales-provinciales pour renforcer notre pacte économique et industriel sur le plan national comme sur le plan international.

Nous avons fini par reconnaître que la vigueur des régions est la raison de la vigueur du pays tout entier. A cet égard, les mesures d'encouragement du ministre de l'Expansion économique régionale ont joué un rôle de très grande importance et ont encouragé la croissance des régions moins dynamiques du Canada. Toutes les provinces ont tiré profit du soutien ainsi apporté.

En 1978, le financement de MEER s'élève à 68 millions de dollars en Colombie-Britannique, plus que 602 millions dans les Prairies, presque 200 millions en Ontario, 1 milliard au Québec et 1.5 milliard dans les provinces de l'Atlantique.

Il y a plusieurs années, les 4 premiers ministres des provinces de l'Ouest déclaraient dans un communiqué à la fin d'une rencontre: La force et la raison d'être du Canada sont fondées sur le fait que les régions se complètent et que les points forts et les faiblesses s'équilibrent.

Un oui au référendum signifierait un bouleversement radical de nos rapports, dont les conséquences seraient néfastes pour tous. Un non nous permettrait de renforcer nos liens économiques tout en effectuant les changements nécessaires pour renouveler et revitaliser notre système fédéral.

Merci, Monsieur le Président.

Mr. McClellan: Mr. Speaker, as I take my turn in this constitutional debate I want to speak to a couple of themes. Firstly, we in this party are stating our commitment to negotiate a new set of relationships among Canadians. Our party is insisting on that commitment, regardless of the vote on May 20. I said negotiate a set of new relationships; I did not say negotiate sovereignty-association. I will come back to that later in my speech.

One of the most creative, imaginative and helpful suggestions put forward in this debate so far is the proposal by my colleague the member for Riverdale (Mr. Renwick) for a constitutional convention of Canadians—not first ministers, but Canadians—to write a new constitution. That seems to me to be a brilliant suggestion for the proper forum for the negotiations. I encourage all members to give serious thought to that proposal.

Another theme I wish to discuss is what we negotiate and what things Ontario will negotiate. We know what Quebec wants. Quebec has been rebuilding its institutions for the past 20 years. The two documents, the beige paper by Claude Ryan and the white paper of the Parti Québécois, tell us what Quebec wants. The question we have to answer is what does Ontario want? Here we are confronted with a major failure of the government to give leadership, failure over the years, failure in recent months and, I must say regrettably, failure even during the course of this debate.

It is clear to me we need a select committee of this Legislature, if for no other reason than to force the government to think out its position. I want, therefore, to spend most of my time in this debate addressing at least a part of the question: What does Ontario want? I want to try to make some specific suggestions. I want to do this in the area that is closest to my own heart and in the area most closely associated with the history of the CCF and the NDP, that is, the area of social policy.

In the area of social policy—and I may say in all other areas—we know what Quebec wants. Let me cite very briefly from Claude Ryan's document. On page 93, he recommends, "The constitution should reserve and redefine a complete jurisdiction over the fields of health and social services for the provinces." He goes on to say, "The provinces should have exclusive jurisdiction over social insurance."

These ideas, exclusive provincial jurisdiction over health, social services, social insurance and, I would add with Ryan, manpower programs, are initially unsettling to those of us in Ontario who have traditionally looked to the federal government to enforce and maintain national standards in our social programs. But let us look at the reality for a few minutes, and I say the harsh reality. Let us look first at the most startling proposal put forward from Quebec, that the provinces have jurisdiction over social insurance. Let us look at that in light of the reality. The reality is that almost alone—and I say "almost" because of the position of the United States—among the western industrial nations Canada lacks a modern social security system. The reality is that the British North America Act and our present constitutional and jurisdictional arrangements prevent us from achieving a modern social security system.

The basic component of our public insurance program, the Canada Pension Plan, quite simply, is preposterous. It pays in maximum benefits 25 per cent of a worker's pensionable earnings, and the pensionable earnings are set at a ridiculously low level. The program is totally regressive in the way that it raises money. The Canada Pension Plan is facing bankruptcy by the end of the decade.

With maximum Canada Pension Plan benefits set below \$300 a month, retired Canadians have to turn to a bewildering hotchpotch of programs—old age security, guaranteed income supplement, Gains, tax credits, tax grants and municipal welfare—in order to put together a sub-poverty level of income. Hundreds of thousands of Canadians who are retired live in poverty or just barely above the poverty line.

Who is to blame for this? Who is the politician and where is the government to reform our social security system? The awful answer is all 10 provincial governments, together with the federal government, acting together, meeting behind closed doors and taking decisions away from the public view. Any one of these 11 governments can veto change in the social securities system. All 11 governments must agree before there is any reform in the social security system.

Working people in this country and in this province cannot elect a government at any level in the country or in this province that has the power to change the Canada Pension Plan. It is impossible for the people to give a mandate to any government in this country to reform the social security system. The people cannot vote on the issue of a social security system. It is a travesty of democracy; it is the very antithesis of democracy; it is a pervasive paralysis. This is the present constitution of this country and the present jurisdictional arrangement. Who does it serve? It certainly doesn't serve the needs of ordinary working Canadians who want a decent public retirement insurance program.

Take another social insurance example. Take the example of a group of citizens here in Ontario who are even worse off than the elderly. I refer to the physically handicapped, to the disabled and to their families. They are even more badly served by the Canada Pension Plan's disability benefits than are the elderly. The disabled must somehow put together a package of income from the Canada Pension Plan, the Workmen's Compensation Board, social assistance, family benefits at the provincial level and municipal welfare, all in order to achieve a level of income far below the poverty line.

Again, we are confronted with the same absurd tangle of jurisdictional confusion. No single authority is responsible; no one government is accountable. In this tangle of government and jurisdiction the people cannot cast their vote for change, for reform, for rationalization or for social justice. So when Quebec says to give social insurance to the provinces, I say yes, that makes sense—not because it accommodates Quebec, but because it could accommodate the needs of working people here in Ontario.

7:30 p.m.

Let's try to envision an Ontario pension plan. Let us try to have the imagination to see an Ontario pension plan structured and funded to provide a decent retirement income to the elderly, capable of meeting the pension needs of the disabled, capable of being expanded at the decision of the government of Ontario, on mandate of the people, to a comprehensive public insurance program covering retirement, sickness, accident and injury insurance.

We could have an Ontario pension plan with one level of government clearly responsible and clearly accountable to the people for its operation and for its structure. Then let the government face the people with the kind of public insurance program they would enact. I trust the people would answer the

question in this area—what does Ontario want?—if they were given a clear choice and the opportunity to vote on it.

Let us look at the rest of the social security system—for example, our social assistance program. The recent report of an interprovincial task force on the administration of social security has talked about 80 different social allowance programs across this country operating inadequately, overlapping, duplicating, working at cross-purposes, with their only common feature being that they keep people in poverty.

We spent a whole decade attempting to reform this nonsensical system from 1971 to 1979. We remember the federal-provincial income security review, and at the end of an endless round of ministers' conferences behind closed doors, nothing happened, nothing changed. There has been no change in this area for 15 years. So I say, let the provinces have jurisdiction and we can replace the present punitive welfare programs with a guaranteed adequate income which would operate within the framework of a provincial manpower program.

Rene Levesque in his white paper talks about the aspirations of his party for a rational manpower program. He says on page 92 of the white paper: "With separation it will become possible at last to establish closer links between the requirements of the labour market on the one hand and vocational training of young people and adults as well as rehabilitation of welfare recipients on the other hand. Education, vocational training, social rehabilitation, employment and mobility are all aspects of a single reality. Entrusting them to a single authority could lead to an integrated efficient policy on human resources."

Do we have to say to Rene Levesque that the only way those goals can be achieved is for him to separate? Is that how inadequate we are as a people or as a province? Of course not. The goals set out in that paragraph are consistent with the goals that have been set out over the years in this House by my colleague the former member for Wentworth, Ian Deans, and by my colleague the member for Sudbury East (Mr. Martel). There is nothing new in those statements; they are eminently sensible and we can achieve them if we have the will and the vision to do so.

Let us look at social services. The present federal-provincial shared jurisdiction under the authority of the federal Canada Assistance Plan has been a total failure. It has retarded the development of preventive social services, and even worse, it has per-

petuated the welfarization of essential human services like day care. It is still necessary to go to the welfare office to apply for day care in this province. That's because of the requirements of the Canada Assistance Plan.

The Canada Assistance Plan has been a block to the development of work incentive programs and my friends across the aisle in the Conservative ranks will testify to that. The entire federal apparatus of social service supports would serve us all best by being dismantled, with the appropriate tax powers being transferred to the provinces so they can get on with the job.

Finally, there is the matter of health care. Again we have made some progress in moving towards exclusive provincial jurisdiction with respect to health care, although there is still a residual federal role. We have seen in the last two federal elections just how much preposterous humbug that residual federal role is able to generate. David Crombie huffed and puffed about the crisis in medicare and acted by appointing a royal commission. Monique Begin did very little better than David Crombie.

The decision on health care will be decided here in Ontario by the people of Ontario, and the federal government will not change the equation. It will be the opinion of the electors of Ontario on the state of our medicare system that will determine its future. I am quite comfortable with that; I think all members should be.

My point very simply is that these shared jurisdictions produce paralysis, bad programming, bad services and worse, because they deny the people the right to make meaningful choices through the democratic process; they prevent reform. So I am prepared to say that for Ontario, in this area of social policy, this very crucial area, we can negotiate not just for a strengthened provincial role but also tax transfers that would permit exclusive provincial jurisdiction over health, social insurance, social services and manpower. To guarantee standards, this will be done by the people when they cast their ballots.

We can proceed in this area and in all areas to negotiate new relationships between Canadians with a sense of optimism, of courage and of vision. So let us hammer out the answer to the question, "What does Ontario want?" And then let us negotiate.

If we lack the courage and if we lack the wisdom, the leadership and the vision to refashion our Canadian federation, what then? What if we fail to rise to this challenge. That leads me back to the question of sovereignty-association.

For me, sovereignty-association would be an act of despair, an acknowledgement of failure and a dead end. But whether we will stand at that dead end some day, I cannot say; I am not prepared to stand there today. But I do know one thing, and I know it with an absolute certainty: This country cannot, must not and will not be held together by force or coercion. That is an absolute for me and my party.

There is only one way to hold this country of ours together, and that is to negotiate; to negotiate in good faith and to negotiate out of a sense of social justice and equity; to negotiate a new constitution, perhaps through the kind of constitutional convention of Canadians that the member for Riverdale was talking about; and to negotiate regardless of the outcome of the vote on May 20.

Mr. G. Taylor: Monsieur le Président, chers collègues, je suis député de Simcoe-Centre et membre du parti Progressiste-Conservateur. Je représente également la ville de Pénétanguishene et la région. Je suis leçons de français depuis un an bientôt. Actuellement, c'est le présent qui compte. Le futur viendra plus tard. Je comprends ce que les Ontariens veulent. Ils veulent garder le Québec au sein du Canada. Je souhaite donc que les Québécois disent non au référendum et oui au Canada.

Today I want to give some of my views about Confederation. Naturally, in this debate, we have had some time constraints that we have not had before in our debates on as serious a subject. We have heard many statements from many of our colleagues here about, if we can use the vernacular, their roots, their background. Which is all very well and very good. However, as much as that may be put forward and is of great interest, it is the future we must be concerned with.

7:40 p.m.

Where I come from, where my family came from, where they resided, although it may be for many years in this country, does not matter. What we have done in the past is not as great as what we should be doing for our future. The present and the future are the problems at this particular time. However, one cannot go to the future without looking somewhat at the past. I have done that in the last few weeks, as I have many times before.

To refresh my mind a bit on Canadian history, I pulled out one of my high school Canadian history textbooks that have been gathering considerable dust on my library shelves. It was a bit of a mini-refresher course for me. I highly recommend it to all members of this House to see what a great history we

have had and the scope of things Canadians have become involved in.

Consider the things we have done, the things we have invented. We have fought for causes which have affected the course of world history. We have also put together a politically, economically and socially very complex but great country over these past years we have been together.

Think of some of the everyday inventions we can be proud of that Canadians took part in—not in any particular language, not in any particular culture—which came forward from the inventiveness of the minds and talents of Canadian people.

We might all take a dose of it in here, but pabulum is one of the great Canadian inventions, as are the zipper, the snowmobile, the cobalt bomb, insulin and all types of inventions.

Then look at the bravery in other fields when I talk about world causes. We made great, distinct and valiant efforts in the Second World War and in the First World War. We have fought just as hard for peace since those times and for the dignity of mankind. But we are not bold movers and shakers, as some would describe us in the media. That is not our style.

Has anyone come up with a definition of a Canadian? We are not American. We are not exactly British. We are not exactly Chinese. We are not exactly German. What are we? It is very difficult to define. Probably we spend more time in this country trying to define what we are as Canadians than we do on any other item. Yet, at the same time, we are a mixture of all aspects of some other cultures which happen to have been put together to build this great country.

I spoke about wars. Let us look at them, and at one day in particular, November 11, when all this country is united. We can travel to practically any small or large community in this country, and see a monument to the soldiers who died in the wars we fought. The names encompass a cross-section of cultural and national backgrounds. No one was unaffected by the suffering. The threat of the loss of the freedoms we fought for, and the self-determination this country has arrived at, could not be understood, and yet we acted solidly and with vigour. Canadians fought valiantly in battles: the Van Doos, the Montreal Fusiliers, the Princess Pats, the Royal Hamilton Light Infantry. As a child, I remember when they returned home and how some of my neighbours lost their loved ones in that infantry battalion. There are many other regiments as well.

We showed the world that Canadians had

the strength, the will and, indeed, the courage to fight some of the toughest battles in this world for our country. In some of those battles and in their political sidelights, Canada gained its independence from what some people may have thought too long a dependence upon the mother country, England. Political independence was gained as a result of those wars.

What has gone wrong today? Some say, "We have seen the enemy and it is us." Does that mean us as politicians? It may be. Or it may mean us as Canadians. Have we taken for granted too long what we have and not been willing soon enough or hard enough to straighten it out? Have we not given enough to each other? Have we not been pliable enough to work out a new arrangement? It is the future of our country we are debating.

We are 113 years old. Chronologically, many of our forefathers have been here much longer and worked out accommodation for each other. The rules, the designs, the framework of Confederation were formulated more than 100 years ago. The reasoning that prevailed in 1867 obviously does not prevail today, but the need to put and keep us together and make some new accommodation is there. It is better to change, reform and put in place some minor amendments, maybe not great ones, to that federal operation which are long overdue. We worked hard at it before; we can work hard at it again to achieve that.

Naturally, the federal and provincial needs have changed, and positive amendments and adjustments can and must be made to make more room for everyone within Confederation. I wholeheartedly support the concept of a restructured federalism, but let me stress the word "federalism." The nature of it is complex, and it always has been. In order to survive, it must adapt to new conditions and surroundings, and social and economic changes. Are we going to give that evolutionary process a chance to work? Look at what we have. We must make it work.

One of the things that can be said for Canada, naturally, is its size. It is incomparable in its physical size, its magnitude, the land versus the sea, mountains and plains, ruggedness and tranquillity. It is all there in geography. It is there for us to behold, and for us to use to make our great futures.

The pioneers built a great country. They faced hardships; they faced crop failures, sickness, isolation and all the variables and harsh weather this country can hand out, as well as pleasantries. Despite the size, the harshness and blessings of this great country, there is something more. There is something about

being a Canadian, whether French-speaking or English-speaking, a new arrival or a descendant of many generations. It is something that unites us, no matter if we are from the east, the west, the north or the south. There is something reassuring, something to be proud of. It is not something you can intellectualize about or identify. It is purely emotional. It comes from the heart. It is being a Canadian.

Many events have put this forward. Just think of the big events we have had, as well as some of the smaller ones: the Canadian National Exhibition, Expo 67, the Olympics, Canada Cup hockey, and some of the smaller local events such as the Beaver River Rat Race, the Elmvalle Maple Syrup Festival and the Barrie Winter Carnival. All these put us together as Canadians. We watch this great country grow, and we live in it. We look around us and we can say what a good thing it is that we can enjoy these blessings and these freedoms and these hopes for our future. Of course, there are disparities, regional differences, some shortages, some surpluses, but they can all be resolved in the spirit of co-operation.

I repeat what has been said before by the Premier and by this government: "We will go anywhere and negotiate with anyone to accommodate constitutional reform and change which strengthens the capacity of Canada to better serve the regions, language groups and provinces of our nation. Our minds and our hearts are open. Our spirit is positive and creative. That is our commitment; that is our resolve." There is that spirit of wanting to change, there is that resolve of putting forth the ability to change, and we are willing.

7:50 p.m.

Let me return to our history: That spirit, that creativity, that courage of early settlers and pioneers can be found wherever we may travel. The area where I live is sometimes referred to as the cradle of history of Ontario, and was the cradle of some of the history of not only this great province but also, indeed, North America.

Think of the area called Ste. Marie-Among-the-Hurons, and it is difficult not to be moved by efforts of raw courage that could go undaunted—the faith and the courage of the early Jesuit missionaries. That settlement was prospering in the 1640s, a long time before Confederation was even a dream in the eyes of the Fathers of Confederation, as they are known. Champlain, Brébeuf all those people from that cradle. Later, Simcoe and the road from York to

Penetanguishene. It was for military purposes, but it was there—that cradle of this history, of this country, and of this nation, in many languages and in many cultures.

Penetanguishene, with its historic naval and military establishments, is an Indian word meaning the place of white falling sand. I am sure many people in this country have thought the name Penetanguishene to be of another origin, from the debate that has been going on. But it is an Indian name.

Just look at this great country, where we can infuse and absorb and retain the present in our social structure from our diversity of cultures in the past. Those names are just some of them: Manitoulin, Wasaga, Toronto, Simcoe, Huronia and many more—names of our past. The list goes on of those names that are now with us, and they put together our historical significance.

Canada draws its strength from its many backgrounds and many cultures, some older than ours. From the many people who have settled here we draw from. Similarly, people coming here cannot remain unaffected by the influence of the ruggedness of the land and the diversity of the cultures now existing.

Canadians are emotional about such a relationship, and we have managed to convey our feelings to the world about such a relationship in a number of ways—but always as Canadians.

We have given the world many things. I mentioned some earlier. Some are indigenous, such as the birchbark canoe, totem poles, potluck suppers, soapstone carvings, the paintings of Emily Carr, the Group of Seven, Cornelius Krieghoff, the poetry of Pauline Johnson and that of Robert Service with his *Dangerous Dan McGrew*, the humour of Leacock, the inventions of Bombardier. These are just some of the people who have tried to find their ways of expressing their feelings about Canadian life.

When I think of how many Canadians there have been in our past I think of how they would ask what are we doing now to our future. Are we dealing with it so very lightly that we have forgotten what they have given us?

I think of other things: Bell's telephone, lacrosse, basketball, marquis wheat, Sir Sandford Fleming and standard time; politicians such as Macdonald, Brown, Laurier and King; athletes such as Percy Williams and Bobby Rosenfeldt, and the Toe, the Rocket and the Cyclone in hockey; and our heroes, Billy Bishop, Laura Secord, Montcalm, Wolfe and Riel, and all those men who went before us.

Are we about to betray what they gave us in trust for the future? Are we ignoring that and not paying enough heed to it in this debate? And are we not working seriously, with as great a zeal and determination to resolve our problems at this time in our history?

Canada as a whole is trying to understand itself. It's trying to ask "Where shall we go? In what direction?" Are we working on that direction hard enough and with enough ambition to get it done?

Sheer size alone has tended to influence the way we think sometimes. It's a vast country, a vastness of people. I guess we've often taken this whole thing too many times for granted.

But I can understand one thing, and I would like to present that to this House. I can understand that a loss of that enormous entity, Quebec, is not within my feeling. I would not like to see that happen.

We are too intertwined, and have been throughout history, to let that large chunk of land, and particularly of people, disappear from the future of this country. That loss, whether it be a physical break or a psychological alienation, is raising serious questions in every part of the country.

I am worried that the stage has been set, the directors have given their instructions to the cast, the cameramen are at the ready, the props have been made up, the makeup has been applied, the audience sits uneasily waiting for the curtain to rise, and the critics have their notebooks in their hands. We shall find out very shortly whether the production is a dry run or a full-scale dress rehearsal. It is my fervent hope that the playwrights of the future do not write Canadian history in separate parts. In staying together we have greater strength, which has been mentioned throughout this debate. I personally believe that is the only possible way to go.

Last weekend, in my home town, was a now world-famous photographer by the name of Bud Watson—he is now recognized as one of Canada's best, if not Canada's foremost, landscape photographers. He has travelled, by commission, for Kodak and for the federal government throughout Canada, taking pictures. Those slides show, so very recently on this debate, what Canada is about—its people, its vastness, its beauty—and that it is worthwhile saving. Those slides were profound in designating the greatness of this country.

Although the motto is close at hand, the motto of Canada, those words of Latin with a loose translation, of sea unto sea, should remain that: a country from sea unto sea. I would not in any way or form, or by any

method, be willing to exchange that for a motto of being from sea unto the St. Lawrence should Quebec or that referendum decide that might be the route they would wish to go. This country should stay together and be from sea unto sea.

Mr. Kerrio: Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to join this debate, and I would first like to commend those people who have taken the high road in this debate, who have used this forum to reach out to the people in Quebec, to tell them that we want them here with us in a united Canada. I am distressed that there are some who would use this forum for self-indulgence and self-interest and set aside the main purpose of why we are all here, which is to make this appeal.

As long as I have been here, I have never felt so distressed about an issue, one that should be a cause for all of us to support in exactly the same way. I hope that from now to the conclusion there might be some second thoughts about the direction this whole debate takes, and continues to take, to convince those good people in my riding, across Ontario and, yes, in Quebec and across Canada, that Quebec is important to us, and we want them to stay with us.

I would say at the outset that I am in full support of the resolution before the House, and I believe we should not negotiate sovereignty-association. Let us hope the vote on May 20 will be a no vote, and I believe we should then begin the process of renewing Canadian federalism, a process that we are eager to undertake with Quebec, the other provinces and the federal government.

On April 22, 1980, the Niagara Falls Review had a very special issue. It launched a campaign—not in connection with yet another election, but to save Canada as a united country. It was called, You Can Help Canada, and readers were urged to "send a friendship letter to Quebec"; to "tell someone that they care"; and to "spread hope for unity." Sample letters were printed in English and in French, and as the member for Niagara Falls but, above all, as a Canadian, I was proud to be associated with that campaign. I circulated the newspaper to every member of this Legislature with a covering letter urging each of them to encourage their local newspaper to take a similar initiative. Meanwhile in Ottawa, at approximately the same time, the federal member delivered those newspapers to each of the members in the House of Commons. 8 p.m.

As a part of this campaign, the city of Niagara Falls was twinned with the city of Nicolet in Quebec. I, therefore, took the op-

portunity of contacting my counterpart in the National Assembly of Quebec. This was a Serge Fontaine, the member representing the riding of Nicolet-Yamaska. We discussed for some time our mutual concerns about the future of this country because I felt it was important to share my thoughts with someone in Quebec who was involved in the life of that province in the same way that I am involved in the life of Ontario through my responsibilities as the elected member of the Legislature for Niagara Falls.

I would like to say that I am proud to represent a constituency which is part of Ontario's beautiful Niagara region. The history of our area has been an inspiration to me and I believe that it can be inspiring to all of us as we consider the shape of Canadian federalism.

For a moment or two, I would like to speak about the history of Niagara's native Indian people. The tribes reached their peak in the early 1400s. At that time, a leader of the Onondaga tribe, Hiawatha, the hero of Longfellow's famous poem, called for an end to the constant battling. He succeeded against great odds in bringing peace to the native people of what is now known as southern Ontario, upper New York state and the Niagara Peninsula. Hiawatha did more than establish a peaceful co-existence among the tribes. He brought together five Iroquois tribes—the Senecas, Cayugas, Onondagas, Oneidas and Mohawks—to form the League of Five Nations, and he integrated them into what has been called one of the most sophisticated and democratic forms of government the world has ever seen.

The style of this government is worth mentioning. Within the tribe, political decision-making was a very loose and informal process, with everyone's opinion asked for and everyone's consent required before action was taken. Within the league the same unity was required among the tribes before the league would act. This sophisticated democracy was part of a very warm communal society which placed great importance on the family kinship and the role of women. The culture was rich and their agricultural economy permitted them to settle and prosper. Their language was, incidentally, one of the most eloquent and elaborate of all the native peoples of North America. It is not mere coincidence that all of this occurred within one of the most developed federal systems in history, which was a model for the first constitution of the United States of America.

A source of great inspiration also is the bravery and determination of the French

explorers who were the first Europeans in the Niagara region, as well as in the greater part of the interior of this continent. Champ-lain arrived in this region in the decade following 1610, and his lieutenant, Etienne Brule, explored southern Ontario while living with the natives and learning their customs. The first Europeans to see Niagara Falls were French. The famous French explorer, La Salle, reached the Niagara River in 1678, and later that year an advance party led by Father Hennepin discovered the falls and wrote an exhaustive description.

Subsequently, La Salle established a small fort on the site of what became the French outpost of Fort Niagara. La Salle also built the first ship to sail above the falls, the Griffin, which sailed as far upstream as Lake Michigan. Among his many later accomplishments was the finding of the overland route to the mouth of the Mississippi.

The Jesuits also played a significant role in the French exploration of the Niagara region. The Relations of the Jesuits, testament to one of the most courageous and devoted group of men who ever lived, recount their experiences among the Indians of southern Ontario. While attempting to bring Christianity to the Indians of the Niagara region, the Jesuits made careful records of the area's geography and the cultural life of the people living there. It is clear that from the very earliest days, the Niagara region had frequent contact with French-speaking people.

Today, my son manages a family business in Niagara, a business established some 60 years ago by my immigrant father. Our company does business with firms in Quebec and, in so doing, has a feeling for the small business community in our sister province. My party, in keeping with our pledge to reach many citizens of Quebec to whom we can personally relate to, has asked me to direct some of my remarks to the small business entrepreneurs of La Belle Province.

In particular, we have an associate who deals with a large company in the Sorel area that also has a plant in Niagara. From our discussions with our friends in Quebec, it has become obvious that operating a small business in that province is very little different from operating a small business here in Ontario. There are the same difficulties and frustrations. While many workers have protection because of union involvement, and while large companies have greater access to financial resources, not to mention accessibility to governments through lobbying practices, small businesses find they are at a tremendous disadvantage. In fact, my Quebec-

ois friend was telling me that things have become so bad at times that his son, seeing the struggle that is involved to keep a small business afloat, is seriously considering not following in his father's footsteps. He will probably find a job that offers more security and a lot fewer problems.

Small business people in Quebec are understandably troubled about their difficulties in obtaining finance and about the bank interest rates. They feel very threatened by the large companies, which appear to be impervious to fluctuations in the marketplace rather than victimized by them as smaller operators are.

I implore my fellow business associates in Quebec to vote no on the referendum. Problems related to small business are nationwide, not only centred in Quebec. We must therefore, unite our efforts across Canada to achieve status, success and prosperity, and fulfil our role as the nation's largest group of employers that employ the largest group of the working force.

All in all, dealing with our counterparts on a business level has always been a very pleasant and interesting experience. The same is true of any visits we have made to Quebec. I remember particularly, back in 1967, my wife and I went to Montreal to attend Expo. We stayed with friends who live in Repentigny, and we had a great time with them. Throughout our visit, we were treated with courtesy, warmth and friendliness. The hospitality was truly remarkable. If we made the slightest attempt, in our very limited way, to speak to them in French, they would go more than halfway to understand us and to help us. Frankly, I do not know when I felt such pride in being a Canadian as I did during that memorable stay at Repentigny during Expo 67.

Living in Niagara Falls, of course, we have, over the years, had a considerable amount of contact with our friends and neighbours on the other side of the border in the United States. There are times, quite frankly, when it seems there is no border at all. Frequently, Niagara Falls, Ontario, is filled with American visitors. The same can be said in reverse of Niagara Falls, New York; it is filled with Canadian visitors.

I cannot begin to count the number of times American people have told me how much they admire this great country of ours, how much they envy us our French-speaking people and the fact that we have, right here in our midst, the French language and the French culture. I suppose over the years we have tended to take our good fortune in this respect for granted, just as members of any

family tend to take the other members for granted.

8:10 p.m.

We have achieved much here in Canada and we have good reason to be proud of our achievements. But it would seem we have failed in one of our most important responsibilities. We have failed to articulate a vision of what Canada might be in the future for each and every one of us, whether we are English, French, native or any one of a dozen or more nationalities which have come to this country to be a part of the Canadian family.

Quebec and its people are an essential part of this country, the other half of our reality. Some efforts have been made in recent years to understand and meet the desires of our French Canadians, but clearly those efforts have not succeeded or they have been misunderstood. It would seem that some Canadians have been guilty of wishful thinking, of turning their thoughts to other things, in the hope that the situation vis-à-vis Quebec will resolve itself without any effort or contribution on their part.

If we are to come through our present crisis, if we are to have any hope of achieving what we want here in Canada, we have to do some very clear thinking and make some very intelligent and important decisions. Canadians are going to have to accept the fact that the full and free development of our two main cultures is an integral part of our country and our national identity.

There has been a desire on the part of all Canadians to live together in mutual respect and to work together to achieve these things which are valued by other Canadians. If people are not prepared to do this, if the people of Quebec remain unconvinced that the future will be any different from what they consider to have been a past, which has seen many Canadians cold and hostile to their language and culture, then we have to face the fact that this country's unity will be severely endangered, regardless of the outcome of May 20.

I believe that what the people of Quebec want, what all Canadians want, is to feel at home wherever they are in this country. They want to feel this way, whether they are in Quebec, in Vancouver, in the Maritimes, in the Yukon, in small-town Ontario or in boom-town Calgary. Because I believe this is the case, I would like to say to them: Nous sommes tous membres de la même famille canadienne. Restons ensemble, travaillons ensemble pour le bien de notre grand pays. We are all members of the same Cana-

dian family. Let us stay together, let us work together for the good of our great country.

Hon. Mr. Timbrell: Mr. Speaker, I rise with great joy to take part in this debate for a variety of reasons, not the least of them being that it is the first time since my marriage that my wife has joined me in the House to witness one of my contributions. I cannot think of a more appropriate one since I cannot imagine that anything I could say in this House or outside of it in my political career could be more important than what I might say about the future of the country that our children and their children will bear.

Let me associate myself most heartily with the remarks of the member for Niagara Falls when he spoke about the fact that most of the members of this House have put aside their narrow, self-serving, partisan interests to discuss what should be a matter of mutual and common concern, namely, national unity.

I cannot help but wonder how the country could have ever begun if people of the likes of Brown and Macdonald had not done just that. Fortunately, there was not an element at that time that put partisan interests ahead of the national concern.

During the 1960s, Canadians of my generation, anglophones and francophones alike, believed that the world was entering a new era of understanding and of peace. Looking back, I would have to acknowledge we were probably naive when we felt that the impact of modern communications was somehow shrinking the world and breaking down the barriers of mistrust. Yet I think something important remains of the belief that understanding between men and women of different cultures and of goodwill can be something more than just a dream.

I recognize this is certainly not a new belief, or a belief unique to the 1960s. But all the same it is with some sense of irony that, despite all the intentions of my generation, I rise now in my place in this assembly, two decades later, to speak to the survival of a single nation.

Today, words and ideas move around the world at the speed of light. Yet here in this country, we are having difficulty talking to one another. Today we are known abroad in virtually every nation of the world for our tolerance and our goodwill. Yet here, at home, we are struggling with these very same concepts within our borders.

It is with this paradox in mind that I approach this referendum debate. When I look at our nation, I am frankly dismayed by the forces of divisiveness. Canada is a victim of

the rack of regional interests, being pulled each and every day in four or more directions, depending upon who is being quoted in the morning papers.

Throughout our history, regionalism has been a fact of Canadian life. Sir John A. Macdonald had to contend with it; we have to contend with it. In the past it has helped us to maintain a healthy tension, an equilibrium, if you will, within Confederation. It has allowed each and every part of the land to develop in its own way. But now it appears more like a tumour enveloping whole sections of the country. In this regard I am not speaking just of Quebec; I am speaking of the entire nation.

Monsieur l'Orateur, je pense qu'il est temps que tous les Canadiens se posent ces questions: Sommes-nous prêts à laisser cela continuer, à permettre que la volonté nationale soit affaiblie, à rester en spectateur à la dissolution progressive de notre pays? De plus, il est temps que les Canadiens pensent sérieusement à leur pays à son passé et à son avenir et qu'ils choisissent en pleine connaissance de cause.

Monsieur l'Orateur, un pays n'est pas défini seulement par ses frontières ou par sa force militaire. On ne peut pas mesurer la fibre d'une nation par son PNB ou par la richesse de ses ressources. On ne peut pas réduire à des symboles ou à des hymnes l'essence d'une nation.

Une nation, Monsieur l'Orateur, se bâtit sur l'expérience commune, bonne et mauvaise. C'est l'histoire qui, d'année en année, construit la charpente à partir des réalisations de ses hommes d'Etat comme de l'interaction quotidienne de ses citoyens.

Dès ses débuts, le Canada a été la cible de nombreuses critiques. Une fédération maladroite, impraticable-disait-on, une configuration géographique artificielle, assemblée il y a cent ans par crainte de la puissance émergente de nos voisins du sud.

Tout cela, Monsieur l'Orateur, est peut-être vrai. Mais je crois que dans l'acte d'une Confédération, on trouve une vérité plus profonde, notamment la vision des Pères de la Confédération, qui se sont unis pour préserver un mode de vie, pour conserver un fonds commun d'expériences partagées, d'où naissait déjà la forme d'un pays doté de ses propres caractéristiques.

8:20 p.m.

How can I speak of common experiences in the context of two different and two vibrant cultures? Let me answer by speaking of common aspirations that have become realities through nationhood. I point to Canada's

social programs as tangible evidence of successful co-operation within Confederation. The goals of these programs are perhaps more fundamental than one's particular cultural heritage. I ask: Which parents don't want first-class health care for their children? Or who doesn't want the benefits of a solid system of social security to meet the needs of the disadvantaged in their own community?

As Canadians, we have shared the view that all citizens, no matter who they are, no matter where they live or move in our country, should have access to these services. As Canadians, we have gone further and have collectively identified these programs as a right for all Canadians. The result has been the creation of health and social systems that are the envy of most of the nations of the world. The fact is, this is something we take for granted. Consider the quality of health care being rendered at this moment in hospitals in Vancouver, in Montreal and in Toronto. Consider too the social justice offered today to the aged, the infirm, the unemployed, the destitute.

I am the first to acknowledge that the system is by no means perfect. Inequities do exist but, by and large, it is a good system. It is comprehensive, universal, responsive to local requirements and secure. Significantly, our success in these endeavours has been the result of a sharing of resources and ideas among the provinces and between the federal government and the provinces.

The simple truth is that we would not enjoy the same level of services today had we proceeded on our separate ways. Certainly, the provinces individually could not have introduced services as quickly as they have without the benefit of cost sharing by the federal government.

Our federation has fostered these accomplishments while permitting great flexibility in their operation within each province; so while we have national expectations with regard to our health and social services, we also have full recognition of the different requirements of each of the partners.

Herein lies an aspect of the brilliance of our Canadian Confederation. The ability to adequately meet unique social and health requirements of, for example, a citizen of Ste. Anne des Monts in the Gaspé, and at the same time a citizen of the Okanagan Valley, shows diversity within a common framework.

In recent years, as our health and social systems have grown more sophisticated, we have seen an increasing need for adaptability in the arrangements between governments. As

cost sharing became confining to the provinces, inhibiting their ability to respond to the changing needs of their citizens, we saw a negotiated move to an alternative structure of funding under what is known as the Established Program (Interim Arrangements) Act.

Through this new arrangement, the federal government and the provinces have taken a giant step towards disentangling and rationalizing social programs in Canada. Much greater latitude now rests with the provinces, as it should, for the delivery of the most appropriate services to our people. The manner in which this reform was accomplished is perhaps as significant as its effect on the services. It was through negotiation within Confederation that this change took place, by dialogue, bargaining and the meeting of minds between provincial and federal governments. The process worked and worked well.

I ask, why shouldn't it work? Whenever I sit down at a federal-provincial conference, regardless of the traditional and the expected tension between the provinces and the federal government, I cannot help but think that the them is really us. I cannot help realizing, despite the posturing that all politicians are prone to, we do share common concerns for all of our citizens and we do share common objectives.

The reform of our funding for social programs is a not insignificant example of how our federal system proves capable of adjustment to enable the provinces to carry out their constitutional mandates with regard to social services. This mandate of the provinces is worth stressing. The logic of provincial primacy in the field of social services is as valid today as it was 113 years ago. There was then, as there is now, a recognition of the distinctiveness of each partner in Confederation and of the consequent necessity for the administration of social programs to remain at the provincial level where they can be most responsive to people's needs.

Again I come back to the theme of diversity within a common framework and point to this aspect of our constitution as the cornerstone of our federal system. This flexibility recognizes the positive side of our country's regional nature. Because of this inherent flexibility we have seen distinctive patterns of cultural growth in all parts of Canada.

As a people, Canadians have cherished these differences and have prospered. In no small measure, this can be attributed to the design of our government and the sharing of powers as set out in the British North America Act. This not to say, however, that the federal government has no role to play

in the social field. As I have indicated, it plays a fundamental role with respect to funding and through this mechanism ensures a national strengthening of social programs.

The model has served us well to this point in our history. But as we look to the future, we should not be content to rest with things as they are. Clearly we must make improvements. We must achieve greater harmony between the federal government and the provinces in pursuing social reform. For instance, it is totally illogical to have the federal government, on the one hand, expanding its manpower at a time when the provinces, on the other, are actively pursuing efficiencies and adjusting programs to meet emerging social needs. Such anomalies are costly and point to the necessity to further revise federal-provincial relationships, especially with regard to the areas of federal spending power having a direct effect on the provinces.

Such revisions will be forthcoming because all of the partners in this Confederation are committed to this objective. The requirement now is for a continuation of the dialogue and a co-operation that has fostered the construction of Canada's elaborate and comprehensive social system. A solid structure is in place, providing security to all Canadians. Now we must plan our additions and renovations together, while we capitalize on the firm foundations that every day bring comfort to the people who need these services across this land.

It is my belief that further refinement and improvement of these programs can be accomplished only if we work together. To plan in isolation, particularly at this stage in our country's development, would be to invite unnecessary duplication of effort, dissipation of resources and perhaps fundamentally to jeopardize the whole of our social security system.

Canada is a nation both blessed and afflicted by its size and its diversity. The blessings are obvious despite our tendency to reflect on our problems and to look elsewhere for our solutions. One need only consider our standard of living in the international context to see the tangible merits of our nationhood. The afflictions, on the other hand, have come with our historical development and with our geography itself. I suppose these tensions are inevitable. This does not mean the disintegration of our country is inevitable. It does mean, however, that we must dedicate ourselves to the task of regenerating our Confederation.

8:30 p.m.

Monsieur l'Orateur, j'ai commencé mes remarques en faisant allusion à l'espoir de ma génération de voir une plus grande harmonie et une meilleure entente s'établir entre tous les humains. J'ai aussi dit qu'il me semblait ironique qu'en tant que nation, nous ayons réalisé beaucoup en ce sens sur le plan international, alors que ces mêmes qualités nous manquent quand il s'agit de nous entendre chez nous.

Il est clairement temps que nous abordions nos problèmes internes avec plus de confiance mutuelle et de compréhension. Le référendum québécois nous donne l'occasion de réfléchir sérieusement à la richesse—et j'emploie ce terme dans son sens le plus large—de notre société. Une richesse née de la poursuite d'objectifs communs.

Nous sommes au seuil d'une nouvelle décennie. Un nouveau siècle s'approche. J'espère, Monsieur l'Orateur, que les Canadiens n'oublieront pas les avantages de notre fédération, et qu'ils feront de l'espoir en l'avenir d'un Canada meilleur une réalité. C'est pour cet avenir meilleur que je demande aux Québécois de se prononcer le 20 mai. Merci, Monsieur l'Orateur.

Mr. Bolan: Mr. Speaker, I feel privileged to have this opportunity of expressing in the Ontario Legislature my own thoughts and feelings on the question of Confederation and the future of Canadian unity.

In the course of my remarks I propose to speak about, among other things, the role of Franco-Ontarians in the riding of Nipissing, which I have the honour to represent. However, before embarking on this very specific matter, I would like to make some general observations.

First of all, I, as an individual and as a member of the Legislature, have absolutely no hesitancy in urging my fellow Canadians in Quebec to vote no on May 20. In my view, a yes vote would be devastating for this country. I certainly do not intend to stand aside and let Canada break up around me without at least trying to do something about it. And I don't intend to stand idly by and have a demagogue break up what was built on blood, sweat and tears.

There is a crying need for the members of this House, as legislators, to urge the people of Quebec to listen to our plea and our call for a renewed form of federalism. Somehow we must find the right words to make the people of Quebec realize that a recreated federalism would ensure that they achieve the objectives which are so important to them. At the same time, we must meet the needs of other regions and other Canadians.

It is well over a century since Confederation, and in the intervening years many and far-reaching changes have taken place in this country, indeed, throughout the world. Obviously, we can no longer postpone the task of restructuring Canadian federalism to meet current realities.

En parlant du Nipissing, on peut dire en toute honnêteté de Nipissing, qu'il partage ses racines avec la belle province. Samuel de Champlain, l'explorateur qui a donné son identité au territoire qui longe le Saint-Laurent et l'a nommé la Nouvelle France, a été en fait le premier Européen à découvrir le lac Nipissing en 1615.

Là où devrait plus tard se situer la ville de North Bay. Et c'est en découvrant l'immense étendue du lac Nipissing qu'il sentit, dit-il dans son journal, qu'il avait enfin franchi la barrière de l'ouest. Trois cent soixante-cinq ans après ce moment historique, je me sens en droit de dire de ma circonscription qu'elle peut continuer à servir d'exemple, quand il y a des obstacles à franchir.

Je trouve affligeant qu'il y ait de gens au Canada pour dire que la coexistence des deux cultures fondatrices est impossible à quelque niveau que ce soit: communal, provincial, ou national. Le Canadien de culture anglaise, comme de culture française, se sentent chez eux à Nipissing, à l'abri de la pression de l'assimilation et de la peur des préjugés. Ils ne sont pas les seuls à pouvoir s'enorgueillir du mode de vie réellement bilingue de leur collectivité du nord de l'Ontario. Il n'est pas rare de trouver des lieux semblables en Ontario et dans le reste du Canada. Il y a bien des collectivités semblables au Canada. Mais Nipissing est un exemple particulièrement remarquable de communauté qui a su tirer parti de l'histoire du Canada. Comme le reste du Bas Canada nos premiers résidents ont suivis des coureurs des bois français. Il y avait les Brulet, les Nicolin, les Groseillers et la Vérendrie par exemple. Et les voyageurs anglais, comme les Henry, les Mackenzies et les Garrys.

Aujourd'hui, la répartition de la population de Nipissing reflète bien nos racines culturelles. Tandis que 62 pour cent de nos habitants ont l'anglais comme langue maternelle, 33 pour cent sont d'origine française. So beaucoup d'écoles, d'organisations et d'entreprises fournissent des services à la collectivité anglophone, les citoyens francophones sont traités sur une base égale. Par opposition au Canada, l'éducation en langue française s'est développée dans le cadre du système des écoles séparées. Donc leurs droits sont garantis par l'Acte de l'Amérique du Nord Britannique de 1867. Le Conseil des Ecoles Séparées de Nipissing

compte ainsi 10 écoles primaires dans notre région. Mais le Conseil Scolaire de Nipissing, qui est un système d'écoles publiques, organisé un réseau d'écoles francophones qui pourraient servir d'exemple à d'autres conseils scolaires.

I might just talk about the bilingual or French-speaking high schools we have in the city of North Bay. I remember in 1968, when I was on the school board of what was then called the North Bay Vocational and Collegiate Institute, that there were no secondary schools where the French language was the language of instruction. At that time it was quite obvious there were many students coming out of elementary school through the French branch of the separate school system. Those people did not have a proper school for them to continue their education in the French language. Members of the school board became very concerned when it was brought to their attention by certain citizens in the community.

After much haggling and debating in 1968 we passed a resolution—this was before the advent of Bill 141—authorizing the construction of a bilingual high school. We wanted this resolution implemented in September 1968 but we didn't have the school to house them. So we went to the principal of Widdifield high school and asked him, "Would you like to try to share your high school until such time as we have another one built?" He was taken aback and he said, "I won't try; I will, and I will make it work." As a result of this, a shift system went into effect, and we were able to have a bilingual and French-speaking high school starting in September 1968. The following year a new high school was constructed, and we now have the Ecole Secondaire Algonquin.

8:40 p.m.

Only a few years ago, the Nipissing Board of Education again launched a French immersion program. The response was so enthusiastic that the school quickly outgrew its original quarters. This program, which was originally intended to be only for the junior grades, soon expanded during its first year to include older students up to grade six. By 1981, by next September, the immersion courses in French will be available up to grade eight, and they are going beyond that. Already there are plans by the board to establish a secondary school immersion program to coincide with the graduation of the grade eight class which has been educated in French from Dr. Caruthers Public School.

At a time when many schools in our province are facing severe cutbacks and closures

due to declining enrolment, the primary-level French immersion program of Nipissing school board will expand from this year's 305 students to a forecast 584 students in 1984. It is important to bear in mind that the majority of these immersion program students come from homes where English has to date been the only language. In other words, the parents of these children have decided they shall be educated in the other language of our country because they have recognized the opportunity this provides for the enrichment of young lives.

Of course, the community also benefits immensely from this program. These young people will grow up with a far greater understanding of both French and English cultures. The families will, in turn, profit from their increased awareness and greater knowledge. I would also like to mention that both post-secondary institutions in our area, Canadore College of Applied Arts and Technology and Nipissing University College, offer full-time and extension program credits, again in the French language.

We have in my riding many and varied cultural groups and clubs. For example, we can if we wish become members of the Germania Club, the Davedi Club, the Ukrainian Club, the Polish Club. We can also join l'Association Canadienne-Francais de l'Ontario, l'Union Culturelle des Franco-Ontariens, the IODE or the Rotary Club. There are, in addition, many other clubs and organizations too numerous to mention. These opportunities exist in Nipissing, and I am quite sure they exist in other Canadian communities.

Language barriers, which at one time were considered insurmountable, have been overcome. Here in Canada our choices are wide open. The opportunities to pursue the culture of a person's choice are almost limitless and, whatever some people may say, assimilation into the so-called English community is no longer the threat it was once thought to be.

In the Nipissing area, people can walk into virtually any business establishment and expect to be served in the language of their choice. Doctors, lawyers and other professionals offer their services in both official languages. Services are frequently offered in Italian, German or Ukrainian. Many services are offered in both the official languages of Canada. Marriage Encounter, for example, has its French counterpart, *Renouveau Conjugal*. Girl Guides and Boy Scouts are known as *les Guides et les Scouts*. Hospitals and social service authorities are dedicated to assisting their patients in the language which gives them the greatest freedom and ease of expres-

sion. On top of all that, because of recent legislation, we now can have a trial in the French language, something which was unheard of in Ontario five or 10 years ago.

French for Franco-Ontarians is not a theory and it is not a catch-phrase; it is a way of life. The need of Franco-Ontarians to be able to express themselves freely and fully in their language is recognized and accepted. We acknowledge that they also need to receive a response in their mother tongue.

In Nipissing, Franco-Ontarians have access to three French television channels. French Radio-Canada programming is available out of Sudbury. Sturgeon Falls has its own bilingual newspaper, *La Tribune*. Nor is it uncommon for an English-language radio station or for English-language newspapers to run French-language advertisements and public service messages.

I believe the situation I have outlined as existing in my riding is extraordinary, even unique. In Nipissing, the options are there, the options are available. They are not merely promised; they are in place right now. Self-expression is possible, I say, for every Ontarian, regardless of his ancestry. Education in the language of choice is available now, as I indicated earlier, up to grade eight and will soon be available for secondary school students. Canadians of both French and English extraction have broken down the barriers which appear to be such an incredible stumbling block to Canadian unity.

We still have a long way to go, but 100 years ago, even 25 years ago, who would have thought that we would today have come so far? This country has reached a point at which the options I have mentioned as being available in Nipissing are to be expected and should be accepted elsewhere in this country.

I am proud to claim that the people of the Nipissing area have proven themselves to be pioneers in this connection. We knew that bilingual services and facilities should be available. We decided they would be available and we made bilingualism a way of life in my riding.

Un grand nombre de résidents de la région de Nipissing ont de la famille dans la province du Québec. Nombreux sont les électeurs qui nous disent qu'ils craignent une séparation géographique, car cela risquerait de signifier une séparation de famille. Il me semble aussi que nombreux sont les Québécois qui ne croient pas à le survivance à l'extérieur de leurs frontières. Je leur réponds qu'ils n'ont qu'à regarder les francophones, les Franco-Ontariens de Nipissing, pour voir ce qui peut

être accompli à force de compréhension, de travail et de dévouement.

I would hope that the government of Ontario would take heed of what has happened in Nipissing. I would hope and expect it would continue to develop not only a French policy, but a constitution to implement the availability of French-language essential services.

In closing, I would like to say I believe the time has come when every Canadian should examine his or her own conscience. It is time for us to acknowledge, sincerely and honestly, exactly where we stand vis-à-vis one another and Canada. Twice in our lifetime, twice in this century, Canadians have gone to war to defend this country and to help free the world. As a result of those wars, thousands of Canadians suffered grievously. Many of them were seriously wounded. Others returned to this country to become embittered at the difficulties of taking up the threads of their lives. Many did not return.

I ask, is the sacrifice which they made to be in vain? Are we going to repay them by allowing the country for which they fought and for which many of them died to disintegrate? When they were called upon to stand up and be counted, they didn't hesitate. Last November I attended a memorial service. A program was given to all of us there. I thought what the program said was very significant. The front of the program said: "Think Canadian. They did." We should not hesitate either in doing whatever has to be done to ensure that this country continues to be a united country, one Canada from coast to coast. They thought Canadian. Let us think Canadian, let us act Canadian.

8:50 p.m.

Hon. Mr. Elgie: Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to rise to take part in this debate. I am also delighted at what I sense is a great degree of co-operation with members from the opposition benches drifting over here, some a little more ambitious than others. But it may portend great thoughts and great events in the years to come as common sense pervades the whole Legislature.

In any event, as colleagues on both sides of the House have said, it is indeed a rare occasion when the usual business of this Legislature is eclipsed by an issue of such magnitude. Although less rare, it is nevertheless gratifying to have the degree of consensus I'm sure we all see in this House over this particular issue that is so close to all our hearts.

All members clearly feel there is a personal and collective message they want their

fellow citizens in Quebec to hear. Perhaps, as a former Toronto newspaper columnist has said, we feel this way because "members of the Ontario Legislature wish to see themselves doing something, even though in their heart of hearts they know that Quebecers will make their own decision about their own future."

Perhaps the very unusual nature of this debate, if one can call it a debate, is based on our own personal and collective desire to do something. But with the alternatives being what they are, surely we can all be forgiven for trying in our own way to influence events that are taking place. Surely that is understandable. There is, after all, no other single issue that could come before this Legislature that is more spectacular in its impact than the sobering spectre of Quebec's separation. Surely there is no other challenge for this country that is more troubled than the real potential for its geographic and political dismemberment.

Speaking for myself, I can't recall another discussion on this issue since my election to the Legislature which has actually put us in a position where we face a date, a referendum and a question that puts the potential for separation so close. Perhaps that is why I have at this time, as I sense other members have, a need to put my own feelings on the line and to say very frankly and openly that in my heart of hearts, in my gut, I feel that the ordinary Canadian loves Canada, wants it to survive and wants Quebec to stay in.

I know that we here in Ontario are often accused of being emotionless pragmatists and of not articulating our feelings well. That is why this debate this week is so important. It gives us, and through us our constituents, an opportunity to reaffirm our faith in this country and in its heritage and to say in very clear and unequivocal terms that we are not indifferent to the future of this nation, nor are we indifferent to the legitimate aspirations of various regions in this country.

But surely we cannot, and will not, stand or sit passively and silently by while our fellow citizens in Quebec consider a proposition which, if approved, could lead to the dismemberment of a nation that our forefathers have nurtured and that we have shared and cherished. Surely we owe ourselves more than that and we owe our children much more than that.

I can recall my own days as a student at la Faculté de Médecine de l'Université d'Ottawa sensing some of the cultural frustration of my fellow medical students. But there seemed always to be a common accept-

ance and understanding that we were all Canadiens and that rational human beings and fellow countrymen with an intrinsic respect for each other and for each other's views and values could resolve most problems and that really in the long run there were very few barriers that could not be surmounted.

Personally, I find it very difficult to accept that the aspirations of my fellow citizens and of my colleagues in Quebec are really so unique that they could not be accommodated within a federalist concept of Canada. Others who are far more eloquent than I am have more clearly articulated the case for a united Canada, but I would like to take a moment to put some of my views on the record and to reinforce the position of the government in this most important debate.

We have heard several arguments in support of the preservation of this nation of ours, not the least of which has been the rich heritage that has been produced by the co-operative interaction of the cultures of our two founding peoples, a heritage that has been richly augmented by a myriad of immigrants who have chosen deliberately to make Canada their home and who, if I might share some of the words from my colleague from Armourdale (Mr. McCaffrey), are fiercely Canadian and are sincerely disturbed at the prospect of a fractured Canada.

When one speaks of heritage many images come to mind. The major ones, however, emphasize our intertwined history, our similar values and our shared benefits. Our history is highly intertwined occasionally, quite frankly, by controversy but also enhanced by higher points of co-operation and agreement.

Ontarians and Quebecers hold similar views and values. We share a fundamental and intrinsic respect for the law, a deep respect for the individual in society and a deep commitment to the family. The positive climate this shared relationship has produced and created within this bountiful nation has attracted a multiplicity of people eager to share in the benefits of this great land.

Surely this is a foundation we should build upon rather than replace with what has been termed as sovereignty-association, a proposal that discards two centuries of nation-building, a proposal that would impede the evolution of Canadian nationhood and, in my view, would achieve nothing that cannot be achieved effectively within a federalist framework.

In looking back at how our founding peoples have developed the spirit of this great nation, I must point out that many of

the most important events in our history have indeed involved some disagreement or some confrontation. Our goals, aspirations and perceptions have occasionally led to these confrontations. But I think it is important to note, and to remember, that from these disagreements has come an increased awareness by each of the desires and the aspirations of the other. Several turning points in our history suggest that Canada has weathered each of these crises well and has emerged from each stronger and more vibrant.

Although there have been these occasions of disagreement, there have also been numerous examples of co-operation. The most significant, of course, was in the very creation of this nation in 1867 as a result of the collaborative efforts of many great Canadians, such as Sir John A. Macdonald and Georges Etienne Cartier. The British North America Act, the founding document of this nation, was premised on the reality of the existence of those two founding cultures.

It is certainly not too late to restructure that federation to reflect more accurately the changing legitimate needs of our fellow French-Canadian citizens and, indeed, of those of other regions in the country who feel the need for alterations in the face of several years of constitutional status quo. Ontario has made that commitment to negotiate constitutional reform, to endeavour to achieve a new, fair and just equilibrium within Confederation, a constitution that might better serve the needs of the people of each province.

This commitment, in effect is a continuation and a reaffirmation of the tradition of co-operation which was begun by Ontario's Premier Oliver Mowat and Quebec's Honoré Mercier in the late 19th century. This Quebec-Ontario co-operation has been a cornerstone not only of our political development, but of the evolution of our economic, social and cultural way of life.

9 p.m.

Many of our co-operative efforts, ranging from the building of the St. Lawrence Seaway in the 1950s to a common position on a new federal-provincial communications policy still under discussion, demonstrate the benefits of our co-operation. The federal system under which that development has taken place has allowed Ontario, Quebec and other regions of this country to retain their individual historical identities. At the same time, we have each benefited from the larger association.

I would hope that any sense of dissatisfaction with our federal system is less pro-

nounced in matters relating to labour and labour relations than it might be in other areas. I would suggest this is because under present arrangements, as members know, the labour laws affecting the overwhelming majority of citizens are enacted and administered by the provinces. In practical terms, the provinces have full autonomy in several key areas, manufacturing, mining, construction, wholesale and retail trade and the service industry generally. In this connection, it is worth while to note that a Canadian province under our system has much greater legislative responsibility than a state does under the United States constitution.

In making this observation, I am not suggesting what we have is perfect. For example, as we move to a total review of our constitutional arrangements I would hope and urge that careful attention be given to any unjustifiable reliance on federal powers. In saying that, I refer in particular to the scope and the ambit of the declaratory section. Subject to this important reservation, I think it can fairly be said that in labour matters the provinces in Canada have, on the one hand, autonomy in key industrial and commercial sectors within their boundaries and, on the other hand, the opportunity to consult and collaborate with each other and with the federal authorities on matters of shared and common concern.

In a Canada without Quebec, the substantial benefits, be they formal or informal, that flow from this unique constitutional arrangement would surely be jeopardized and to the detriment of all of us. Some Quebecers have doubted that the Canadian federal state can offer them any continuing benefits or can allow for a realistic fulfilment of the Quebec national consciousness. That narrow argument put forward by antifederalist forces holds that this association with Canada and with its provinces has limited Quebec's development.

The solution offered by the Parti Québécois to rectify the perceived situation is sovereignty-association—effectively, some sort of separation from Canada. Ontario's response as a province is simple and direct. Quebec should remain within the federal state and should continue to co-operate with Ontario and with the rest of the provinces to redesign a constitution that will accommodate the legitimate roles of our province, those of Quebec and those of the other regions and people in Canada.

The people of Ontario also have a simple and straightforward message for the people of Quebec. The strength of Canada and our very

existence, in the face of what surely has to be a very awkward geographical distribution, depend upon each region of this diverse country accepting that it has a complementary role to play with regard to each other region and, as a result, there flows a beneficial balancing of each other's weaknesses and strengths and allows national survival and prosperity.

In spite of those intertwining needs, over the past 113 years we have, as a nation, still managed to preserve regional diversity. Given this fact, I would submit that there is little danger of Quebec's identity disappearing in a renewed Canadian federation. The Canadian commitment as well as the Canadian challenge has always been the retention of our individual and collective historical identities. In the coming years and months we must find new ways of meeting this challenge, but we must do it positively, not negatively.

In the debate that has surrounded the issue of separation, the actions and views of the people of Ontario as well as our supposed intentions have sometimes been distorted and misrepresented by some proponents of the separatist cause. To those who have made such negative statements and accusations, I can only say that Ontario's vision is not narrow. Our desire to create a strong and just Canada in all its regions has never failed us. We have always viewed our compatriots in Quebec and in other parts of the country as partners in the work of building this nation. To imply otherwise is, frankly, to attack the integrity and the goodwill of Ontario's people. To advance that cynical and, I submit, questionable argument also underestimates the intelligence of Quebecers, who must surely know otherwise.

At this fragile time in our history, surely it is counterproductive to resort to any inaccurate negative rhetoric. Today we have the opportunity and capacity to build a stronger and more positive nation. At this time of crisis let us share a renewed sense of national purpose. Let us accept the challenge and build the nation together rather than choose the sad alternative of setting ourselves apart from each other.

Monsieur le Président, comme le grand historien M. Arnold Toynbee l'a démontré, les grandes civilisations ne sont pas nées d'événements et de circonstances fortuites, mais de la volonté des hommes de surmonter des obstacles qui paraissent infranchissables. Devant cette question capitale, il serait certes facile de ne pas intervenir et de laisser notre pays se morceler. Mais avec du courage, de la détermination et de la volonté, nous pouvons surmonter nos difficultés. Ainsi nous attein-

drons inévitablement notre but—celui de bâtir un Canada plus juste et plus fort. Et je propose, Monsieur le Président, que nous travaillions ensemble afin de réaliser cet objectif commun.

As the late historian, Arnold Toynbee, has shown us, great civilizations have been created not by fortuitous events or conditions or accidents of time but by the ability of people to overcome adversities. In respect to this momentous matter before us, the easy course would surely be to sit back and allow this country to balkanize. But with courage, determination and goodwill, I submit that we can overcome our present difficulties. We can achieve the inevitable result of a stronger and, indeed, a better Canada. I say, let us join forces and continue our work towards that common goal.

Mr. Gaunt: Mr. Speaker, first of all I want to say I support enthusiastically the resolution before the House. On a personal note, and I know a number of other members have mentioned this, which I suppose gives me the freedom to do the same, my roots in this province go back to 1849. As far as I am concerned, I am not in any way at any time prepared to negotiate the breakup of this country.

My forefathers were of Scottish and English descent and came out to Ontario in 1849, first landing at Kingston. They then made their way down to Huron county and eventually to West Wawanosh township. My mother's ancestors are pure Irish, although there are some who say to apply the word pure to the Irish is in itself a bit of a contradiction.

9:10 p.m.

Others who have spoken in this debate have indicated their varied and diverse cultural backgrounds and experiences. I feel a certain deficiency in that respect because I come from an Anglo-Saxon background and have never lived in any other province but Ontario. Notwithstanding that, I still have a keen feeling for this country, for its history, for its two founding races, the French and the English, and its present multicultural composition.

It is an honour for me to participate in this debate, a most important one, as witnessed by the fact that all members and most of the cabinet ministers are taking part, because I think all of us sense that Canadians are faced with the greatest internal crisis since Confederation. The separatist movement in Quebec is but one manifestation of that crisis. And so I think it is appropriate that the assembly of Ontario is setting aside this entire week for such a major debate. As was

pointed out several days ago, this is the first time in the history of this House that such a procedure has been followed. While there is bound to be repetition, I think it is a useful exercise.

The election of a separatist government in Quebec has focused public attention to an unprecedented degree on the adequacy, or otherwise, of our constitutional and institutional arrangements. Questions such as what do we expect from our central government, what responsibilities can be handled as well, if not better, by the provinces, how can we further the cause of national unity and restructure government to give a more accurate reflection of and respect for regional and cultural diversity are all questions that the Canadian public has been asking in the last four or five years.

I think it has become obvious that we must rearrange the terms of the constitution to make Quebecers more comfortable within the Canadian federation, a constitution that reflects the social and economic facts and responds to the needs of the country as a whole. Simply put, the constitution has just not kept up with present-day realities. Since Confederation, there have been only three amendments to the BNA Act that actually transferred legislative powers from one level of government to another.

All three amendments were post-Second World War and all three involved transfer of power from the provinces to Ottawa: first, with respect to unemployment insurance; second, with respect to old age pensions; and, third, with respect to supplementary benefits to pensioners. The courts have made various judgements in respect to the division of powers over the years, but I don't think that is any substitute at this point for a new constitution.

There is much to recommend a thorough reassessment of our constitutional arrangements because this is a very different country from the collection of colonies assembled by the Fathers of Confederation 113 years ago. Canada's boundaries have expanded to the point that we are now the world's second-largest nation in terms of area. Political independence has been achieved. The country's economic centre of gravity has been moving west and so has the political balance. The last redistribution gave the western provinces for the first time more members of Parliament in Ottawa than Quebec has. I think it is obvious that the constitution has to reflect present-day realities, not only in Quebec but in the rest of the country as well.

One of the fundamental issues that has caused major disagreement is the degree of centralization. When the federal government usurps, or is seen to usurp, powers given to the provinces under the BNA Act, then there is friction and bitterness. This can be seen not only here but in the United States and Australia as well. A lot of the friction in this country has resulted from the central government using financial power at the expense of the provinces. The Canadian constitution, as originally designed, provided for a strong central government. Although there were differences of opinion on this point, it is felt that a higher degree of provincial autonomy was contemplated in some areas than the federal government has been prepared to concede.

The point is that the constitution drafted in 1867 did not envisage the independent and fully sovereign Canada which has evolved. The federal government had veto power of provincial laws. The imperial government had veto power over the Canadian government in Ottawa under the terms of the BNA Act.

As I mentioned before, the Canada of 1867 has evolved into a country so different from that which was contemplated a century ago, but arguments proceeding from original intent must be recognized as not being all that useful for charting a constitutional course for the future. Complete domination from the centre was unacceptable then and it still is. It would have imposed strains on Canadian federation which would have proved unacceptable.

In 1968, Pierre Trudeau, in speaking of the tendency of the Privy Council to favour the provinces, said, "It has long been a custom in English Canada to denounce the Privy Council for its provincial bias, but it should perhaps be considered that if the law lords had not leaned in that direction, Quebec separatism might not be a threat today; it might be an accomplished fact."

That suggests to me that in the future more power will have to be transferred to the provinces if this country is going to stay together. Whatever the Privy Council did or did not do in maintaining a balance between the provinces and the federal government, it did establish formally the principle that the federal and provincial governments were not in a relationship of superior to inferior, master to servant; rather each was sovereign within the area of jurisdiction assigned to it by the constitution.

Over the years it has turned out that the real action has been at the provincial level in terms of delivering services to people on

a day-to-day basis. Many programs, particularly social programs, had a high visibility and voter appeal at the provincial level. As a result, the temptation has been strong for federal politicians to encroach upon areas of social policy which the constitution assigned exclusively to the provinces. This was encouraged by a developing imbalance in the federal system where the legislative authority was located at the provincial level but the big money was in Ottawa. Instead of Ottawa making some fiscal arrangement with the provinces to allow the provinces to carry on these programs, the central government assumed a policy-making and program role in these areas of provincial responsibility.

The exercise of federal spending power in this fashion, along with the conditional grant program, has been a source of continuing tension with Quebec and Ontario and other provinces and is one matter which will require attention in any constitutional reform, because the provinces do have constitutional authority over such matters as health, education and highways, just to mention three.

When the federal government offers, for example, to pay half the cost of a new program subject to certain conditions, the pressures on a province are very strong to take advantage of that program, usually based on the federal government paying 50 per cent of the cost. This sometimes means the conditions imposed lead to a very different kind of program from the one the province would otherwise have developed. Added to this is the realization that the province could be left to carry the full cost of the program should Ottawa choose to terminate its cost sharing. So provincial priorities become distorted in areas which are supposed to be entirely within the provincial realm.

At the constitutional discussions in Victoria in 1971, a formula was developed for requiring provincial consent before new spending programs of this kind could be initiated by Ottawa. That provision was not included in the charter, but this type of constitutional amendment would go a considerable distance towards meeting some of the concerns Quebec has expressed in the past. Therefore, the tendency over the years has been for more centralization at the federal level while the whole thrust at the provincial level has really been in the opposite direction, putting considerable strain on the system.

Another stress point as far as Quebec is concerned is the reality that since Confederation, and indeed for a century before, Quebec has been very conscious of the need to

preserve and protect its position as representing the French fact in North America.

Kenneth Lysyk, in one of his lectures on reshaping Canadian federation, said: "For many years and, generally speaking, extending through to the Duplessis era, the concerns were largely to protect the authority the constitution already conferred; that is to say, the constitution as it had been interpreted by the Privy Council when it was the court of final appeal in constitutional matters.

9:20 p.m.

"More recently, following the so-called quiet revolution in Quebec, the governments of the province moved towards a more affirmative position. It was no longer thought sufficient to react defensively and negatively towards some proposed new federal program. Increasingly the constitutional position of that province has been defined in positive terms. The overall objective was expressed in terms of the importance of Quebecers being masters in their own house and what was sought was increased control over their own affairs.

"There can be no doubt at all that this constitutional direction, charted well before Mr. Levesque joined the Parti Quebecois, will be continued even if his government is defeated at the next election. That continuity is one reason why the constitutional issues must be seriously addressed now, even if the prospects for successful intergovernmental discussions in the short run are not right."

Essentially from the provinces' point of view, a number of constitutional reforms are necessary—and this province is now committed to constitutional reform—to guard against over-centralization by the federal government and to protect the interests of the provinces.

At the Victoria conference in 1971, the Victoria charter embodied a package of proposals that were at the time acceptable to Ottawa and to all of the provinces except Quebec, which felt that the proposals did not go far enough in terms of protecting the provinces' interests, particularly with respect to social policy. However, I think this is the time to pick up where the Victoria conference left off and try once again to achieve some acceptable compromises in terms of the distribution of legislative powers.

To say that such a further reallocation of authority in favour of the provinces would weaken the central government to the point where it could not pursue legitimate national goals is not so in my view. In regard to these proposed constitutional changes, they are the

ones which have a strong provincial flavour and need not inhibit the central government from addressing the truly interprovincial, national and international responsibilities. At the same time, the constitution must allow enough latitude in terms of constitutional authority and financial resources to encourage significant political and cultural self-expression at the provincial level.

So much for the distribution of specific legislative powers. Things like constitutional reform, Senate reform, ownership and control of provincial natural resources and incorporating a Bill of Rights into the constitution are all important matters. In the final analysis, however, the continuance of Canada as a country depends on the heart, not on the head. In my view, it is going to be the depth of feeling we have for the country, the commitment we have to it, the courage and determination to resolve our problems and the sensitivity to appreciate each other's problems that are going to determine whether the country remains or breaks up. That is going to demand vision, total commitment, total determination and above all, hope and goodwill and belief in this country and what it can offer.

In the days ahead, attitudes of government will be more important, I suggest, than the letter of the constitution. Whatever the outcome in Quebec on May 20, we have to negotiate to resolve our differences. We owe the future nothing less. This is my country; this is our country; I love it; I want to see it continue.

Mr. Philip: Mr. Speaker, it is a pleasure to participate in this very serious and very important debate. It is a very personal debate because all of us have our own very personal feelings about Canada and about our desire to have the people of Quebec make a decision to remain as part of this exciting, evolving and growing country.

My ancestors came to Canada before the turn of the century. They came from Scotland and Ireland. They came, not so much to join an English or a French-speaking culture, but rather because conditions were so bad in the home country that the result of not coming would be abject poverty or even starvation.

If we are to be honest, many of us who can trace our roots can say that our forefathers in all probability never chose to be assimilated into cultures of one or the other of the founding cultures. Instead, they consciously chose to survive, and survive they did, but at considerable loss of much of their own culture.

The member for Stormont-Dundas-Glen-garry (Mr. Villeneuve) pointed out that his ancestors spoke Gaelic, as did mine. Unfortunately, neither he nor I is capable of speaking in the Legislature using the language of our roots in the eloquent manner of members who today were able to speak in their own home language.

I believe that my ancestors, the Scots, have been for the most part a tolerant and empathetic race of people. I quote from Benjamin Sault in *Les Ecosais au Canada* in *la Revue des deux France*, 1898, in which he says: "Of the three groups who form what we now call les Anglais, those who have been here the longest and those who are the most remarkable are the Scottish group. For us French Canadians, this is the most sympathetic and most understanding of the three groups concerned."

We Canadians of Scottish and Irish ancestries are in a good position to understand the aspirations of the Franco-Ontarians, for in many ways we have lost much of what French Canadians are afraid of losing. Although Canada is a country of two founding ethnocultural groups, it is now a country of many cultures. The way to help us, of Irish and Scottish extraction, to come to a more tolerant view of others is to provide us with some of the action.

The whole concept of multiculturalism is a noble one, but it must include not just those who came to Canada more recently but also those whose ancestors, like mine, came many years ago. In 1976-77, Irish cultural groups received about five per cent of the federal grants given to ethnic groups. In 1978-79, they received only one per cent. In 1976-77, Scottish associations and groups received about five per cent of the total federal grants given to ethnic groups. In 1978-79, they received only two per cent.

After 1971, the federal government stopped collecting population figures on English, Scottish and Irish Canadians and, instead, labelled us all as English-speaking. We all understand the pressures that brought this about and the reasons why the federal government moved in that direction. We also recognize that there is probably no conscious move on the part of the government to undermine the Scottish or Irish culturally. We have the greatest love and respect for our friends who came, or whose ancestors came, from England but we are not English. Hostility often springs not from reality but from a perceived reality, and we must always be conscious of that.

Many of the associations and groups that have promoted and encouraged the Irish and

Scottish Canadians to hold on to our traditions, and to study our original languages have certainly done a tremendous job, often with little or no government support. Some have not had the need for government support, but what I am saying is that for those groups to feel comfortable in a multicultural system they must at least feel they can be part of that action if they wish to or have the need to.

This brings me to the problems inherent in the present multicultural programs. The federal multicultural program was both timely and positive. However, since the Secretariat of State for Multiculturalism was established in 1971, the focus has been on facilitating and assisting different cultural groups but has put very little emphasis on developing education and understanding among groups.

Multiculturalism, I believe, must have two thrusts. One is the thrust of assisting individuals to discover the richness of their own heritage. The other thrust is the one of exchanging cultural experience. One thrust provides a sense of pride and self-worth. The other thrust provides a sense of empathy, appreciation and understanding. Over-emphasizing one brings out narrow nationalism and division. A balanced approach is what is needed.

9:30 p.m.

At the provincial level, we in Ontario must do everything possible to promote a balanced multicultural program. Some of my colleagues have already dealt with some aspects of this. I would like to mention one concern which has not been mentioned. In May 1979, the multicultural development branch of the Ministry of Culture and Recreation was merged with the newcomer services branch, under the title of citizenship development branch. The rationale was that the multicultural development branch tended to separate people.

However, with the new direction we must be ever-cautious of a tendency towards conformity. One way of avoiding this is to give citizens a direct input into the programs. The government may well have thought it was doing this by expanding the multiculturalism council. This body, however, is merely an advisory council, with no decision-making powers. Its members are appointed by cabinet.

There is suspicion in my community—a multicultural community—that this council can be used as a propaganda weapon by the government, and the appointment of the defeated Tory candidate Yuri Shymko as the new chairman, with a \$40,000-a-year salary, has done little to remove these suspicions.

Multiculturalism is too important to Canada. It must not be used, or even appear to be used, as a political tool.

I was disappointed at the absence of any concrete statement of multicultural fact in the Ryan paper, put out by the constitutional committee of the Quebec Liberal Party, A New Canadian Federation. Recommendations in chapter 17, dealing with the rights of native peoples are very interesting. Let me read just two of the several recommendations it makes.

It says the constitution should guarantee respect for their rights and their cultural inheritance. It also says, "In the course of negotiations on the adoption of a new constitution, the native peoples should be represented and consulted." These two recommendations should also be applied to other cultural groups in Canada.

What I have attempted to do is to present some of the feelings I have on the importance of multiculturalism as a way of promoting understanding and growth among all cultural groups that make up Canada. I believe an extensive, two-pronged approach to multiculturalism creates an environment in which many of the aspirations of the two founding cultures can be met, as well as the aspirations of other groups.

I believe in Quebec's right to make its own decision. If it is divorce, rather than intercourse, I will not advocate rape. However, I cannot understand the concept of sovereignty-association. I can understand sovereignty, and I can understand association, but I cannot understand sovereignty-association.

If the people of Quebec choose political independence at some point, I do not feel that most Canadians would advocate force to prevent them from withdrawing. It might well be that some time after that separation some agreement could be reached between the two countries. That would remain to be seen.

I am talking hypothetically about two separate actions. I quote from Premier Allan Blakeney, who said, in speaking about the concept of sovereignty-association: "It is the essence of the concept, sovereignty-association, which presents some real obstacles that Premier Levesque continually glosses over. Part of that glossing-over is accomplished by the marrying of the terms sovereignty and association. These conditions, presumably, are to be arrived at simultaneously. Try as I do, I cannot understand how this can be done. How can Quebec, as one of the 10 provinces, both negotiate itself out of Canada and nego-

tiate itself into associate status as a sovereign state at one and the same time?"

"I can understand," Premier Blakeney says, "how this might possibly be done by two separate and distinct steps, necessarily separated by a considerable period of time, and assuming that some bargain could be struck between two sovereign states, but as I understand it this is not the proposal by Premier Levesque." A yes vote for sovereignty-association is merely a vote for confusion.

I would like to conclude with one last quote from Premier Blakeney: "A no vote in the referendum is not a vote for the status quo but a yes vote will do nothing save bring a stalemate and lend support to those who say the best thing to do is to wash our hands of Quebec. It is for the people of Quebec to decide how they will vote."

I hope their answer will be, "No, merci."

Mr. Kerr: Mr. Speaker, it is a great pleasure for me to take part in this debate. There have been many debates in this Legislature which have been of great significance to the development of our province, yet I believe there has never been a debate as significant or as important for the future of Ontario or for the future of Canada as a whole as the one we are engaged in this week.

Fundamentally, we are talking about the future of our nation, we are talking about the survival of Canada as we know it, we are talking about the preservation of the precious heritage that we have inherited from our forefathers and which every one of us will want to pass on to our children and children's children. In many ways, my vision of Canada is shaped by my background and that of my family. Indeed, my family's history demonstrates the diversity and harmony of our country.

My family, the Kerrs, have been resident in Canada since the 1830s. My great, great grandfather was a Scot and when he came over he decided to settle in one of the many Scottish settlements that dot the Gaspé region of Quebec. They are people of French, Scottish and Irish backgrounds. As Quebecers, they live peacefully side by side, each preserving the best of their own culture while developing a loyalty and love for their new home, Canada.

My great, great grandfather, Archie Kerr, used to deliver the mail in our region. It was a 60-mile route. During the summer months he would wear his kilt while walking his rounds. Although he was proud to wear the ancestral tartan of his clan, my forefather did not consider himself any less a Canadian

than any of his neighbours, many of whom had ancestors who settled in Canada in the days of Champlain.

As I remember, while I was growing up in the Gaspé during the 1930s, there was no real animosity between people. We all had respect for each other. We all appreciated the differences that separated us but also recognized those things which brought us together as people of different heritages, as Canadians, and as individuals. I had many school chums who were French-speaking Quebecers. We would switch from one language to the other as if this was the natural thing to do, and appreciate each other's struggle.

Conditions were fairly tough in those days on the Gaspé coast. No one had more than the basic necessities and this is why we were close. There were nine months of winter and about three months poor sledding. This helped us, I am sure, to appreciate each other for our distinctive personal qualities, regardless of what language we spoke, what church we prayed at or where our parents came from. We were all Canadians doing what we could to take advantage of the opportunities that were provided to us by living in a land that we believed had great potential. Certainly, we were all prepared to do what we could to enhance the role and prestige of our community and our province, but we were Canadians first, last and always. If you asked a Quebecer in those days, "Are you French?" His answer was, "Je suis Canadien."

As honourable members know, there are many regions of Quebec that have this multi-racial mix—Montreal, the Eastern Townships, the upper Ottawa Valley, to name a few. This mosaic is a mirror of many other parts of Canada that exist today. The only difference is, depending on the province, the so-called minority status of one group may change and, therefore, their efforts to maintain their culture and background require varying degrees of tolerance and co-operation.

9:40 p.m.

The member for Ottawa East (Mr. Roy) and other speakers have reminded those who would vote yes in the referendum that there are Franco-Ontarians and other citizens of French-speaking background in other provinces whose efforts to maintain their heritage and equality could be set back if the principle of sovereignty-association received majority support, which could result in Quebec becoming a separate state.

Those of us in public office should not be deterred from enhancing that equality and

those rights, regardless of our constituencies. However, there is no question in my mind that those efforts may be severely set back if Mr. Levesque and the Parti Québécois are successful in the referendum.

I doubt very much if you will find many people who proudly call themselves Acadians in the Maritimes, or Franco-Ontarians, or French-speaking Canadians anywhere outside of Quebec who support the principle of sovereignty-association. They know that their future and opportunities are much brighter in a united Canada where they can continue to move and work anywhere across the country, speaking for the most part their own language and continue to enjoy and promote their cultural heritage.

I was frankly disappointed when I read recently that a former cabinet minister in the Bourassa government, an English-speaking Quebecer who represented Westmount in the National Assembly, announced he was going to vote yes. This man is one of the heirs of a very well-known and well-respected Quebec family. I suppose he felt that in some way he was protecting his own interests in the event that Quebec separated in the future. His announcement caused a great deal of controversy, and well it might, as most English-speaking Quebecers have benefited greatly from Confederation in our present political structure.

What concerns me is that, because of that family's prestige, many of his former constituents and many other English-speaking Quebecers may follow his intention, thereby greatly undermining the basic support for a united Canada that exists among his compatriots, who know they have nothing to gain and much to lose in the event the country splits up.

That gentleman's announcement could also help allay some of the concerns and fears that many French-speaking Quebecers have about voting yes, thereby tipping the scales in a way which could be very unfortunate.

The federal system, with its checks and balances, our laws and court systems and the administration of justice generally, is for the equal benefit of all Canadians. Legislation passed in provincial legislatures which may prejudice minorities now is subject to future scrutiny. In areas of language rights, education, communication and even religion, the federal Parliament and Supreme Court have a credible record of changing and even disallowing such legislation in the protection of minority rights.

Let us consider for a moment the great progress that has occurred within each region

of our country over the past century. As Canadian provinces, we have advanced from small agricultural communities huddled on the shores of rivers, lakes and streams. We have developed industries, built huge cities and harnessed the energies of nature. Each and every one of us has had the unique opportunity to grow and thrive in one of the most diverse regions on earth.

Just as there was in the Gaspé region of my boyhood, there is room enough for all of us in Canada. There is room enough for different interests, both cultural and economic, to develop in an atmosphere of harmony and freedom.

As has been said in this House, particularly by Franco-Ontarian members, the Rockies, the Prairies, all that wheat, all that oil and all those fish belong to me. I believe this debate should not be seen as a gloomy affair, as an admission of defeat or, to borrow the expression common in the media these days, as something too little, too late. I believe we should use this debate as an affirmation of Confederation, even a celebration, if you will, of all the good things that are involved in being together as Canadians.

I hope this debate will breathe new life into the concepts of Confederation and renew in every one of us in this chamber, and in those reading the debates or following them on television and radio, a commitment to keep Canada united.

Each and every one of us should take down the Confederation documents from the library shelf, dust them off and see them for what they are: a living and breathing influence on our day-to-day affairs in this Legislature. Confederation isn't just something we learn in school. It is not just the drab-coloured painting of the Fathers of Confederation that hangs in the wall space over the entrance to the library of this Legislature. No, Confederation is what we are all about in this House and what our colleagues in similar legislatures in other provinces are all about. In other words, Confederation is our business.

Each and every one of us here and throughout Canada is working together for the benefit of all. We are working to ensure prosperity for our own communities, but not in a selfish sense. We are working for the kind of prosperity that will benefit not only ourselves but others as well. We are working to link both the success of our communities with that of our nation as a whole and so to create a nation that is greater than the sum of its parts.

That in an ideal form is what Confederation is all about. Naturally, it is a worthy goal, one that makes us a greater people and a greater

nation the closer we come to achieving it. It is a goal that each of us as politicians and citizens should keep in mind as we go about our business.

In order to ensure that this freedom and opportunity continues, there must be some change in the administration of Confederation. Our constitution, the British North America Act, requires reform. It has required reform for 20 years and, in spite of many efforts, no change has yet come about.

Ontario, I am happy to say, has been in the forefront of the movement to reform the constitution. It was Premier Robarts who took a leading role in organizing the Confederation of Tomorrow conference in 1967. This government has presented papers on a new economic policy for a new formula, the taxing of strategic inner resources and a recommendation for the repatriation of the constitution. Ontario has been doing its part. It has been in the forefront. And this debate this week is evidence the position of Ontario continues in the forefront.

I believe that changes must be made to our constitution if Confederation is to flourish and prosper. The constitution was designed in the spirit of English common law. That is to say our constitution is not a document whose resolutions are written in stone; they are open to change and reform so as to better serve the circumstances of the time.

All over the world people are flexing muscles, demanding rights, exposing injustices. The remedy in some areas is resolved either by bullets or by ballots. In some cases they are justified. In many countries change is not an improvement; the natives are fleeing their own land. This is not the situation in Quebec, because that province is one of the most civilized, tolerant and cultural regions in the world. In spite of the fact that many politicians have strained that fabric, the province continues to thrive. To do so in the future requires its scholars, writers, entrepreneurs, athletes, artists, clergy and all of its people, with their innate sense of decency and justice, their *joie de vivre*, to be always the vibrant heart and sensitive soul of Canada from sea to sea. Let them all breathe and roar and influence so that we may benefit.

I say to Mr. Levesque, my former Gaspésian neighbour, that if the result on May 20 is non, merci, he should accept it as a mandate to enhance and expand his province within a renewed Confederation. He and his successors would have all the power they need to govern without inhibition. I am sure he will find his colleagues and counterparts in Ottawa and the other provincial

capitals to be very receptive, thereby assuring his positive role in Canada's history and the future prosperity and destiny of the people of Quebec.

9:50 p.m.

Mr. Mackenzie: Mr. Speaker, I had not originally intended to speak in this debate. This was not because of any lack of real concern over the serious situation I think we find in our country today, but because I was not sure if I could put into words my concerns and because of my own feelings, which are not necessarily in accord with those of my own caucus colleagues.

I have had difficulty for a long time in accepting that self-determination was a right of Quebecers only. I thought of it and I tried to come to grips with it myself, but in my own heart what cried out all the time was: "Hey, this is my country too. I believe in it. I think I am part of it. I don't think, even if we are two founding races, that you have the sole right to decide on determination when that could mean the breakup of our country." I have had serious problems coming to grips with that.

Having said that, I also recognize, probably more than some and in a very personal and practical way, some of the differences and some of the problems that exist. I grew up in the town of Buckingham, Quebec. We were the privileged in that town. My dad was secretary-treasurer of a very large corporation, the major employer in the town. I went to Buckingham High School. We played in competition with St. Joseph's, the French Catholic school in town. Unfortunately, in those days we were as likely to end up in a good fight, not necessarily only in sports, but sometimes over who controlled some of the local ponds for skating and for hockey practices around the town. I well remember what childhood I had in that town and the kind of conflicts that were there and the inconsiderate attitudes that many of us took. I have to tell the people in this House that the Anglos were more often the inconsiderate than the Francos in that town.

I also know that when I went to sea in 1943 during the war I got a pretty good lesson in trade unionism. That is where it started with me, with the Norwegians because I sailed with the Norwegians. When I came back in 1945 to Buckingham, I began to realize some of the things and some of the problems that existed in that town and in this country in the Confederation we have.

There were a couple of very simple matters, for example. When I said we were the privileged, we really were the better-paid

families. There were many things going for us in the town. The town at that time was probably about 50 per cent English and 50 per cent French. In that plant where my dad was one of the senior management people, there were probably 400 people in the plant and 70 people in the office. When I started checking, I found out there was one of the 70 office staff who was a French Canadian. One simply didn't get into the office staff in that plant if one was French Canadian, and that was in a town that was 50-50. There was not a foreman in the mill who was a French Canadian, and many of them had good work records.

To get ahead at that time, a French Canadian had to get out of that mill.

I could go back to Buckingham today and point out some of the stores on the main drag there. I can remember, in particular, one drug-gist and one hardware store. After 15 or 16 years of service in that mill, people who had real ability ended up by getting out of the mill and opening up private businesses. They became entrepreneurs because that was how they made their name and got ahead in that town. They couldn't do it in that particular plant. It drove home a lesson to me. I realized there were some injustices.

I have long since left Buckingham, Quebec, and so has my family. I know that things have changed there. I know there is new management and new positions of authority and that many of them now are held in that town by French-Canadian citizens. But I wonder if what has happened in the last 10 or 15 years makes up for 50, 60, 70 or 100 years of injustice. If there should be any doubt or wonder in anybody's mind why we have some of the things happening that we have in this country of ours today, then who is at fault, the privileged or the underdogs?

I don't want to try to establish that fault, but I think of comments made by one of my kid brothers, who is still in Buckingham today and who is farming there. I talked to him only three or four weeks ago. I guess you would classify my kid brother as a very enterprising and yet small-c conservative person. He certainly does not hold the same views I do, though I have tried. I do not mean he is a wild conservative. He said to me, and I thought it was significant, "I don't like what is going on. I don't like the language bill"—that would be his prejudice showing—"I don't like the separation bit. But apart from those two issues, I have to tell you, Bob, the best government and the best initiatives and support for the people that we have had in a long time have come from the Parti Quebecois

in Quebec." That is a fair comment from someone who is as conservative as he is. It should raise questions in people's minds.

I personally hope very strongly there is a no vote in Quebec. That is my hope and that is why I support this resolution before this House. I want it, but I want it for possibly different reasons than some others in this House may have. I think a no vote presents a challenge to Ontario, to English Canada, and to the rest of Canada—all the other provinces with the rich ethnic mix they have in their populations today—a challenge like we have never had before. We are going to have to show our sincerity in coming to grips with what is obviously a problem in our country and with a need for a new constitution. We are kidding ourselves if we think otherwise.

I hope if we have a yes vote we are not so blind as to think we will not have to sit down and negotiate regardless. I do not think it gives the added leverage some people feel it might. I think a no vote is the one that puts us on the spot. The rest of Canada should be put on the spot in this particular debate. We are going to have to respond in terms of guarantees that do protect the language and culture rights of the people, and that do not involve the automatic assimilation talked about by my colleague from Sudbury East (Mr. Martel).

We are also going to have to be sure we see some redress in the economic problems that are so obvious and some feeling for the people of that province, as well as working people in the rest of the country. I think my colleagues have ably touched on this in the debate today. There can be some justice in terms of our economic system and how it relates to people. It need not be an establishment economic system.

We have to indicate clearly we are willing to sit down and negotiate a new constitution that puts Canada back in the hands of all Canadians. We have to be sure we are going to meet the challenge being tossed to us by the people in Quebec. We have to negotiate our differences. In those negotiations we do not necessarily have to be weak. If I have learned anything in the trade union movement it is that one does not usually negotiate from a point of weakness. I hope, if we are sincere, it will get through. I guess we have to have a little faith as well. It seems to me we have to negotiate on the basis of, "You may not get everything you want, but there are some obvious and serious differences and they have got to be redressed in our country."

We can get a handle on this and the rights of the two founding nations can be guaran-

teed. It will then be a lot easier to make the new citizens in this country, the variety of ethnic mix we now have, understand they also can achieve justice in the kind of mosaic that is Canada. There are problems also in offering services to new Canadians, not necessarily—and I might disagree here with some of my colleagues—as an equal to the two founding partners, but not as a non-equal either. I have not worked out in my own mind exactly how we do it. But new Canadians should have every right that either an English Canadian or French Canadian has in this country when we are sitting down to discuss this new constitution.

If we can get this out of the way, and I think it is important we respond to this kind of challenge, then we can move on to take a serious look at what I think has become a very grave problem in Canada, that is, decentralization, the turning-over of authority and autonomy to the provinces. We have been consistently and steadily weakening our central government.

10 p.m.

I do not think anything else can happen until we come to grips with whether the people who make up Confederation believe and feel they are operating as equals. If we can resolve that, if we can address some of the fears that are felt by some of our new Canadians, then maybe we won't be so unwilling to tackle the serious problem of saying, "Hey, we are going to be a Confederation of 10 provinces and the territories, and we have got to see that there is some pretty strong authority in the central government." I think that problem has to be attended to and attended to before much longer or it's not just Quebec that will be threatening to pull out of this Confederation.

I guess I am saying as a Canadian, and a concerned Canadian, and saying very clearly to the people in Quebec: "Don't leave us. We need you. I need you. I want you. Our country is not going to be the same without you. It's very clear that we are facing a serious problem, but sit down with us, let us once more show our willingness to negotiate." We haven't done that at many conferences that have been called over the last few years at the federal level. I am saying: "Let us show our willingness to sit down and negotiate a new constitution. Give us the opportunity." I don't think we should feel weakness in asking that kind of an opportunity from the people of Quebec. "Negotiate, don't negate Confederation." I say that to the people of Quebec as strongly as I can.

Hon. Mr. Maeck: Mr. Speaker, I am also pleased to have an opportunity to make a few brief comments in this debate. I must apologize to my colleagues that my speech is rather short, but I had been told I was going to have five minutes to speak. I will, if I might, as we say, ad lib a little bit prior to getting into my written comments. As many others have done, perhaps it would be wise for me to go back in history a little bit and trace the Maeck family.

We have talked a great deal about assimilation in various speeches, and I know the French Canadians are very much afraid of losing their culture and their language. I can understand it perhaps better than some of the other members in this House, and I think if I explain what has happened to the Maeck family over the years maybe we will all have a little better understanding of the fears that our French-Canadian friends have.

My father came to Canada from Germany when he was five years old. My mother was born in Canada, and her parents were German. They attended a German-speaking school in a German community in a rural area not far from where I live today. They learned to read and write in German, they spoke German, and actually at that point in time in their lives English was a second language.

As everyone knows, there were two World Wars. There was the war in 1914 and, of course, the Second World War. I might tell you, Mr. Speaker, that particularly during the First World War the German people who could not speak English were not what you would call the most popular people in Canada. My parents, at that point in time, made the decision that they would become English-speaking Canadians, that they would not use the German language any more, that they would learn to read and write in English, and they did exactly that. There were eight children in our family—I happen to be the youngest one—and none of the children learned German. None of us at any time spoke German in our household. In other words, what I am saying is my family made the decision to completely discard their German heritage and become, as they saw it in those days, Canadian. They became strictly Canadian so they couldn't be criticized because of the things that were going on with the German people in Europe in the two World Wars.

That is a rather sad tale in this day and age, because I have a sense of loss because of my past heritage. I could not tell any of the members in this House where my family

originated in Germany. I have no idea whatsoever as to whether I have relatives in Germany. To me, that is a sad thing. I can understand the fears of the French Canadians when they feel that they may be losing their culture and their language. I can understand why it is important for us in this Legislature and in this country to take just a moment and think about the problems that would face our French-Canadian friends if this were to happen.

I would also like to mention a little about the Mattawa area of my riding, which is basically French Canadian. I don't speak French, other than a little bit of high school French that I learned a great number of years ago.

Mr. Martel: Fifty?

Hon. Mr. Maeck: Yes, at least. I go to Mattawa very regularly. I have a great many French-Canadian friends in Mattawa. My wife and I go there at least two or three times a year to attend social functions and so on. I must say, and I have said this many times, Mattawa and area is probably the friendliest part of my riding. I have to say the French Canadians I know are not that familiar with Quebecers, but I am sure there is no difference. The French Canadians I know are fine, upstanding people. I think they feel they are Canadians and there is no reason why they should not.

To me, it is a very sad day when we have to debate whether Canada is going to remain one country. We are Canadians and, as such, as far as I am concerned, we will not discuss or negotiate sovereignty-association. This government will not be a party to any agreement which has as its goal the destruction of Canada or of the federal system.

That said, I wish to speak about the significant opportunities that the national debate on this issue presents. We now have a chance to discuss the present status of our constitutional structure and to consider the future with a view to bringing about reforms in our present federal structure. Our government has already indicated a desire and a willingness to achieve constitutional reform through negotiation with all provincial governments and the federal government. Ongoing discussions between the federal and provincial governments are the great strength of our constitutional framework. The phrase "negotiation and compromise" does not appear in the British North America Act. However, our constitution is more than just the BNA act. Negotiations and compromise are central and important parts of our constitutional structure. Canada's constitution is not a static and unchanging entity; instead, our

political structure is dynamic, flexible and ongoing. In short, we have an evolutionary constitutional process.

Emerging regional pressures are accommodated, while at the same time maintaining a strong federal government to pursue the national interests. It would be a betrayal of the people of Quebec if their government acted to eliminate the possibility of future discussions and ongoing compromise, which has held this country together for more than 100 years during some of the most turbulent decades in human history. I believe this government has made it very clear that there will be no discussion and certainly no compromises with an independent Quebec.

I would like to outline just a few of the ways in which my ministry, the Ministry of Revenue, has been involved with Quebec and other provinces in various interprovincial discussions on matters of mutual interest. We have an interprovincial committee, consisting of the directors of the provincial assessment divisions, which meets semi-annually to discuss property assessment theory and practice.

The Ontario Ministry of Revenue co-operates extensively with its Quebec counterpart through direct formal administrative agreement with Quebec and regular informal meetings with tax officials from Quebec and most other provinces. Four administrative agreements were signed in June 1979 with the Quebec Minister of Revenue.

10:10 p.m.

These agreements provided for the exchange of information and other joint co-operation relating to the retail sales tax, the corporations tax, gasoline and diesel fuel taxes and special investigations. These agreements are concrete examples, in my opinion, of the benefits which Quebec and Ontario gain as partners in Confederation. The citizens of Quebec benefit from the agreements just as much as do the people of Ontario.

These arrangements extend in formal understandings the co-operation between Ontario and Quebec, dating back to 1965. As a result of frequent discussions between revenue officials from Ontario and Quebec, progress has been made in achieving more uniform interprovincial procedures and reporting forms for taxpayers operating in two or more provinces, and reducing conflict on goods moving between provinces. This kind of interprovincial co-operation obviously will not be available to a separated Quebec.

Federalism, by its nature, is a compromise.

There is a necessary and continuing tension between provincial and federal governments, as the one seeks to represent its regional interests and the other seeks to accommodate matters of national concern.

I ask the people of Quebec, on behalf of myself and my constituents, to join with all Canadians in rejecting the despair of sovereignty-association and to join with Canada in a real and ongoing commitment to constitutional reform.

Mr. Cassidy: Mr. Speaker, while I am tempted to begin now, I think, on balance, I will move the adjournment of the debate. I believe we will appear on television about six o'clock tomorrow morning.

On motion by Mr. Cassidy, the debate was adjourned.

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE

Hon. Mr. Wells: Mr. Speaker, as is the custom pursuant to standing order 13, I would like to indicate to the House the order of business for tomorrow and next week.

Tomorrow will be the conclusion of this debate. The debate will conclude with a vote and, I understand, a five-minute bell around 1 o'clock.

On Monday, May 12, the committee of supply will meet to consider the estimates of the Ministry of Intergovernmental Affairs.

Mr. Nixon: That will be great.

Hon. Mr. Wells: Another debate beginning.

On Tuesday, May 13, the House will consider legislation in the afternoon and in the evening. In the afternoon, we will consider third reading of Bills 202 and 203, and second reading of Bills 56, 52, 53, 54, 61 and 62. In the evening, at eight o'clock, we will consider Bill 45, followed by Bill 46. If any of the revenue bills from the afternoon have not been completed we will move back to those bills. If any time remains on Tuesday evening we will continue the budget debate.

On Wednesday, May 14, the general government, justice and resources development committees may meet in the morning.

On Thursday, May 15, in the afternoon, we will consider private members' public business, ballot items 13 and 14. In the evening, the House will debate the budget motion.

On Friday, May 16, the committee of supply will look at the estimates of the Ministry of Intergovernmental Affairs.

The House adjourned at 10:14 p.m.

APPENDIX

(See page 1658)

ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS
ON NOTICE PAPER

PRIVATE PHYSIOTHERAPY CLINICS

136. Mr. Isaacs: How many private physiotherapy clinics have OHIP billing privileges? How many private physiotherapy clinics have WCB billing privileges? How many new private physiotherapy clinics have been granted WCB billing privileges since 1965? (Tabled April 24, 1980.)

Hon. Mr. Timbrell: The number of private physiotherapy clinics having OHIP billing privileges as of April 17, 1980, is 129. The Ministry of Labour is responding to that portion of this question that deals with WCB billing privileges.

Hon. Mr. Elgie: It is impossible to obtain statistical information such as is requested by the question for the period to 1975, as the board's statistical program goes back only to that year.

However, since 1975 the net number of private physiotherapy centres performing work for the Workmen's Compensation Board has increased from 104 to 112, for a net increase of eight. Records from 1975 suggest the number of private physiotherapy clinics being placed into operation is fairly static. Although some facilities do change ownership, the overall numbers have increased slowly.

DEATH OF ALBERT IUTZI

137. Mr. McClellan: Will the Minister of Community and Social Services advise the House of the results of the Ministry's investigation into the circumstances surrounding the death of Albert Iutzi, a 14-month-old baby killed by child abuse on May 19, 1978? Will the minister table the report from this investigation? In view of the apprehension of a daughter of Mrs. Iutzi in 1973 as a result of severe abuse, and in view of Mrs. Iutzi's serious psychiatric condition, why was Albert Iutzi left in the custody of his parents? How many times and on what dates did the Oxford County Family and Children's Services visit the Iutzi home during 1978? Why were the injuries inflicted upon Albert Iutzi during the two weeks prior to his death neither detected by Oxford County Family and Children's Services, nor reported by the public health nurse? (Tabled April 24, 1980.)

Hon. Mr. Norton: The Ministry of Community and Social Services conducted a

review into the death of Albert Iutzi on June 2, 1978. The case records were read and interviews were held individually with the person who was the Iutzi case worker from January 22, 1974, to June 10, 1977, the case worker from April 16, 1977, to the time of Albert's death, the supervisor of the family services department and the society's director.

The Iutzi family was known to the Oxford County Family and Children's Services since January 21, 1974 when the Iutzis asked the society to admit their eldest child into temporary care. The child was returned to the parents on February 27, 1974. The child was admitted to hospital the next day for various conditions attributed to neglect. The doctor in the case identified the child as high risk and the child was readmitted into care on March 8, 1974, on consent from the mother. The society at this time proceeded to obtain wardship. Contact was made with the Iutzi family throughout 1974, 1975 and 1976 as the society took steps to obtain crown wardship. Wardship was granted November 17, 1975, and contact was made throughout the appeal process. The society formally closed the file for the eldest child on August 31, 1976. The Court of Appeal heard the case on June 10, 1977 and crown wardship was reconfirmed.

The society was made aware that Mrs. Iutzi was pregnant prior to closing the case in August 1976. The doctor caring for Mrs. Iutzi advised the society that he would alert the public health nurse to establish contact. Albert was born March 4, 1977. The society received an emergency night call April 6, from the OPP advising that Mrs. Iutzi was being hospitalized and Albert was being placed with a neighbour. The OPP confirmed the placement was suitable.

In a situation such as this, an investigation of the emergency placement is at the discretion of the duty worker on call, with the backup assistance of other supervisors available. The society became actively involved the next day, April 7, 1977, when a worker went out to ensure that the placement was satisfactory for Albert. Financial and emotional support was provided for the placement family throughout Mrs. Iutzi's hospitalization in April and early May.

Before Mrs. Iutzi's release from hospital in May 1977, a conference was held by hospital and society staff to determine whether Albert should be returned to his parents. Because there had been no evidence of neglect of

Albert, it was recommended by hospital staff that he be returned to his parents' care with monitoring to be provided by the society and the public health department. The society worker and the public health nurse visited the Iutzi family throughout 1977. Albert was admitted to the hospital on December 12, 1977, and was released to the care of his parents on the recommendation of the paediatrician. The sequence of actions and visits from this point are as follows:

January 3, 1978—Albert was discharged from the hospital into the care of his parents. Afternoon: Society worker visited the Iutzi home. It was agreed that the society worker and public health nurse would visit on alternate weeks.

January 16—Society worker visited the child. The worker advised the Iutzis that an appointment with the doctor was arranged for February 3, 1978.

February 3—Doctor examined the child. The child's weight had increased and his general condition had improved.

February 10—Society worker visited Mrs. Iutzi and accompanied her on a visit to her husband at the detention centre.

February 24—Society worker visited the home. Child looked extremely fine and appeared to be thriving. The society worker accompanied Mrs. Iutzi into London to make a purchase. Mr. Iutzi baby-sat. The worker noted she was particularly pleased in the way that the child was being handled.

March 11—The worker visited the Iutzi family. The baby looked well and healthy.

March 23—The worker visited the family and accompanied Mrs. Iutzi on a shopping trip where she purchased groceries.

April 7—The doctor indicated that Albert appeared well and his examination was within normal limits. The doctor noted that Albert had made considerable progress over the past two months. The doctor requested a follow-up visit in three months' time.

April 19—The society worker visited the home. The baby looked well.

May 13—Society worker cancelled her appointment and rescheduled it for May 18. The worker was not concerned as she knew the public health nurse would be visiting.

May 15—Public health nurse visited and found child doing well.

May 18—The visit to the Iutzis was cancelled as a situation arose with another client.

May 19—The child died.

With regard to the question, "Why were the injuries inflicted upon Albert Iutzi during the two weeks prior to his death neither de-

tected by Oxford County Family and Children's Services nor reported by the public health nurse?" as noted, the Oxford County Family and Children's Services did not visit the Iutzi family during that period. It is a matter of court records that the public health nurse did not detect any injuries on her visit May 15, 1978.

Our investigation found that adequate contact was maintained with the Iutzi family throughout the period Albert was supervised by the society. There is every indication that the society was closely involved with public health officials regarding Albert's case.

Areas of concern that were discussed with the agency after the ministry review were that the Iutzi case was not identified as a high risk case whereas previous experience indicated that it should have been. The society has subsequently taken action to identify cases as high risk in a conference rather than on an individual worker basis. Follow-up with the agency indicates that this procedure is securely in place.

Further, it is suggested that in cases such as Albert's that the supervisor work more closely with the worker in an evaluative way. This process is now being carried out through the case conference model.

The ministry also requested that the society be more aware of record-keeping, that files be combined, when previous contact is made with the society. The need for social histories on all files was stressed. As well, the society was advised that written evaluation and assessment reports rather than verbal reports be received in all cases. The ministry has been following up on these issues and procedures have been implemented by the society.

Our review indicated that Albert did not receive medical attention between July and November 1977. Both the board of health and the society contacted the Iutzis in November regarding the need for medical attention due to Albert's under-development. Action was taken by the society to precipitate medical attention.

My ministry has followed up with the society over the past two years on their family service practices. Our follow-up has found that the society has taken steps to improve services.

ELECTIVE SURGERY WAITING LIST

138. Mr. Van Horne: Will the Minister of Health table the following information:

1. What was the size of the waiting list of each hospital in Ontario for elective surgery as of March 1, 1979, and as of March 1,

1980; 2. What criteria does the Ministry of Health expect hospitals to use in selecting persons to be admitted for elective surgery? (Tabled April 24, 1980.)

Hon. Mr. Timbrell: The Ministry of Health does not have this information. Each hospital in the province is responsible for its own admission and discharge policies.

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No. 45

Legislature of Ontario Debates

Official Report (Hansard)

Fourth Session, 31st Parliament

Friday, May 9, 1980

Speaker: Honourable John E. Stokes

Clerk: Roderick Lewis, QC

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Hansard subscription price is \$15.00 per session, from: Sessional Subscription Service, Central Purchasing Service, Print Procurement Section, Ministry of Government Services, 9th Floor, Ferguson Block, Parliament Buildings, Toronto M7A 1N3. Phone (416) 965-2238.

Published by the Legislature of the Province of Ontario.
Editor of Debates: Peter Brannan.

LEGISLATURE OF ONTARIO

FRIDAY, MAY 9, 1980

The House met at 10 a.m.

Prayers.

ORAL QUESTIONS

Mr. Speaker: Before calling on the member for Brant-Oxford-Norfolk, I would like to remind all members that you have agreed that 30 minutes for question period will be sufficient because of other events that are to follow. I would like to caution all members to keep their questions and answers brief so that we might have a more equitable sharing of the time.

Mr. Nixon: Mr. Speaker, I regret the absence of the Minister of Industry and Tourism—but I see the one who has all the answers approaching—oh, and his lap dog.

Mr. Speaker: I hope they both heard my friendly reminder that we are restricted to 30 minutes.

AID TO CHRYSLER

Mr. Nixon: Yes, Mr. Speaker; if you would now start the clock.

I would direct a question to the Minister of Industry and Tourism. Will he bring us up to date on the negotiations with the bailout program for Chrysler? While he is doing so, will he comment on press reports that it is Ontario and specifically this minister who is holding up the announcement of a program which would put Chrysler on a reasonable basis to continue, to remove the problems faced, not only by the workers, but also by the dealerships right across this country?

Hon. Mr. Grossman: May I say to the acting leader of the Liberal Party, in the presence of my leader and in the absence of his leader on this Friday morning, that there is nothing I can report today since nothing has occurred from the time I answered his question yesterday afternoon. There have been no new developments.

The second part of the question refers to us allegedly getting out of the way so that assistance can be given on a reasonable basis to help the workers in the city of Windsor and other places and to help the Chrysler dealers.

If all the governments involved believed there was a deal which offered reasonable assistance at this time to the auto workers in Windsor and to the Chrysler dealers, I can assure this House there would have been a deal by now. In point of fact, because we have been unable to meet the kinds of criteria that I think most members of this House agree are necessary in order to provide that protection to the auto workers, we do not have a deal yet.

Mr. Nixon: Will the minister not agree that at least one event has happened since he reported to the House? That is, his counterpart federally had indicated there would be a formal announcement in Parliament and then withdrew, indicating there would be no announcement. This was followed by press reports that it was because of the intransigence of the government of Ontario. Would the minister indicate whether there is any content in that and, if so, what is the minister being intransigent about?

Hon. Mr. Grossman: That was not a new development since yesterday's question period. Yesterday there was an intention to make announcements both here and in Ottawa at about three o'clock. Before our question period started, both the announcements were cancelled because all of the persons involved agreed that we would all make announcements at the same time, regardless of the content. In other words, regardless of whether we were all agreeing on a deal, all saying there would be no deal, or both of us taking different positions, whatever the statements would be, they would be made at the same time. So, before question period started yesterday, there was agreement that no statements would be made yesterday.

The second part of the question referred, I think, to whether we were being intransigent. We are being firm in our determination to make a deal that meets the needs of the auto workers in this province. That is not a new development; our position has not changed in quite some time. We are being absolutely firm and insisting upon the kinds of guarantees that are meaningful to the people in this province. I am not sure it would be accurate to suggest there was a new position taken by this government yes-

terday which caused the delay. That just would not be accurate.

Mr. Renwick: Mr. Speaker, I welcome the indication from the minister that there has been no change in the government's position on the conditions with respect to the aid. I have a supplementary question in the hope that I can narrow down what the problem has turned out to be. Yesterday the minister referred to a \$250-million target which Chrysler US had achieved in one area. Was there a similar allocation of funds that had to be raised from another area, and has Chrysler US met the target in that area, or is the participation by this government or the federal government necessary for them to meet some other part of the target that will permit US government funds to be made available to Chrysler?

Hon. Mr. Grossman: I think that is an interesting point, Mr. Speaker. The American legislation set out a requirement that Chrysler raise \$1.43 billion from a variety of sources. Those sources included union wage concessions, concessions from the suppliers to Chrysler, the raising of funds from Chrysler dealers and others, concessions from their banking institutions and the sale of Chrysler assets.

From that pool of money, there was to be raised approximately \$1.2 billion—actually \$1.18 billion. In addition to that, \$250 million was to be raised from state, local and other governments. The package was, in essence, a private sector package, plus \$250 million from state, local and other governments, to comprise \$1.43 billion. The state, local and other government portion has been subscribed for, most prominently by the state of Michigan offering about \$150 million in loans which were drawn down last Friday. In addition, there have been other states and municipalities participating; so the total now exceeds \$250 million.

In that sense, as to the degree to which the Canadian governments are being asked to contribute, I can only presume from the information we have at hand, including the American legislation, that the Canadian governmental portion appears to be replacing some of the private sector funds that failed to come into play by the deadline set by the US loan board.

Mr. Sargent: Mr. Speaker, in view of the 14,000 jobs in Windsor and of the news this morning that 10,000 workers at GM are coming up on furlough, and since we are talking in each case of about \$500 million in salaries per year, whereas the government's offer of \$50 million is only coffee money, may

I ask the minister whether his brains trust has thought of forming a consortium from the windfall profits of the oil companies and the banks to bail out the private enterprise system instead of going to the taxpayers all the time?

Secondly, now that the minister and the Premier are playing with all our millions of dollars the way they are, has the minister thought that the Leader of the Opposition and the New Democratic Party leader should meet with him and should be involved in these negotiations to know what the hell is going on because we don't know right now?

Hon. Mr. Grossman: First, Mr. Speaker, to this government and to this minister \$50 million is a lot of money. Unlike the suggestion the honourable member makes, it is not pocket money or whatever he suggested. Secondly, we have not acknowledged that we are talking about \$50 million.

Thirdly, as I read the comments and the suggestions from the floor, they are exactly in line with the kinds of things we are seeking. So I have a clear message and direction from this assembly. I can assure this assembly we are trying to follow that direction and we are taking an equally firm position and one which I think members of this House would respect in those negotiations.

INCO MILL SHUTDOWN

Mr. Martel: Mr. Speaker, I have a question for the Premier. With the closing of Caland, Steep Rock, National Steel and now the iron ore recovery plant at Inco, can the Premier tell me what action his government is undertaking to ensure that when there is an upturn in the economy we will be in the position to supply that need from our mines, particularly in view of the fact it is going to take several years to bring any of those operations back into production? What plans have we got to ensure that we will be in a position to meet the needs of the industry?

10:10 a.m.

Hon. Mr. Davis: Mr. Speaker, the member for Sudbury (Mr. Germa) asked me a question yesterday related to this matter. I indicated to him that we would have a fuller report. I expect to have that early next week.

I have some preliminary information as it relates to Inco Metals, which I know is one area that is of concern to all of us. There is a general feeling that the number of employees affected can be absorbed into the Inco operations generally; so, in terms of

the employment situation, it is to be hoped this is not a problem.

In terms of the industry itself, though, there is no question that the steel industry internationally has taken a turn for the worse. Fortunately this country has not been affected as much, but at the same time there has been a downturn in the industry on a worldwide basis. The member has seen this in the United States in particular.

My preliminary information as it relates to Inco is that they have approximately 500,000 tons stockpiled. One of the difficulties is that, with the change in technology within the steel industry, that particular type of ore is not as marketable. I do not say it is not good ore, but it is a different grade of ore and, as a result, is not as marketable as was the case some years ago.

Part of the problem for the ore industry, particularly for the steel industry, is to see whether there are ways and means of using more Canadian ore, in terms of the technology, with the recognition that there are apparently great differences in the quality or the kind of ore that is available. I am asking the Ministry of Natural Resources to get me more comprehensive information for the members of the House which will outline some of the complexities of this issue.

I can assure the honourable member that to the extent that it is possible within the industry itself, it will utilize the Canadian resource when the industry gets back into full production. That is an objective of all of us, I am sure. At the same time, if some of the ore is not suitable for the process, that adds a degree of complication which I cannot assure the honourable members we can overcome. But as soon as we have this factual information we will point it out.

[My preliminary information is that the figure used by the member for Sudbury as to the possible percentage of imported ore is probably fairly close. It may be out four of five per cent, but I do not think that is relevant in this situation. I am informed that it does relate to the mix or kinds of ore being used in the process. I or the minister will have some further information some time next week.]

Mr. Martel: Can I ask the Premier if he now is prepared to re-establish a cabinet committee that will look into the problems and come up with some solutions or some policy with respect to not only the one-industry towns in northern Ontario, but also what is happening in the whole of the mineral industry? In this province we are not getting the type of exploration that is going

on in other provinces, and certainly it is the cornerstone of our economy. Would the Premier constitute such a committee, giving them a mandate to proceed and to come back with some policy, as was promised two and a half years ago when Inco laid off workers back in 1977?

Hon. Mr. Davis: I should make one observation. I think it is fair to state that exploration is continuing in this province. We believe there are still many potential resources that have not yet been explored and certainly are not in any process of development. I think the member has to differentiate between, say, the problems in the iron ore industry from those involving other minerals that exist in northern Ontario.

Mr. Laughren: I get angry every time you talk about resources, because you squander them.

Hon. Mr. Davis: In one breath the honourable member says we are squandering, in the next breath his colleague says we are not doing enough to develop them. I guess the reality is somewhere in between.

Mr. Speaker: Order.

Hon. Mr. Davis: I understand the member for Port Arthur (Mr. Foulds), in his simplistic approach to some of these complex issues—

Mr. Speaker: The member for Port Arthur does not have the floor.

Hon. Mr. Davis: The reality is that in most of these areas, in the steel industry itself, in the actual production of steel, this province is very competitive. The members opposite do not want to acknowledge it, they do not understand it, but the reality is that we are.

Even in the field of nickel, which is dear to the hearts of us all, in spite of the criticisms and objections the members opposite have towards the nickel industry, once again we are relatively competitive. It has done an excellent job for the economy of this province. This is true in other resource sectors. It is even true in the pulp and paper industry, where the members opposite have objected strenuously to assistance by this government to secure employment for the people in—

Mr. Speaker: Order. I recall the question had something to do with the setting up of a committee.

Mr. T. P. Reid: Mr. Speaker, in view of the severity of the recession we may be entering and of what has happened in some of our one-industry communities, particularly Atikokan, Marmora, et cetera, does the Premier not feel it would be to the benefit of the

people of Ontario, particularly those people who are living in those communities with the resources there, that the government become more interested and revert to what the Premier promised us two and a half years ago during Inco; that is, a thrust in this area in regard to our one-industry towns and particularly the mineral bodies we have in Ontario? Would the government look at the whole situation, including the incentives and disincentives available in the United States which are putting some of our mines out of business with that kind of competition?

Hon. Mr. Davis: Mr. Speaker, the honourable member is referring to the policies of this government relating to "one-industry towns" in northern Ontario. There are really two segments to this; one is the mineral or mining industry and the other is the pulp and paper industry. I would remind the honourable member who asked the question that in the one area where market conditions still remain relatively healthy, namely, a number of one-industry towns related to the pulp and paper industry—and I would emphasize this—this government, incidentally without the support of the members opposite, has moved to assist those one-industry towns.

I find it rather contradictory, if I can say this to the honourable member, for him to be opposing what we are doing for one sector of one-industry towns in northern Ontario and then to suggest we are neglecting them. It is not true. He has been opposed to what we are doing to the pulp and paper industry, but we are securing those one-industry towns that relate to that industry through the enlightened policy of this government, which the member opposite's leader and party refused to support. I think he should remember that.

As it relates to the mining sector, the concern is genuine; we share it. I do not think there are any simplistic answers. If a one-industry town is related totally at this stage to the mining industry and there is no market demand for whatever is being mined within that community, we do not have any instant solutions.

In terms of trying to develop ways and means of helping, as we have done over the years in Atikokan, the honourable member knows full well the efforts that have been made by this government to assist that municipality. If he does not know it, I know people in that municipality who do and who have told members of this government they appreciate what we have attempted to do for the very important municipality.

DEATH OF STEVEN YUZ

Hon. Mr. Timbrell: Mr. Speaker, I rise to make a brief answer to the question raised on Monday by the member for Quinte (Mr. O'Neil) with respect to the follow-up to the inquest into the death of Steven Yuz.

I can inform the House that the board of the Hospital for Sick Children has decided to establish an external committee of medical experts and lay representatives to address the coroner's jury's recommendations. The chairman of the committee will be Dr. Maurice MacGregor, professor of medicine at McGill University and formerly the dean of medicine and vice-principal of that university. The rest of the members of the committee will be announced shortly by the hospital. Their findings will be reported to the board, and the board chairman has assured me the review will be made public. It is hoped this committee will be able to complete its review and present its findings by the end of this summer.

The matter of the investigation into the missing records is in the hands of the police and the Solicitor General (Mr. McMurtry).

10:20 a.m.

Mr. McClellan: Mr. Speaker, I am sorry I missed the first part of the answer. I assume it is related to the death of Steven Yuz at the Hospital for Sick Children. Would the minister tell us today whether he intends to make available the transcripts of the inquest?

Hon. Mr. Timbrell: I answered that question on Monday. As I said, when we in this ministry or in any ministry receive a set of recommendations from a coroner's jury, that is all we get, the recommendations and the comments. If we want the transcripts, we have to buy them from our resources.

Mr. McClellan: Isn't the minister even going the look at them himself?

Hon. Mr. Timbrell: We have not decided whether we are going to, but the honourable member's party receives several hundred thousand dollars a year in research moneys which can be used to purchase them, if he feels he needs them.

Mr. O'Neil: Mr. Speaker, the minister said the Solicitor General would be looking into the facts coming from the report. Is it the intention of the Minister of Health to bring criminal charges if he is able to find out who stole or took those records?

Hon. Mr. Timbrell: Mr. Speaker, I think that question should be directed to the Solicitor General. My advice is that the matter is under police investigation.

ESSEX EXPLOSION

Mr. Ruston: Mr. Speaker, a brief question of the Minister of Industry and Tourism: Can the minister inform the House whether he has made a decision with regard to the Ontario Development Corporation in terms of assistance for rebuilding the devastated area in the town of Essex?

Hon. Mr. Grossman: Mr. Speaker, it was my hope that the ODC report to myself and cabinet would be concluded by this week but, because of other matters we have been looking into, that will not be the case. I would hope to have something by Monday or Tuesday of next week. I cannot hold out the hope of a lot of assistance. I do not want to mislead the member or the people in Essex, but we are continuing to look at it. I should have an answer Monday or Tuesday.

NUCLEAR WASTE MANAGEMENT REPORT

Mr. Foulds: Mr. Speaker, I have a question of the Minister of Energy. Can the minister inform the House, and the members of the select committee on Ontario Hydro affairs, what motivated that extraordinary intervention by his deputy to the staff of the select committee with regard to our report on waste management? Did it come from him? Did it come from the deputy? Did it come from within the ministry?

Does he not agree that after the deputy had the opportunity to testify before the committee twice, if not three times, on the topic, the ministry had ample opportunity to put its views to the committee? Will he not agree this should be interpreted as an intervention in the objectivity of an all-party committee?

Hon. Mr. Welch: Mr. Speaker, if I might address the last part of the question, the answer quite definitely is no, I do not see this as any attempt to interfere with the objectivity of an all-party committee. The honourable member obviously would appreciate that the first opportunity anyone would have to draw attention to what may be referred to as factual inaccuracies would be after the staff report was made public.

The only interpretation that should be put on this whole exercise and the document is that having examined the staff report there was some feeling that there were some factual matters which should be drawn to the attention of the author of the staff report. We have a document that is directed to the staff person, setting out those particular inaccuracies. I have always been one who

never has felt that facts interfere with objectivity.

Mr. Foulds: Can the minister tell us specifically what facts of the select committee's report, as opposed to interpretation of facts and testimony, are challenged by his ministry in this weighty document?

Hon. Mr. Welch: I would remind the honourable member that his question is perhaps unfortunately worded. We are not talking about a select committee report. We are talking about the staff's report, which I understand the members of that select committee will use as a basis for coming to their own conclusions on the facts.

Mr. Foulds: What facts are mentioned in this report that are challenged?

Hon. Mr. Welch: I don't know. I thought the question period was over at 10:30 a.m. We can start reading from page one. Has the honourable member read the document?

Mr. Conway: Mr. Speaker, having read the document, my question is, did the Minister of Energy authorize that particular document? What was his role? More particularly, what was the role of the solicitor who was mentioned? Did this come forward exclusively at the behest of the deputy minister as an individual? More specifically, what was the role of the Minister of Energy, who some of us rightly or wrongly assume directs the affairs of the Ministry of Energy?

Hon. Mr. Welch: Mr. Speaker, when I arrived this morning my name was still on the office door. I thought I might draw that to the member's attention, in case he missed it. It is still on the door.

Number two: In our system of government here the minister always carries the full responsibility of his ministry. Number three: The deputy minister, in his desire and in his keen pursuit for truth, came to the minister and said, "If you would have no objection, Mr. Minister, we would like to have the solicitor for the ministry, who has been watching these events from day to day, draw up a memorandum stating where we feel the staff might want their attention drawn to factual inaccuracies." That I concurred with and indeed accept the responsibility for.

OHC HOME SALES

Mr. B. Newman: Mr. Speaker, I have a question of the Minister of Housing. In view of the fact that certain Ontario Housing projects have been sold to private enterprise here in the city of Toronto, can the minister assure those living in Ontario Housing in

the city of Windsor that their housing projects will not be sold from under them? Can he assure them of having rent-gear-to-income from this government?

Hon. Mr. Bennett: Mr. Speaker, I have spoken on the subject of the one project in this community which has been disposed of out of the assets of the Ontario Housing Corporation, and I think I have given a very complete answer as to why it took place and what happened. It was an agreement between the Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation and the Ministry of Housing on the advice of the board of directors of the Ontario Housing Corporation.

I made it very clear in my estimates of last year and in response to other questions in this House that, generally speaking, it is not the intention of this government or of the Ontario Housing Corporation to dispose of housing units. The Bell case, which we dealt with some months ago in this House during question period, was a specific case where we disposed of property because an individual wanted to purchase it. But it has not been and will not be the policy to dispose of public housing.

We have a social responsibility to provide for both families and seniors who require assistance, whether it be by direct ownership of the government and the people of Ontario, or through a rent supplement program, and that policy will be retained in force.

Mr. B. Newman: The minister does not intend to replace the present stock of housing in the Windsor area through the rent supplement program, does he?

Hon. Mr. Bennett: It has been our intention to accommodate those on the waiting lists, at the request of the municipalities and others, either through a rent supplement program or through a nonprofit housing corporation which could be owned privately or through the municipality. That is the way we have been going in the last year or year and a half, and it has worked very effectively both in this community and right across Ontario.

Mr. Duszta: Mr. Speaker, can the minister tell me why the ministry has sold the property at Bergamo for \$500,000 less than it paid for it? Why is it less than it was worth? Did he put any tenders out?

Will the minister table in the House the appraisal that was done before they sold it? How much was lost on it altogether?

Hon. Mr. Bennett: Mr. Speaker, when the cost of this particular property was declared

for maintaining, retaining and refurbishing it for public housing use, it became extremely prohibitive. That was an agreement and was understood very clearly by the boards of directors of Ontario Housing Corporation; it was concurred in by CMHC, which is a partner in that particular project. CMHC made it very clear to us that it was not prepared to be involved in the refurbishing of that project in this community.

So that there is no misunderstanding: At no time were the tenants of the 112 units of that particular project evicted. They were moved from that project on the understanding that there had to be some very major repairs done to it. The cost of moving and re-moving them was borne by the Ontario Housing Corporation.

Back to the question in particular. Bids were called for the property when it was declared as being too expensive to refurbish. There were four or five bids put in. The top one, Cannone (Northern) Limited, bid \$1.25 million; the Labour Council Development Foundation of Toronto bid \$1,050,000; Academy Consolidated Development Incorporated bid \$1,051,000, and Parwest Construction bid \$1,200,000. The sale of the property was awarded, on the recommendation of both Ontario Housing Corporation and CMHC, to Cannone (Northern) Limited for \$1.25 million. It is absolutely correct that there was a loss to the corporation, shared by CMHC, of some \$437,000.

10:30 a.m.

POLICE ROLES IN LABOUR DISPUTES

Mr. Mackenzie: Mr. Speaker, I have a question for the Minister of Labour. Given the agreement that existed up until a week ago to notify one another of any problems or any changes in the picket line arrangements at Arrowhead Metals Limited, can the Minister of Labour explain to this House how a security guard can come out of the shack on to the street, wave both ways, immediately have two police cruisers move up, park diagonally, and then run trucks out of the plant? Does he not see this as a deliberate provocation, and is this not the kind of misuse of the police force in the province that we have simply got to deal with in labour disputes?

Hon. Mr. Elgie: Mr. Speaker, I would submit that that is a question that should be directed to the Solicitor General (Mr. McMurry). I would be glad to speak to him about it.

ORDERS OF THE DAY

DEBATE ON CONFEDERATION

(concluded)

Resuming the adjourned debate on the constitutional resolution.

Mr. Cassidy: Monsieur l'Orateur, c'est un honneur de participer dans ce débat. Il fait maintenant vingt ans depuis le commencement de la révolution tranquille au Québec, trois ans et demi depuis l'élection du Parti Québécois, le 15 novembre 1976, et onze jours avant le référendum du Québec.

Ce n'est aucun secret que dans l'opinion du Nouveau Parti Démocratique ce débat sur la constitution et sur l'unité nationale a beaucoup tardé. Je regrette le fait que nous avons attendu jusqu'à maintenant pour décider sur l'établissement d'un comité select sur la constitution. Quand même, nous avons commencé.

Dans mon opinion, le référendum du 20 mai ne doit pas marquer la termination du débat sur la constitution, mais doit marquer un nouveau commencement dans la recherche d'une nouvelle constitution pour le Canada.

The New Democratic Party is committed to working with Canadians from coast to coast to achieve a new constitution that will create economic and social justice and that will respond to the needs and aspirations of Canadians in every region of this great country. We support the all-party resolution because it is essential that Ontario send as strong a message as possible to the rest of Canada that we in this province are prepared to negotiate a new constitution for Canada and that we are prepared to embark on those negotiations at the earliest possible moment.

Canada does need constitutional changes but, more important, we need a change in political will and in political commitment. We need leadership that will draw Canadians together. In my remarks today, I want to outline the directions that New Democrats believe will lead to a better future. Some changes will require constitutional amendment. Others will simply require that governments use their existing power. Only if both approaches are used, however, can we build a new Canada and can we respond to the grievances which are felt not only in Quebec, but also in the rest of Canada.

New Democrats have always acknowledged the right of Quebecers to choose their own future and we have been forthright in this debate in asserting Quebec's right to self-determination, but we are federalists as well. We believe that the needs of the Quebecois and the citizens of every province can best be met within a

united Canada. That is why we cannot accept sovereignty-association.

The debate over the constitution is really a debate over the future of Canada and over the kind of Canada we create for this country's second century. It was in this context that we planned our contribution to this constitution debate this past week. My colleagues have talked about some of the traditional subjects as constitutional reform, such as the second chamber, the division of powers and the process of constitutional change.

As New Democrats, they also talked about the economic and the social injustices which have been tolerated under old parties in this country. They have talked about regional disparities and about the need for Canadians to become maîtres chez nous in regaining control of our economy. As democratic socialists, we can ask for nothing less.

I want to congratulate those many members of my party and of other parties as well who took the plunge and spoke French in this Legislature for the first time. Reflecting the multicultural diversity of our province, New Democrats who spoke in this debate yesterday also put their case for a new constitution in a united Canada in Polish, Ukrainian, Italian and Portuguese, as well as in Canada's two national languages.

As I listened to the debate this week, it was intriguing to hear the diversity of our country which is reflected just among members of our chamber. We all have a personal experience of Canada which is defined by our background, and I am no exception. My father was a British Columbia farm boy, a pioneer in social welfare, a founder of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation and the author of the first medicare plan in Canada. My mother was one of the first women ever to graduate in nursing from the University of British Columbia and was a pioneer in the field of public health nursing.

I was born in Victoria, raised in Toronto and spent parts of my life in the United States, Britain and Germany, as well as working in Montreal, before I made my home in Ottawa. Long before the quiet revolution, I had the privilege of spending a year at the Petit Séminaire, a school whose origins date back to Bishop Laval and to the founding of New France. I was totally immersed in a French environment in the heart of Quebec City and part of a culture which in many important respects had hardly changed in close to 200 years. That society is no more, for a torrent of change has

swept through Quebec in the 30 years since I studied there.

It is important for us in Ontario to try to understand that change, to comprehend the struggle with the church, to realize the dilemma Quebecers have faced in choosing between their rural and nonindustrial past and the urbanized technological future they have now chosen. It is important to understand the vivid way in which the memories of the conquest and the real humiliations which the Quebecois have suffered since 1763 still linger on to this day. It is important to understand—as not even Pierre Trudeau seems to have learned—that the sentiments of Quebec nationalism are hardly a recent phenomenon.

Nationalism in its diverse form is a constant theme in French-Canadian history from Papineau to Riel, from Bourassa to the present day. One of the strengths of the Parti Quebecois is that the banner of nationalism has brought together stockbrokers and psychiatrists, trade union leaders and TV stars, poets and pipefitters and ordinary working people in a way which has no parallel among the political parties in English Canada. This is no bookkeeping exercise the PQ are engaged in. When the Pequistes coined their slogan, "J'ai le gout de Québec," they were speaking to a nationalism of the heart whose roots go back 350 years in Quebec history. So little of this is really understood by us in English Canada.

Back in the 1960s, when I was a journalist with the Financial Times of Canada at its head office in Montreal, I was the only journalist in a staff of 12 who had any fluency in French. So much for our response to the French fact, I recall the flash of understanding I had one day when I had lunch with a friend at a posh businessmen's restaurant in Montreal. My Quebecois friend was rapidly making his mark as a stockbroker but he saw no conflict in that with his Quebecois nationalism. In fact, he confided to me that Quebec's finances had been dominated for too long by English Canada and one of his goals was to drive the English financiers out of St. James Street.

Quebec is a part of me. Quebec is a part of my Canada. I have been privileged to grow up bilingual and thereby to know and understand a bit more about our two founding peoples in this country. The Canada that I know and love will no longer exist without Quebec, but we must recognize the tide of Quebec nationalism has run broad and deep now for many decades and the PQ's election

in 1976 was not just a temporary aberration. In fact, all parties in Quebec now seek major constitutional change, not just the Parti Quebecois. That is the challenge to which we in the Legislature and we in the rest of Canada must respond.

En justice, nous pourrions demander à nos amis au Québec de reconnaître aussi des vérités concernant le reste du Canada. Pour commencer, nous ne sommes pas tous des WASPs. Et bien plus de la moitié de la population dans l'ouest du Canada ne sont ni d'origine anglaise, ni d'origine française. Et 40 pour cent des gens de l'Ontario aussi sont de la troisième force et ne viennent pas d'origine canadienne, anglaise ou française.

We are far from monolithic because the interest of every province and every region differs significantly.

10:40 a.m.

Les griefs de l'ouest contre le reste du Canada sont aussi vieux que son histoire. Et maintenant l'Ontario trouve que nous aussi avons des problèmes qu'on doit résoudre par le moyen d'un réexamen de nos buts nationaux. Des problèmes tels que l'énergie, l'assurance de l'énergie venant de l'Alberta à des prix abordables. Des problèmes tels que l'augmentation de paiements de péréquation qui sont créés à cause des augmentations du revenu-ressources dans l'ouest, mais qui sont payés surtout par les contribuables de l'Ontario.

Si les Québécois trouvent que le gouvernement central est insensible et distant et arrogant, c'est un sentiment qu'ils partagent avec le reste du Canada. S'ils trouvent qu'ils ont des soucis de ne pas avoir une part juste de l'industrie automobile dans le pacte de l'automobile, et ceci est un souci bien légitime, ils doivent savoir que l'Ontario aussi a ses problèmes. L'Ontario commence à subir la perte à travers la désindustrialisation qui est en train de se réaliser dans cette province, de l'absence d'une stratégie industrielle au niveau fédéral.

When there are so many problems that we do face together, what we have lacked is the political will to assert Canada's independence, the political will to respond to the need of Canadians, and the political will to face together—Ontario, Quebec, all the rest of us—those many problems that have been left to one side to fester for so many years.

Ontario is now declaring forthrightly in this resolution that it rejects the status quo, and that is a major step forward. We are calling for a renegotiation of our constitution as our highest priority. After deferring the decision for two years, we are finally establishing a

select committee on the constitution that can provide a forum for many Ontarians to talk about the future directions of our country.

I believe we can say yes to Quebec without saying no to Canada, without saying no to Confederation. My party and I appeal to Quebec, because we believe that federalism can be the best possible means to satisfy Quebec's aspirations and to respond to the sense of Canadian nationalism that so many of us in this country now feel and which has so often been suppressed under old party governments over the past three decades.

We see no conflict in supporting the right of Quebecers to decide their own future at the same time that we reject sovereignty-association as a goal with which Ontario can agree. The trouble with this part of the joint resolution is that it is prone to misinterpretation. It goes without saying that sovereignty-association requires the agreement of Ontario and of the rest of Canada. It is not a good deal for this province and it is not a deal that we can accept.

When we put that rejection in highly emotional language, then the message that comes through to Quebec is not that Ontario is uninterested in Rene Levesque's constitutional formula, but that Ontario really has no desire to make constitutional change. Nothing could be further from the position of the New Democratic Party.

I was disappointed to hear the Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs (Mr. Wells) and some other speakers in this debate echo the Prime Minister of Canada's suggestion that a yes vote was a dead-end one, and would lead to an impasse where no meaningful discussion on the constitution could take place. To my mind, that view just does not square with the declaration that we are making in this House that the status quo is unacceptable and that the negotiation of a new constitution is our highest priority.

We cannot yet anticipate the results of the referendum, but rather than talking in apocalyptic terms about May 20, surely we can recognize now as politicians that the fact that this referendum is taking place is far more important than whether the yes or no side wins with a small majority.

In Quebec, there are federalists who intend to vote oui because they believe this is the way to hasten needed constitutional reform. There are Quebecers who have no brief for the Parti Quebecois, but whose non is a mandate for Claude Ryan's beige paper, a constitutional reform as far-reaching as any that has ever been proposed for Canada.

There may be Quebecers whose hearts tell them to vote yes but who will wind up voting no because of fear tactics which have been used during this campaign. If I were a Quebecer being told that a no vote was a yes and that my yes really was a no, I would be very tempted to go to the polls on May 20 and mark my ballot "none of the above."

We categorically object to the warnings that have been put forward by the Prime Minister and by others that a yes vote would turn off the process of constitutional reform. On the contrary, New Democrats believe Ontario should start immediately to engage in building a new Canada, regardless of the results on May 20. By calling the referendum, Quebec has demonstrated its desire for major constitutional change. That is a desire that now is shared by every other region of Canada.

Many people have compared Confederation to a marriage that has gone on, albeit with ups and downs, for more than a century. We all know that things get messy and bitter when we have a divorce and break up a marriage. That is why it is impossible to imagine that a negotiation of sovereignty-association could ever succeed in the manner that Rene Levesque has tried to describe.

At the same time, some members in this House will know of marriages that have come close to collapse but that have had a happy ending. That happens when the crisis in the marriage leads both partners to start to understand why things were going sour and to make major accommodations they had refused to make before. Their renewed partnership then is often more vibrant and more satisfying than anything they have ever had before. That is what we should seek in our new federation in Canada and that is why we should be prepared to begin negotiations right after the referendum while the chances for a renewed federalism remain so strong.

The promise not to negotiate sovereignty-association is also ambiguous because it leads people to think that Ontario won't go to the table if Rene Levesque comes along with the PQ's white paper. We've surely grown up enough to recognize that since Ontario and the other provinces cannot accept sovereignty-association, the aim of negotiation will be to see whether there are other proposals on the table that can be used to build a new Canada.

In labour negotiations, something my party has some sense for, managements don't

normally walk away from bargaining because the union demanded a wage increase the management found unacceptable. The process of negotiation is to move from unacceptable starting points to an acceptable joint solution. That surely is what we should be after in our negotiations with Ottawa and with the other provinces.

I want to warn this House not to fall into the trap that has held back the forces that are looking for constitutional change in Canada. Ontario has been criticized, and rightly so, by its sister provinces for defending the status quo. In rejecting the status quo, as this resolution does, we had better realize that Ontario has a credibility gap to overcome. We have to convince everybody else in Canada we now understand that the need for change overrides our past interest in the status quo. The way to convince our fellow Canadians we are serious is to set out a political direction for a new Canada and then to do everything we can in Ontario to make that vision a reality.

It is time we began to speak to ourselves and to speak out about our aspirations and our dreams for this country. It is time for us to recognize places where Canada can do better and areas where Ontario already has the power to offer leadership. There is already a lengthy agenda of questions being addressed in the matter of constitutional reform. This agenda includes such things as the role of central institutions, the role of the Supreme Court, the limitation of the powers of the federal government and countless other matters, all of which are important.

But this debate and this moment in our country's history are not just about tinkering with the constitution. This is a time when all Canadians are challenged to make a new commitment to the direction they want for their country. We need to be much franker about what Ontario really does want and about what Ontario is willing to do. That is why the NDP's agenda for a new Canada includes language rights, multiculturalism and human rights, as well as economic and social rights. My party believes Canadians are ready to make a new commitment to a society in which we overcome the vast disparities in wealth within our country and among our people. The time has come to build a Canada in which all cultures are secure.

10:50 a.m.

If we think back to the last time in which we were on the verge of constitutional change, it wasn't really the amending formula

that caused the Victoria charter to collapse in 1970. It was the lack of common purpose among our leaders; It was the failure of the federal Liberal government and the various provincial governments to find a common purpose so that anglophones, francophones, native peoples and other Canadians could unite to build a new Canada.

If we are now to achieve, as we must, a new constitution for a new Canada, the agenda for constitutional reform must include more than just legal mechanisms. It must extend to a common political determination jointly to face the economic and social problems that have been swept under the rug and ignored for too long. It must include a commitment to lead here in Ontario to putting our own house in order. We must become *maitres chez nous*.

We must begin by guaranteeing once and for all the rights to the use of the French language for all Franco-Ontarians in a way that they will know their culture and their language can be safe and secure in modern Ontario. The fact that there should be any question after 113 years is surely one reason why Quebecois are so sceptical about our good faith.

When we fail to protect our minorities, Quebecers lose faith in our commitment to building a society where all Canadians are at home. When we fail to act in Ontario, it makes any commitment to entrench language rights in the new constitution appear to be nothing but a hollow promise.

I want to say directly that my party believes the matter of extending rights to Franco-Ontarians is a basic matter of justice. There are members of this House and indeed people in this province who believe the extension of fundamental linguistic rights to francophones is a form of handout or undeserved favouritism. We reject that view categorically, as did our three federal parties when they unanimously endorsed the Official Languages Act of Canada 12 or 13 years ago. We believe Canada can never hope to develop into a mature nation with a dynamic culture if we deny Franco-Ontarians rights that should have been secured in 1867 and have been constantly taken away by succeeding governments of this province.

As recently as six years ago during the question period, the ministers of this government admitted that Ontarians could not be born, marry, die, drive, get arrested, sue, vote municipally, be enumerated, get social assistance or perform many normal duties of citizenship in the French language in this province. We have made some progress since that time and the fact that there are now

100,000 students being educated in the French language is a tribute to the efforts of Franco-Ontarians. It is also a tribute to the growing understanding of all Ontarians that we must preserve our two national languages.

What has marred our credibility is that time and time again it has taken such a struggle to gain French-language services—services that should have been guaranteed as a matter of right. That is why Ontario must now adopt a legislative framework for the protection of the French language and of French-language services similar to the proposal that was arbitrarily rejected by the Premier (Mr. Davis) two years ago.

We need action here in Ontario to demonstrate our commitment to building a new constitution that treats people justly whether their mother tongue is English or French or any other. French-language schooling at the secondary level should be guaranteed to a level equal to that enjoyed by anglophones in Quebec. The powers of the Languages of Instruction Commission should be strengthened to ensure that schooling in our other official language does not suffer because of obstruction by unsympathetic school boards. We must immediately undertake a proper municipal enumeration of francophones in order to strengthen the mandate of French-language advisory committees. We must sort out the problems that are still, I regret to say, not entirely resolved at Penetanguishene.

We should be taking these steps, not because a referendum is impending, but because those are the right steps to take to guarantee French-language education rights in Ontario.

With more than 20,000 students receiving education in Ottawa-Carleton in the French language, there could be no excuse for continuing to leave them scattered among four school boards and for not allowing the Franco-Ontarians to control their own school boards in Canada's national capital. The government's continued refusal to take such a step is yet another example for Premier Levesque when he argues that Quebecers would be better out of Canada than in.

We believe Ontario should continue to finance the full-day kindergarten programs that give francophone children a vital early start on being well grounded in their own language and better protected against assimilation. We should be encouraging the Catholic school boards of Ottawa and Carleton for the outstanding success of their bilingual programs, rather than undermining

the foundation of those programs by eliminating full-day bilingual kindergarten.

It is years since the Dubois report laid out a blueprint for providing health service in French for Ontario. That report should now be implemented. We should diligently dig out all the areas where Ontario, almost unconsciously, still treats French as second class or, in the words of the Registry Act, calls French a foreign language. In the future, when Ontario has played its part in forming a new Canada, there should never again be questions about language rights in Ontario.

In order to build a new Canada, we must do more than just work within our own province. Since I became leader of my party, the NDP has sent two caucus delegations to visit Quebec. Those visits were very revealing, even for those of us who know Quebec, because they underlined, as I have tried to in this speech, just how widespread the feeling for change is in our sister province.

When members of the cultural affairs committee of the Quebec National Assembly came to visit Queen's Park a few months ago, their visit was also an eye-opener. They were astonished to find that Toronto has grown to a world city. I was astonished to find how little beforehand they had known about Ontario and how many had never visited this city.

I don't believe that the problems of our country will be solved simply by politicians talking to one another, but that is at least one place to start. It is time that members of our assembly and of Quebec's National Assembly started to meet regularly and travel in each other's province. We should be expanding the contacts between our two provinces to the point where hundreds of thousands of Quebecois and Ontarians are getting together and getting to know each other every year. They can be school kids or truck drivers, Rotarians or aldermen, tourists or pensioners, chiropractors or nurses.

The point is that it is time we started to break down the walls that mark our two solitudes and broaden the dialogue to include all Canadians. We in this Legislature should take the initiative and start to open those doors. Through actions that show our commitment to recognize the rights of our fellow citizens, through efforts to get to know and understand one another, through sacrifices by Canadians to build a new Canada, we can continue to build a great country.

In addition to language rights, we must present an agenda for human and social rights to be recognized in a new constitution. [Translation from Italian]

Yesterday six members of my caucus made history by addressing this chamber in six of the more than 80 languages spoken in Ontario today. They told this House and the people of Ontario they would not be content with the new constitution unless it affirmed our principles of seeking full equality for all Canadians. They wanted to overcome the barriers which deny many Canadians full equality.

I want to congratulate those members for their contribution and I want to echo their sentiments. I recognize the tremendous contribution of all Canadians. I and my party recognize that assimilation of cultures destroys the cultural roots of our society and works against the best interests of all Canadians. While preserving our two official languages, we must be concerned about preserving our many cultures, because Canada is not unicultural, it is multicultural.

11 a.m.

I was particularly concerned with the evidence presented by the members of my caucus of how this society through the policies of the federal Liberals and the provincial Conservatives has contributed to the maintenance of two classes of citizens. The members of my caucus related how difficult it is for working people in Canada to advance; how little working people are protected from hazards on the job and from occupational disease; how working people are excluded from positions of power and from participating in the direction of our economy. These problems brought New Democrats into politics.

[End of translation]

A new constitution will be acceptable to the NDP only if it ensures that immigrants and ethnic Canadians have the same opportunities as their fellow Canadians. The new constitution must respect the many cultures that make up our Canadian mosaic. It must make absolutely clear the commitment of all Canadians to oppose racism and to outlaw discrimination based on colour, race, sex or ethnic origin. It must not only ensure judicial equality, but also guarantee economic and social justice to every Canadian and every region of Canada.

There are many other social issues that Ontario must address in the near future if we are to extend human and social rights in our province and make credible our sup-

port for entrenchment of the Canadian Bill of Rights in the new constitution.

We must begin by a commitment to the enforcement of human rights and the reform of the Ontario Human Rights Commission. The commission has been too silent for too long on too many issues. It is time we brought in the recommendations of its report, *Life Together*, and created in Ontario an atmosphere where human rights are going to be enforced. We must use existing provincial powers to make our institutions reflective of the cultural and linguistic diversity of our province. Our party has been particularly concerned about government institutions such as the Workmen's Compensation Board, Ontario, and with public servants who occupy sensitive positions.

Many of my colleagues have talked about what we mean by social and economic justice in the new Canada we can create with a new constitution and a new vision of our country. It has been traditional for constitutions to deal with human rights and language rights. But there are other rights which for many of us, in particular for democratic socialists, are just as important.

I want the new constitution of our country to affirm the rights of Canadians to health and to health care, to ensure that the achievements of Tommy Douglas and the NDP in bringing hospital insurance and medicare to Canada are not worn away by governments that put other needs ahead of the right to health.

Canadians should have the right to decent housing, and that should be enshrined in the constitution. They should have the right to decent nutrition, the right to a decent job and to full employment, and the right to live with dignity and with a decent income in their old age. Those rights too should be enshrined in the new constitution of Canada. We should commit ourselves in the new constitution to full employment, and the new constitution should spell out our goal of economic independence for Canada.

Once again, the problem is not so much the constitution as it is a problem of political will. We believe that when the government of Ontario, Canada's manufacturing heartland, commits itself to developing a policy that will benefit all Canadians, Canadians will begin to listen to Ontario. We indeed must deal with the problem of regional inequality. We must make it clear, and have that too enshrined in the constitution, that it is no longer acceptable to us to have have and have-not provinces. We must raise our concerns about the way equalization payments operate in Canada and seek a better

and more just system of redistributing wealth in our country, redistributing wealth among the regions of Canada, and redistributing wealth among the people of Canada.

We must also take action to show that we are willing to participate in economic planning in order to build a strong national economy. The provinces must participate in that planning process. They must plan in the public interest. We cannot leave our future in the hands of multinationals. We must make it our own.

One of the clearest proposals that Ontario should lay on the table is our desire to maintain a central government strong enough to put economic planning into force once the goals have been agreed to by all Canadians. That means paying special attention to how the highly decentralized federation we seem destined to create can use a revised second chamber or other institutions and other techniques as the means for co-ordinating a national economic and industrial policy with the provinces.

More than any other province, it is our duty in Ontario to spell out how the decentralization of powers can be balanced by an effective new second chamber, in order that we all stand together in the battle against the control of multinational corporations, in the development of an industrial strategy that puts Canada first, in the planning that is required for us to stop exporting our raw resources and start refining and processing them here in Canada, by Canadians, for Canadians.

I have talked today about language rights and Franco-Ontarians, about our ethnic minorities and about our constitutional and political changes that are designed to bring social and economic justice to all of us here in Canada. My colleagues have also spoken to these issues with eloquence and with candor.

We see this debate as just a beginning, and we look forward to the work of the select committee. We will participate in that debate and at those discussions actively and constructively. I want to join with every other member of this Legislature in appealing to the people of Quebec for a commitment that, however they vote in the referendum, they too will enter into the process of constitutional reform as soon as possible after the referendum is over.

Je me joins avec tous les autres députés dans cette Chambre, en faisant appel aux citoyens de la province du Québec, que, s'ils votent oui ou s'ils votent non dans le référendum, ils feront l'engagement de se joindre

au processus de la réforme constitutionnelle aussitôt que possible après le référendum.

Bearing in mind the danger that the federal government may opt out of the constitutional negotiations if Quebec votes yes and, therefore, in the mind of the Prime Minister, helps to create an impasse, I think that before this referendum takes place on May 20, Ontario should undertake to convene the provinces, as we did in 1967, to start the negotiations that we in this chamber have taken as our highest priority. We should set the date for that first meeting before the end of June, and should Ottawa drag its feet, Ontario should be prepared to reconvene those meetings as often as once every two months.

As my party has made clear again and again in this debate, we cannot accept the sterile suggestion that all dialogue would be cut off if Quebecers vote oui. We believe Ontario has a vital role in exploring every avenue in the search, with the other provinces and with Quebec, for an acceptable new constitution. We believe in Canada and we want Canada to stay united. As democratic socialists, we believe in equality and we want to achieve equality for every Canadian and equality for Canadians in every region of our great land.

Many of the problems that my colleagues and I have talked about this week are not constitutional in origin, but they stem from the failure of the parties in power to husband our resources and to make us maître chez nous. We are optimistic enough to believe it is possible to reverse those mistakes, possible to take the concrete steps in Ontario and in our nation to defend language rights and ensure full equality for our native people and for our ethnic minorities. We believe the opportunities to meet those goals are much greater for us all, including all French Canadians and the Quebecois, within one Canada, than in a nation which has become irrevocably divided.

I learned a lesson that stays with me to this day when I began school in Quebec City, back in 1949, as the only anglophone in a school of more than 1,000 French-speaking, French-Canadian pupils. Soon after I got there, my schoolmates started to crowd around me—this happened for several weeks—and they would jeer that I was "anglais, anglais, anglais." It took time before I was able to change their minds, but I was finally able to convince them. "No," I said, "je suis canadien, canadien, canadien."

11:10 a.m.

With leadership and political will from this province, I think we can make an enor-

mous contribution to a new Canada that meets the aspirations of us all, a new Canada in which the people of my birthplace in British Columbia, people in western Canada, people from the Atlantic provinces and Newfoundland, and Ontarians and Quebecers too, can all say with pride, "Je suis canadien."

Mr. S. Smith: Mr. Speaker, I have listened with interest to various addresses during the course of our debate this week. From the outset I want to say I think we should all recognize the amount of work members have put into the speeches they have delivered this week, the tone which these speeches have set and the content that has been delivered on the floor of the House. I, for one, was very proud of the members of this House. I was proud of the members of my party and proud of the members on all sides in general for the contributions they have made and the sincerity with which those contributions were made.

I want to talk today about a few key points. I want to mention them first and then return to them a little later to discuss them in more detail. There are five of them.

First, I want to make the point that this referendum debate is not about a constitutional revision. It is about the feelings between the two language groups in this country. It is important for us to recognize that at heart that is what it is about.

Second, a yes vote in the referendum in Quebec might lead to fearful consequences, both inside and outside Quebec. It is important to consider that latter aspect of it. The third point—and, as I say, I will be returning to these—is that there is a real risk, let us be honest about it, that a no vote in the referendum will put many people in Ontario to sleep and it will be up to us, the political leaders, to make sure we prevent such a reaction from happening.

Fourth, the yes voters in Quebec who really mean no—they are referred to as the *noyi* voters in the current press—are people who want more power at negotiation. I want to make the point that they are playing a very cynical and a dangerous bargaining game that may backfire and backfire very seriously for everyone.

The fifth point I want to make is that a strong federal government in economic matters and in vital resource situations is essential to Ontario and to Quebec as well as to the continued existence of Canada.

I will return to those points. I want to speak generally for a while.

Monsieur le Président, on songe que c'est ici à Toronto où se trouvait alors le siège conjoint du Haut et du Bas Canada. Que des hommes du Haut Canada anglophone et du Bas Canada francophone se sont réunis pour la première fois pour exprimer leurs ambitions et formuler les compromis qui ont donné naissance à la Confédération. Le vieil immeuble législatif n'est plus. Mais le même esprit demeure au sein de cette Assemblée et je vois, autour de cette salle, les visages réfléchis de personnes prêtes à continuer à accorder leur confiance à ce qu'il y a de plus noble dans ce pays.

And what a country we have! I ask my friends in the Legislature to look at our country—the richness, the beauty, the history, the people—to look at our waters, our forests, our mountains, our fields, our cities, our traditions. How in heaven's name can anyone consider throwing all this away, this heritage of ours? Yet there are people inside Quebec and outside Quebec who are contemplating doing exactly that.

The Premier (Mr. Davis) refers to me as "the good doctor" from time to time. If I may be forgiven a medical metaphor, it would seem to me we are a country with a pain in our chest, the burning pain of the referendum, but that pain is only a symptom, I am afraid, of a chronic disease.

De quelle maladie s'agit-il? Le Premier Ministre Trudeau parle de "l'ennemi au foyer"—the enemy within. Il semble s'agir d'un problème semblable à celui contre lequel un autre Canadien-Français célèbre, Wilfrid Laurier, a dû lutter il y a 70 ans, lorsqu'il déclara: "Toute politique qui s'édifie à une classe, à une religion ou à une race, ou qui ne fait pas appel à ce qu'il y a de plus élevé dans toutes les classes, toutes les religions et toutes les races, porte la marque de l'infériorité".

Ce sont les mots de Wilfrid Laurier. Les solutions qui sont aujourd'hui les solutions pour le Canada, me semblent les mêmes que celles qui s'offraient à l'époque de Laurier. Aurons-nous la force d'aller de l'avant, comme un pays uni? Ou allons-nous nous replier sur nous-mêmes dans des communautés isolées, en nous regardant avec jalousie de part et d'autre de nos barrières spirituelles? Dans notre débat de cette semaine, quelque chose nous a portés à être si prudents dans nos paroles, à nous attarder aussi longuement pour parvenir à l'unanimité, à éviter de blesser.

After all, Mr. Speaker, there seem to be two compelling and opposite Canadian historical strains: accommodation and alienation. The groups living in this country, diverse

groups of different origins and different actions and customs, are sometimes proudly confident of their differences. In those moments they are individually generous, sharing their better instincts; at other times they become anxious about losing ground, one to the other. They act as drowning men who cling to a raft and stare only at each other for a sense of themselves. Those are the moments of alienation, the moments of frustration, even of fury; the dark side of our history.

That dark side is awakened now and then. It lurks there, awaiting mobilization, awaiting the call of some leader. When that happens, those pockets of people, people for whom alienation is a style of life, become the basis for a handwagon. They become the basis for a whole movement, a veritable parade of alienation. We can see it with the Parti Quebecois in Quebec. If we are honest about it we can see signs of such activities right here in Ontario.

The struggle between regions, between language groups, has been with us from the earliest moments of our history. The awful danger is that we may grow tired. Reasonable people, even strong people, grow tired. It has happened before. Let me quote from a speech made in the original Legislature here in Toronto: "The one thing needed for Canada is to rub down all sharp angles and to remove those asperities which divide our people on questions of origin and religion. The man who says this cannot be done with the charity of the gospel is a blockhead."

Those were the sentiments of one of the greatest of the founding fathers of our Confederation. Yet, on a pleasant spring evening in April, one year after Confederation, D'Arcy McGee had his brains blown out by some blockhead who disagreed with those sentiments, some blockhead who believed that the meaner particularities of a creed or a race or a religion were worth defending against the better instincts in us all.

11:20 a.m.

I don't tell this story to stir up old animosities or to touch old aggravations, but to make a point that there have always been among us those who prefer to express their intolerance rather than encourage accommodation.

Of course, as a society, we have come a long way since the days of McGee. As a province we have come from alienation to accommodation as the dominant strain in the balance between races and religions and linguistic groups, but this delicate sense of balance is easily upset. The threads of goodwill and of accommodation may finally be

stretched and broken by this prolonged, frustrating effort to create an acceptable sense of nationhood.

When the separatists in Quebec speak of slamming the door on us, I am sure many of us have wanted to slam the door on them, on their children and on future generations of Quebecers. But that is their plan; that is the way they operate. It is their plan to touch the vengefulness that exists in all of us, and we must continue to hold the door open despite the provocations of the radical separatist minority. I fear for the country, as every member here does, when we go on open-line programs and hear people say: "If that's what they want, let them go. We are fed up; we don't want to hear any more about it."

Our patience is being stretched, but this country was built by accommodation. It was built by patient men and women and we must not lose that patience now, but the current acrimony is going on too long. Feelings are being dulled by it. My friends, I am aware and you are aware that there are many in towns across Ontario who have lost interest, for whom the spirit of accommodation is wearing thin. Many Ontarians have succumbed to the view that the people in Quebec have some curious problem in their own psyche, that they have a problem which is no business of ours and which seems to go on interminably. That is coming to be a feeling in many of the towns and villages, and it is a dangerous feeling.

Canadians have begun to play Rene Levesque's game. We have been sliding back from the spirit of accommodation and reasonableness. Whole regions of people are frequently tarred with the same brush—westerners, Quebecers, Newfoundlanders, even Ontarians. We hear stories, attacks on one another have become commonplace, stories about blue-eyed sheikhs, about Bay Street moguls and about all kinds of stereotypes which are now pitting one region or one area of this country against another. These are dangerous times. We, as leaders of people, have to do what we can to prevent those.

The hard truth is that appeals to narrow, regional interests carry with them many elements of demagoguery, and those elements, if unrecognized and uncontrolled, will set a long, cold, bitter night on our history, a night which will freeze us in our positions and seal us within our territories, a dark night for the soul of Canada. If there ever was a time to identify and be guided by the better instincts in all of us, that time is now.

At the start of my speech, I mentioned five points and I want to deal with them now in some more detail. The first point is that this referendum is not about the constitution. Let us be honest, the people of Ontario—and we know them as well as anyone, let's face it—are not clamoring for constitutional change. Most are quite happy with the status quo and it will require real leadership to convince them that there would be benefits to Ontario and Canada from amendments to the constitution.

We have a big job ahead of us to convince the people in this regard. Let's not minimize this, let's be honest with each other. We can do it together. We have the abilities to show that kind of leadership, but the people out there are not clamoring for constitutional change in Ontario. They will have to be persuaded of the benefits and that, of course, is our job.

To pretend there is some kind of demand for these changes would be false and misleading. Mind you, Mr. Speaker, there may be disagreement on this, but I would contend that constitutional change per se is not really that high a priority for most Quebecers either. I know the people of Quebec very well. The Premier is fond of pointing out my origins in that province, for whatever reason he likes to do that. I know them well, and it is my view—and I'm open to correction—that they are far less concerned with constitutional detail than they are with the desire to feel as equal, to feel certain about their continued existence, to flourish culturally and to improve their status in the relationship between the French-speaking and English-speaking groups in their province and their country.

I've asked so many people in Quebec to describe to me the differences in the present constitution, the beige paper, sovereignty-association and anything they might particularly like to see in a constitution, and they look at me blankly. It is not a constitutional debate that is presently going on among the people of Quebec. It is a question of how they feel about themselves. It is a question of whether they feel their status is appropriate after these many years of our history together in one nation. That is what it is about.

To be fair, we recognize as leaders that those feelings and cultural survival and so on are feelings that can be related to constitutional change, that cultural survival can be guaranteed by certain changes in the constitution. So we are arguing about constitutional change and preparing ourselves for constitutional change and acceptance of the

idea. But the debate going on right now is not about the constitution or the fine points of difference between a beige paper and a white paper. The debate now is about mutual trust and mutual acceptance. Can we be trusted to continue progress in the event of a no vote? That is what they're concerned about, not about constitutional niceties.

I would like to make a second point. I don't claim these points are original in any way. There is very little original that can be said on a topic that has been with us for 115 years or so—longer than that if we go back into the early 1800s. The second point I want to make is that there are people inside and outside Quebec who will exploit a yes vote for their own purposes. Mr. Levesque, we're well aware, will obviously claim the vote means more than many yes voters would have intended. Clearly that is the main danger, and that has been spoken of many times.

But there is also concern that outside Quebec some leaders might be tempted to strengthen their own political situation by appearing to get tough with Quebec, thus fostering rather than opposing the anti-Quebec feeling which might emerge following a yes vote. Let me be clear about this and let me explain what I mean.

A yes vote to this question will not mean to Mr. Levesque what it may mean to a lawyer looking at the question and taking it up in a court of law. The question says, "Will you give us a mandate to negotiate sovereignty-association?" But we all know Mr. Levesque will take that as some kind of mandate from the people in his *étapisme*, in his step-by-step movement towards separation. We at least have to thank him for begin honest about that. He has stated that.

What amazes me is how he can state, on the one hand, that this is all part of Claude Morin's plan of *étapisme* while, on the other hand, as I hear him on the television night after night, say a yes vote is a vote for *déblocage*, simply a vote to get things moving, to get some change, a vote to wake up the English, to get going and not to seal off progress forever.

That is patently dishonest; there is no other word for it. I'm not here to be inflammatory or offensive, but to tell people that it is merely a vote for change when we all know that the day after such a vote would occur it will be held up at the very least as a mandate to negotiate *souveraineté association*, something which the people of Quebec still don't fully understand and I doubt ever will, because it is not a meaningful concept; to tell them it is a vote for *déblocage*, when

we all know he means it to be a step in the step-by-step plan for separation, is really disgraceful behaviour for a leader of people. 11:30 a.m.

What will be the reaction outside Quebec to a yes vote? Members should ask themselves that. I am happy that current polls indicate it will not happen. I hope it never does. But I will bet a lot of people would be very angry. There would be a temptation for leaders outside of Quebec to try to strengthen their own positions by subtly encouraging a tough attitude towards Quebec. That would foster rather than oppose the negative feelings in our population. That is a danger.

For the third point I want to make, let us be candid: in the event of a no vote it is true that many people in Ontario will breathe a sigh of relief, go back to what they were doing and forget about it. We as leaders must recognize this tendency and we must state we will not allow Ontario to do that. We must pledge ourselves that no party will allow the people of Ontario to do that. We will go to work with goodwill on rewriting our constitution, and we will lead the people in this regard.

Venons-en au quatrième point. Et je voudrais maintenant m'adresser à une groupe particulier d'électeurs du Québec, le groupe des soi-disant "noui." Un groupe qui songe à voter oui, non pas parce qu'ils souhaitent la souveraineté du Québec, mais parce qu'ils veulent être en meilleure position pour négocier.

Les citoyens de l'Ontario prendront ce genre de oui pour ce qu'il est—c'est-à-dire une expression de méfiance cynique à l'égard de nos motifs et une incompréhension totale des progrès que nous avons déjà accomplis. Je dis à l'électeur du noui, ce serait saper les efforts de ceux qui ont aidé l'Ontario à faire autant de chemin, parce qu'un tel noui porterait beaucoup de personnes à dire, "Ça suffit. Vous pouvez rester, vous pouvez partir. Nous ne voulons plus de menaces de votre part, plus de compromis de notre part." Je vous dis, on peut éviter cela. Ne nous traitez pas avec méfiance. Ne nous rejetez pas. Votez pour nous aider, non pas pour nous saper. L'avenir de Canada est vraiment en jeu.

My fifth point is this: I believe it is in everyone's interest to indicate clearly, now, exactly where we stand on certain vital aspects of constitutional reform. In fairness, let us spell it out.

In the field of natural resources the present power of the federal government to operate in the national interest must be maintained, as must the power and authority to manage

Canada's economy. Education, social services, cultural and other priorities can and should be set by the provinces in order to accommodate our distinctive interests. The nature of federal institutions can and should change, but control of the economy must remain at the federal level.

My own feeling is that anything less than complete honesty now can only lead to bitterness and conflict when we sit down at any constitutional conference after May 20. We Ontarians believe that both our future and Quebec's, as well as the future of all other Canadians, and our interests can be best served within the framework of one strong Canada, with one strong economy directed by one national government.

Those are the five points I wanted to emphasize. I want to speak now in more general terms. The truth is that many English-speaking Canadians, in different ways and at different times, have looked upon the French as different, and have treated that difference as if it were the stain of inferiority.

Many francophones in Quebec and elsewhere resent what they feel was a second-class status foisted on them by some English-speaking people in that province and in other provinces. That is particularly a feeling in Quebec.

I grew up with so many people who felt that because their fathers spoke French those fathers were not able to advance, even in their own province, in their own place of work, because so many of the places of work demanded, basically, that English be the language of the work place. There is a very real resentment there, a feeling that their fathers were humiliated in some way. So many of the young people want to correct that, they want somehow to correct the record. They want to make up for what happened and what they sense was a humiliation of their fathers.

That is a very real feeling we have to deal with, that group memory of difference. That memory of being made to feel inferior has given the separatist movement its greatest strength, and it is a very hard memory to expunge. But times are changing and I would put it to my friends, those with whom I grew up, some of my closest comrades, that memory, however justifiable it is, however real it is, is now doing very great harm to both of Canada's founding peoples.

I want to quote from this morning's *Globe and Mail* an article by Stan Oziwicz, who quotes the former president of the *Société*

Saint-Jean-Baptiste as saying, and I am assuming this quote is accurate when I quote it here: "The goodwill being expressed by MPPs during the debate is meaningless. When they talk about past friendships and brotherhood I don't believe the first word of it. We simply hate each other traditionally, and it shows. You can hear it, you can feel it." He went on to speak of his experiences with a minority of Ontarians, and I quote, "For years and years I was told to speak white."

We can see what has happened. Here is a man who carries with him memories of hatred and who has become today a merchant of hatred. This is what we have to fight against. There is no future, for either the people in Quebec or the people outside, in hatred. Hatred only consumes people, and it consumes the people who hate even more rapidly than it consumes the victims of that hatred. That is a lesson history must surely teach us.

Il est évident que l'Ontario serait plus faible sans le Québec. Et que le Québec serait plus faible sans l'Ontario. Nos économistes, nos analystes de marché, nos démographes, parlent tous du corridor qui relie Windsor, Toronto, Montréal et la ville de Québec. Il s'agit d'un corridor, d'un couloir où la majorité des gens de ce pays traitent leurs affaires, échangent des idées, et partagent leur histoire. Ce corridor, après tout, a été la porte d'entrée historique de notre pays, le passage central qui menait aux nombreuses salles et aux divers coins de notre territoire.

Lorsque l'on va et vient dans ce passage, on voit converger et se fondre les ombres des Français et des Anglais. Mais ce serait une tragédie de claquer la porte en plein milieu de couloir, d'arrêter ce flot continu, de dé-ranger, de bouleverser le va-et-vient, de diviser, de séparer, d'isoler; et si le Québec faisait cela, il n'y a pas de doute que le reste du Canada ne survivrait pas comme on le connaît.

11:40 a.m.

My friends, the time has come to put aside hatreds, to bind up old wounds, to end mean confrontations and to identify those who indulge in confrontations and alienations as the enemies of promise, the promise this Confederation of ours has to be a work of political art.

It is time for people of reason and accommodation to reject the stamp of inferiority of which Laurier spoke. Too often we forget the grandeur of Laurier's belief in the finer instincts in all classes, all races and all creeds. It has now become fashionable to identify the

people of each province or each region as if each region were a nation. These regions have begun to pick like crows on the body of the national government. Mr. Levesque has opened the door and other provincial governments are running through it.

This confrontation of politics which pits the boys in the provincial gang against the boys from Ottawa frightens me. It's the enemy within. For the sake of Canada's survival it must be stopped.

My friends, the referendum in Quebec is not about mandates to negotiate. It is not about sovereignty-association. It is, by the admission of Mr. Levesque himself, a first step in a step-by-step plan for separation. People in Quebec may think they have ultimate control over such a plan because they have been promised another referendum before the final step would be taken. They should not fool themselves. I say to them: "Please think again. Do not take this next step, I implore you. There is nothing to be gained by it and much to be lost." The reasons for coming together in 1867, to give us strength to survive together when we could not survive apart, are here today and they are here in spades today. Look at the world, the large trading groups which are already making even a nation the size of Canada tremble as we sit on the northern border of our giant neighbour.

Broken up as little principalities, as small nations strung out across the top of the United States, we would have not the slightest hope of genuine power, of genuine recognizability, of real control over our economic destiny. We huddled together in 1867, and that need is even greater now. It paid dividends then and we are all much richer as a consequence. We are all people who as individuals are much happier in our skin, as they are fond of saying in Quebec, as a consequence of having done so.

It makes no sense now as we reach the end of the 20th century to think we can survive better as a bunch of little principalities than we can as a united, strong nation; no sense at all. There is no point in taking that first step in Claude Morin's and Rene Levesque's plan of étapisme. There is no sense whatsoever in doing so and much danger indeed.

Look around you, I say to my friends from Quebec and to the people of Ontario who are getting a little tired of the whole thing. I say be patient, we have a land of wealth, a tradition of peace, a land of beauty, a land of freedom, a land of love. Don't throw it away. Reject Mr. Levesque's

counsel of despair and isolation. Tell him no thank you. Canadians we are, Canadians we will remain. My friends, let us meet, let our children embrace one another, let us go forward together. Vive le Canada. Long live Canada.

Hon. Mr. Davis: Mr. Speaker, it is a great privilege for me, not only as the Premier of this province, but as a member of this Legislature to conclude what I believe has been an historic and important debate in the history of this province.

The resolution which I moved, seconded by both the leader of the Liberal Party and the leader of the New Democratic Party, is a direct and sincere statement on behalf of the people of Ontario to the people of Quebec. It is, as I sense it, a statement of affection and of concern. It represents, to me at least, a positive commitment shared, I hope, unanimously in this House, a statement and commitment for significant and meaningful constitutional reform. It is also a statement that is clear as to our opposition to sovereignty-association and our unwillingness to negotiate sovereignty-association with the government of Quebec.

The many speakers who have addressed this resolution constructively have touched on a number of substantial issues which are highly relevant to the process of constitutional reform in this country and many of the issues that face us as Canadians. It would be less than accurate were I to indicate that in good conscience I could agree with all that has been said by members who spoke.

In fact, even with a resolution which represents as broad a consensus as the one that is before this assembly today, it would be naive for anyone to believe that there could be total agreement within this or any other democratic assembly. Where parties, and indeed members, in this House differ on approaches or undertakings or priorities, it is now clearly on the public record, and I believe this fact is important and helpful for the people of our province and the democratic process.

This morning it is not my purpose to touch on those matters where we in this House disagree. It seems to me at times that our disagreements get more than their fair share of attention. Rather, it is my purpose to stress those issues on which we stand united and to underline what I sense is the common resolve of Ontarians to sustain this, our nation, and to enhance its future.

My colleague the Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs and government House

leader (Mr. Wells) put before this House in quite explicit terms the many instances of Quebec-Ontario co-operation and mutual support on substantial issues of constitutional reform. In fact, if one looks at the history of our two provinces, the way we have as provinces interacted with one another and with our colleagues across Canada at the federal-provincial table, Ontario's inability to support sovereignty-association will stand as an historical exception to a long history of co-operation and mutual support. But I urge the people of Quebec to understand the depth of our commitment on this particular exception.

Citizenship that is known throughout the world as Canadian is very dear to all of us in this assembly, all of us in this province. Being residents of Ontario fills us with great pride—as does being residents of Alberta or Quebec—but let us be very frank, it is also in many cases an accident of geography, and for those born in each one of our provinces, something over which we had very little control. But the fact that we were born Canadians or chose to become Canadians is, we know, a matter of good fortune for all of us, wherever we may live in this nation. It is also a matter of pride, a matter of conviction, a matter of common values and common interests, and a matter of spirit.

Yesterday, my colleague the Minister of Education (Miss Stephenson) spoke with a deep and compelling eloquence of those of French, English and other Canadian backgrounds who during three wars in this century gave their lives for this country, for one citizenship and for the freedom and opportunity it provides. Let none of us ever forget what that sacrifice meant and let us not see it diminished.

11:50 p.m.

Sovereignty-association—I endeavoured to say this in our sister province of Quebec last week—and the negotiation of the same really imply negotiating away Canadian citizenship. One can't define it in any other fashion. To me it really implies at least reducing the value and the meaning of that citizenship, not only for Quebecers but for all Canadians. I may be somewhat old-fashioned—in fact, I have been described on occasion as being that—and perhaps on this matter I become somewhat emotional, but I do not intend—I said it before and I shall reiterate it again—to be part of any process that diminishes the value and the stature of Canadian citizenship for this or for future generations. As Premier of this province, I do not intend to be part of any process that

creates unnecessary boundaries in this country, any process that limits the breadth, the depth, the promise or the opportunity of Canada.

During my recent visit to Quebec, I said I believe that what the proponents of sovereignty-association are against in this country no longer exists. The commitment to constitutional reform and change is real and is self-evident throughout this country and not just in our sister province.

Commitment to redefining our national institutions and preserving what I describe as a fair and just balance between the national interest of all Canadians and the regional concerns and aspirations of the different parts of our country is real. I believe the next period of time in this nation will be one of challenge, trial and, on occasion, frustration for all of us.

It is also not the time for any weakness of spirit or any faltering of conviction. It is not a time to be unsure of what being a Canadian means. It is not a time to back and fill. It is a time to make a stand for Canada, a time to set out what it is we wish to preserve and what we care about. It is a time to be blunt about what we are not prepared to surrender.

A group of academics—and I don't use that term in any pejorative sense—joined by a few others, recently delivered a petition to Queen's Park, indicating certain positive views on sovereignty-association. I think it is fair to state that I am not one to take exception to people's points of view. I respect all points of view, but I happen to differ with them as totally as one could differ with a view on any single issue.

We who believe in Canada in this Legislature and across this country must not be afraid to be firm in its defence and must not be afraid to be tough-minded, as difficult as it may be, where it is appropriate. It is a time, I suggest with respect, for balance but also a time for strength. It is not a time to desert one's principles. It is with a clear balance of tough-mindedness, on the one hand, and a real and, I think, genuine generosity of spirit on the other, that we will succeed in negotiating a new Canada and developing a new deal or approach, not for just one group but for all Canadians. It is with that balanced approach we will embark upon the kind of constitutional discussions which I believe will be fruitful and meaningful.

The Prime Minister of our nation has, in my opinion, asked the province of Quebec a very apt question. We know what the

position of the government of Quebec is if the yes side is sustained on May 20. What we do not know is what it intends to do if the no side is victorious. This province believes that Canada will have to move quickly, after what we hope will be the success of the no side, to achieve meaningful constitutional reform and change. That will require a specific determination by this government and by the people we represent to get the job done. We must get it done effectively and we must get it done fairly, but we must make sure it is done expeditiously.

When this province some time ago proposed a patriation of the constitution from Great Britain, we did so because we believed an important symbolic gesture indicating progress and reform was necessary to sustain public confidence in the process as a whole. Beyond this important initiative, the voters of this province and the voters of this country have the right to expect that those who represent them in government will deal with dispatch with the total challenge of constitutional reform following a no vote. I believe that discussions must begin immediately following that vote and we must establish a preset time limit. I know the complexities of this issue. We must do it with a clear package of constitutional reforms so that they can be placed before the Parliament of Canada, the legislatures of the provinces and the people of this nation.

I believe my colleagues, the first ministers of the other provinces, and the Prime Minister of Canada would agree that while existing federal-provincial conference structures will be important, we must not shrink from the task of finding, if necessary, more creative means of finalizing recommendations on constitutional change.

I digress here for a moment, because I sensed in my visit to our sister province that there were those raising doubts about the commitment of this province and other provinces to something other than the status quo. It is always difficult, without in any way trying to assess responsibility, to remind people of the historical realities. In Victoria in 1971, I vividly recall the sense of optimism which I think was genuine and well-founded. I think of the consensus that was achieved, the final decisions made and the feeling, for many of us at least, as we left the provincial capital of our most western province, that we had established a position, a method and a significant accomplishment in terms of giving a new direction to the future of this nation.

I do not express this to the members of the House, but I do express it to those who, I hope, are watching or listening or reading in Quebec. It was not Ontario that in any way limited or inhibited the consensus achieved in Victoria in 1971 from reaching fruition or conclusion. The history of this period will never support the theory being expressed by some in our sister province that Ontario is married to the status quo and that we do not want change. History will record that is not factually the case. Perhaps those who are critical should explore the position of their own province in relation to this matter.

Again in 1976, the Premiers of Canada met first in Edmonton and then in Banff, where the atmosphere was potentially more creative in terms of the environment. This is the way things are accomplished in this country. I recall vividly the then Premier of Quebec, Mr. Bourassa, expressing his constitutional concerns. I can recall him saying to us very frankly that in the fields of culture, immigration and communications he sensed the provinces should have a greater measure of responsibility. I confess to members of this House that perhaps those items were not the priorities of the other Premiers of Canada.

12 noon

But I can recall sitting around that table in the Banff Springs Hotel, when we as fellow Canadian Premiers worked out with the then Premier of Quebec an approach which would support him in terms of how he presented this to the citizens of his province.

I can recall so vividly the discussions in the field of communications. I understand the essence of the preservation of language or culture. It is founded in the field of education and is also related to the field of communications. This too I understand. I could understand the desire on the part of the Premier to have a greater degree of involvement in any constitutional reform which would build into Quebec's responsibilities the ways and means to preserve the French language and the French culture through the field of communications.

We understood this. We agreed with many of the suggestions that were being made. Also I think I am right in assessing that he understood my feelings as a citizen of this province who is concerned about French culture, who is concerned about English culture and who is concerned about so many cultures, who felt and still feels there has to be some national involvement in the field of communications. I happen to be so naive as to think there is something that can be

described as a Canadian culture and that that, too, has to be part of a national responsibility.

But I just want to remind people who are suggesting during this debate that Ontario has been a supporter of the status quo and that we have not been prepared to give, that this is not the fact. The fact is that on so many issues—I expressed this in Montreal the other day—I can really think of more occasions when the Premier or the government of this province supported the point of view of the government or Premier of Quebec than there are occasions where we differed.

This goes back to the 1960s. I can recall some of the federal-provincial conferences. I can recall my predecessor in one or two very crucial areas accepting a point of view that he felt would make our Confederation more meaningful. I want to make it abundantly clear that our position is understood, I hope, by the people of Quebec. This province—and I hope I speak for this Legislature—does not support the concept of the status quo.

I think it is also important when I refer to first ministers not shirking the task to recognize that the realities of 1980 are different from 1971. There is no question there would be certain limitations on the consensus achieved in 1971. Personalities change. I think it is fair to state the differences within this country alter, not year by year, but over a period of time. There is no doubt that, as we get into these discussions, the points of view of some of our sister provinces will not be the same as they were in 1971. But there were also problems that far back. People were able to demonstrate a degree of flexibility and of accommodation, if that is an appropriate term, to take into account the differences that exist within this country.

To depart, as I do so often, from what I have in front of me, I share a concern that while we are discussing this resolution, while our attention is focused on the vote that is to take place on May 20, I sense something else is happening that is relevant for all of us which cannot be treated in isolation. The feelings in some other provinces today are manifesting themselves in a way that must give us concern. I sense there has been a tendency—it is not new, but I think it has moved forward in the past short period of time for those of us involved in provincial responsibilities—to focus too much, not on our responsibilities but perhaps on our own provincial ambitions, aspirations and fields of responsibility. This has proceeded to the extent that on occasion perhaps we, not neglect,

but sometimes forget what a nation is all about. This tendency to put provincial interests ahead of national interests can in itself be of concern. It is something that I don't think is going to disappear and certainly will not be altered with respect to the vote on May 20. I happen to believe that the people of this province are prepared to have their government embark on the project of bringing home Canada's constitution and reforming it to make it more sensitive.

I am a traditionalist, I confess to the members of the House. If they don't know that about me now, I would be very surprised. I am a traditionalist but I find it hard to accept, as a Canadian, that after 113 years of our history we are still faced with the problem not only of how we effect constitutional reform, but with the fact that our constitution is still historically and geographically located in the United Kingdom. I don't say it offends me because I have great affection and understanding for and I know the roots of our system of government.

I happen to be a very proud Canadian. I say this to the member for Lakeshore (Mr. Lawlor) who can't quite understand why, after 113 years of history and of maturity, we cannot, as Canadians, find a vehicle to do these things within our own nation. Further, I believe they want this project undertaken. I hope I'm right in this assessment. I think they want it undertaken to bring some sense of stability and some sense of togetherness back within this nation. They want it taken within a specific time and with a specific task-oriented approach.

I have been to a lot of federal-provincial conferences. I know how they function and how they operate. With respect, I think we probably have come closer to making accomplishments than sometimes the public would understand. I also understand how the process itself is perhaps not easy to understand for the average viewer or listener or watcher. I think nothing could serve to weaken the fabric of this nation more than our collective incapacity to move ahead. After some of the things that have been said by the premiers and by the Prime Minister of this country, once the task is established and the goals are established, I don't believe the public would understand our incapacity to move swiftly ahead with the job of constitutional redefinition.

Ontario will push for the rapid commencement of constitutional talks, based on those things to which we've already agreed and those things that are close to agreement. It is our expectation that the gov-

ernment of Quebec, after a no vote—this is our expectation and I hope it isn't expecting too much—will participate in those discussions and do so in good faith. Thus the people of Quebec can, along with their fellow voters in other provinces, judge their respective governments in whatever way they deem appropriate, based on their participation or the lack of same.

In my view, the issue is not self-determination for the people of Quebec. The issue is self-determination for the people of Canada. Canadians have a right to move towards solving the constitutional and the fiscal problems which affect the unity of this country and threaten our very future. For us not to move swiftly and to move ahead with that process would be for us, as Canadians, to admit we are prepared to avoid the most substantial structural problems facing this nation and that we prefer to cope in a mediocre way and on an ad hoc basis. That will not be good enough for the government and the people of this province and I don't believe it will turn out to be good enough for the other governments and people of Canada.

The preservation of this country is something more than an exercise for academics or, with respect, the constitutional experts. No group of Canadians, no particular interest group or any area of expertise will have a monopoly on the process by which our country is redefined, nor should they. I think the people of this country believe the citizenship which they cherish is more than a particular set of semantic or constitutional distinctions.

I would even go so far as to suggest that the average Canadian is not really prepared to enter into a debate as to how the Supreme Court is determined or how judges are appointed to that very important and distinguished body of people. I don't think the average Canadian really feels he can get into a debate on distribution of powers, limitation of the federal spending power and all of these things.

12:10 p.m.

These are things that legislators, academics et cetera, understand. What I think Canadians really want to see is constitutional change, a new constitution, or whatever phrase we may wish to use, that gives a sense of identification, a sense of feeling of belonging to this nation; that is not just a question of words nor just a question of clauses, but where there is a real feeling that in terms of its philosophy and its direc-

tion it represents the best of what this country stands for.

It is above all a question of citizenship, a citizenship that we all cherish and which is much more than a loose relationship between Canadians and the state which is divided, which is unyielding and perhaps, on occasion, uncompromising in the context of the national interest. From my perspective again, I think it is above all a citizenship which must relate to a nation that seeks to guarantee equality of opportunity, a phrase I can recall using quite often in a former ministry where I had an interest for a number of years.

An equality of opportunity, though, in a broader context means more than simply economic opportunity, although economic opportunity is critical to the wellbeing of our people. It also means the cultural opportunity of Canada. The opportunity to preserve one's own culture, while being part of one or the other of the two founding cultures, is a very important part of the heritage we are all seeking to preserve. English-speaking and French-speaking Canadians will continue to have much to learn from each other. The national framework of this country represents, I think, the optimum situation for that common progress together.

Progress has been steadily made in this province and throughout Canada in advancing the opportunities for French-speaking Canadians to preserve their heritage and to preserve their language and their culture, even in communities where they constitute a smaller numerical minority. While there is always more to be done—and I acknowledge this—I believe the people of this province can be justifiably proud of the close to 400 schools, which even at this hour across this province are offering a public French-language education at the primary and secondary level, and of our two bilingual universities and the bilingual programs at our community colleges.

I believe that Ontarians generally support the proposition that the French-speaking minority in this province should have a secure program of government services available to them in the French language in those areas where that is both practical and appropriate. Towards this end we have recently made significant progress in our judicial system, as well as in areas of government service throughout this administration. I believe what we have done is acknowledged to be pragmatic, but is also thoughtful and, we think, in a fair-minded fashion.

I am the first to admit, as in many other areas of social progress, that it can be argued more can be done. I understand that. And we will continue to work thoughtfully and carefully to ensure that the service that is provided is of the highest quality and commensurate with the overall standards of service provided to all of the citizens of this province. But I am kind of proud because, not as long as some but longer than most in this House, I know where we started and I know where we are today. I am proud that the trend in this province is one of providing more services on an ongoing basis as the needs develop and as opportunities present themselves.

We have made a tremendous amount of progress in the last decade. We have gone forward to implement some of the appropriate and, I think, high-minded objectives established in 1971 by the administration which I have the privilege to lead and alluded to so nobly by my predecessor, the Honourable John P. Robarts.

I said in Quebec last week, as I have said in this province on many previous occasions, that we are striving to have a situation here in Ontario where French-speaking Canadians can pursue their own cultural and educational activities in a fashion that fully responds to their desire for cultural vitality and cultural opportunity. As long as it is my privilege to serve as Premier, we shall continue to push ahead with efforts in that direction. Those efforts will be substantial, but they will be responsible and determined. They will also be systematic and fair.

Despite what has been raised by various interest groups and pressure groups, whatever they may endeavour to urge upon us from whatever their vantage point happens to be, a steady, balanced, progressive approach of this administration will not be diluted by erratic measures. We shall protect minority rights in this province, whatever the results on May 20. I want to make that clear. We shall do so in the context of our overall community, one that, while largely English-speaking in its base, is also one with a growing multicultural aspect to it and one which has not only tolerance, but also concern and positive interest in minority-language rights.

One of the opportunities this country could offer, in my view, to all Canadians would be a guarantee in a new constitution for minority-language education rights across this nation. I listened to the Leader of the Opposition (Mr. S. Smith) as he defined in general terms some of the areas of division of responsibility.

I am one of those who has traditionally supported the existing situation where education is a provincial responsibility, but I make this statement. I have made it before, but it was never quoted. I sometimes wonder if in the wisdom of the Fathers of Confederation in 1867, education had been made a national responsibility, whether some of these internal differences or debates might have taken place. I do not know. It is speculation, and it is a hundred years too late to do anything about it.

In spite of that tradition, in spite of what the facts may be, I believe in that statement made by the government of this province and the commitment we have given to entrench in the constitution this right. It may be construed as being educational, but, in my view, it is fundamental in terms of preservation of language and culture. It is something that should be maintained and something that should be explored. I have not changed my point of view, and we will continue to push it as this process continues.

It is a position, unfortunately, not shared by the Premier of Quebec. I am hopeful that may change. I can recall our discussions in the maritime provinces, where the Premier of Quebec suggested to me we should have a reciprocal agreement. I understood what he was attempting to do, but I made it very clear to him, and I hope through him to others, that something as fundamental to the preservation of language and culture as education obviously is, cannot be the subject of reciprocal agreements or treaties, or whatever terminology one may wish to use, between provinces in a nation like Canada. That has to be, in my view, tied in to the constitution of this nation. I am hopeful we can reach an appropriate consensus which would strengthen the ties that unite Canadians in the context of freedom and cultural diversity.

I want to raise one other point, which I have repeated in the past few days. It was raised when I was visiting our sister province of Quebec. People were asking me, "How can you refuse to sit down and negotiate sovereignty-association when in fact the economy of Ontario has some dependence on Quebec?" In other words, they were asking me, "How can you take that position if it is, in effect, going to have a negative impact on the people of the province you represent?"

I am a realist. No one wants to see any negative impacts upon any of us, but I made it clear then—I have made it clear since, and I reiterate it here this morning—that my approach to Canada, my approach to constitutional change, whatever terminology one may

wish to use, can never be predicated on the basis of a balance sheet. Our citizenship cannot relate to what is perceived to be an economic gain or an economic loss.

12:20 p.m.

Surely there is something more to being a Canadian, to being a participant in this nation than an assessment of what the balance sheet may be between individual provincial jurisdictions. I don't minimize the problems, but I just want the people of this province, and hopefully the people of Quebec, to understand that when I say these things I happen to believe the emotional ties of the people of Ontario to Canada are so strong that they aren't prepared to negotiate just because of a potential negative impact in economic terms. I have never believed that we, as Canadians, have ever looked at the balance sheet as being the rationale for our position as a nation.

I sometimes have difficulty explaining this to my western provincial confreres who repeatedly remind me of the role of central Canada over the years we have experienced the benefits of Confederation. I reminded them, and I think it is relevant in the context of what we are talking about as a nation, that I understand their points of view, I share their concerns, but I think it is important for all of us to remember that Canadian citizenship wasn't predicated on just economic advantage.

I think it is fair to state that Ontarians over the years have made their contribution to this nation. We could have, I guess, if we had made other decisions, related ourselves more directly to our neighbours to the south. This could have been to our economic advantage in terms of individual Ontarians, but we made the determination that there was something unique and something special in being a Canadian. We were prepared to make not only a contribution, but I say with respect, some modest measure of economic sacrifice for this country.

I have dealt in rather general and philosophical terms because of the details of what constitutional change may or may not be. The discussions of our advisory committee, the Pepin-Robarts report, the beige paper as it has been described in the province of Quebec, all of these things I think provide us with meaningful input in terms of what directions we may go. My intent today is to deal with it on a more philosophical and general basis.

I want to conclude with just one final thought. That is very simply that this province, because of its population, because of

its economic infrastructure, has a central responsibility to provide leadership, to provide direction and to provide conviction to the process of developing this country. I see constitutional change, constitutional reform—it is the option to sovereignty-association, which in fact is separation—as a challenge to all of us who believe in Canadian development.

I see it as a process which cannot be approached in the meandering academic or semantic fashion, but must be approached on a basis of conviction, a basis of commitment about this country and a commitment about our people. I think this province must obviously be prepared to do more than its part. It must be prepared to enunciate to its people a firm and compelling direction on behalf of the 8.5 million citizens whom all of us in this Legislature collectively represent.

Fighting hard for reform does not mean that one has to be against stability. Pushing hard for constitutional change does not mean that one rejects tradition or one's heritage. Championing our constitution of greater regional sensitivity does not mean we should not protect one undivided nation that is strong in its national capacity to serve the interests of all its people. Balance, common sense, tradition and the responsibility that they entail are as much a part of the process of constitutional change as any desire for change and development.

Constitutional amendments and the proposed revisions are no more significant than the basic set of values that unite us all as Canadians around a common view of the society and a common respect for each other. The resolution before this House affirms our commitment to our nation, a commitment to the alternatives of constitutional change, and our opposition in categorical terms to the concept of sovereignty-association.

I thank the members of the House for their contributions, for the thoughtful presentations they have made that, I think, represent what is best about this Legislature. I commend to all members of the House not only the resolution itself, not only the phrases that are contained therein but, just as important, the spirit in which it is offered and upon which the members of this House will be asked to vote.

Interruption.

Mr. Speaker: Order. Will the security forces please remove those strangers.

Interruption.

Mr. Speaker: Order.

The House divided on the constitutional resolution which was concurred in on the following vote:

AYES

Ashe, Baetz, Belanger, Bennett, Bernier, Birch, Blundy, Bolan, Bounsall, Bradley, Breaugh, Breithaupt, Brunelle, Bryden, Campbell, Cassidy, Charlton, Conway, Cooke, Cunningham, Cureatz, Davis, Davidson, M., Davison, M. N., Di Santo, Drea, Duksza, Eakins, Eaton, Edighoffer, Elgie, Epp, Foulds, Gaunt, Germa, Grande, Gregory, Grossman, Haggerty, Hall.

Henderson, Hennessy, Hodgson, Isaacs, Johnson, J., Johnston, R. F., Jones, Kennedy, Kerr, Kerrio, Lane, Laughren, Lawlor, Leluk, Lupusella, MacBeth, MacDonald, Mackenzie, Maeck, Makarchuk, Martel, McCaffrey, McCague, McClellan, McGuigan, McMurtry, McNeil, Miller, F. S., Miller, G. I., Newman, B., Newman, W., Nixon, Norton, O'Neil, Parrott.

Peterson, Philip, Pope, Ramsay, Reed, J., Reid, T. P., Renwick, Riddell, Rollins, Rowe, Roy, Ruston, Scrivener, Smith, S., Stephenson, Sterling, Stong, Swart, Sweeney, Taylor, G., Taylor, J. A., Timbrell, Turner, Van Horne, Villeneuve, Walker, Warner, Watson, Welch, Wells, Wildman, Williams, Wiseman, Worton, Young, Ziemba.

Ayes 111; nays 0.

Mr. Speaker: Before the House adjourns, I know honourable members will join me in extending our thanks to all those who have assisted the assembly during the past week.

The Ontario Educational Communications Authority had limited time to make its technical arrangements for the coverage of this debate once the House ordered that we would adopt the principle of electronic Hansard for this debate. Similarly, interpreters and technicians for the simultaneous translation equipment were secured on short notice and the Ministry of Government Services was required to make certain physical adjustments to the chamber. There are many persons who have, with their co-operation and hard work, enabled us to go forward with special arrangements and I want to extend the thanks of the House to all of those people.

May I also thank all honourable members for their co-operation with the chair and their unflinching courtesy during the past week. I hope it will continue for many weeks to come.

Mr. S. Smith: A point of order, Mr. Speaker: On the very points you just made, Mr. Speaker, the topic had a lot to do with it, but I venture to suggest—as a behaviourist, you understand—that the presence of television in the House on an ongoing basis, such as we have had with an electronic Hansard, may have had something to do with the

much-appreciated increase in decorum and better behaviour in this particular assembly. I would venture to say that the experiment has proved very successful and I would hope we might have the electronic Hansard on a regular basis.

The House adjourned at 12:44 p.m.

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Conway, S. (Renfrew North L)
Davis, Hon. W. G.; Premier (Brampton PC)
Dukszta, J. (Parkdale NDP)
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No. 46

Legislature of Ontario Debates

Official Report (Hansard)

Fourth Session, 31st Parliament

Monday, May 12, 1980

Speaker: Honourable John E. Stokes

Clerk: Roderick Lewis, QC



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Hansard subscription price is \$15.00 per session, from: Sessional Subscription Service, Central Purchasing Service, Print Procurement Section, Ministry of Government Services, 9th Floor, Ferguson Block, Parliament Buildings, Toronto M7A 1N3. Phone (416) 965-2238.

Published by the Legislature of the Province of Ontario.
Editor of Debates: Peter Brannan.

LEGISLATURE OF ONTARIO

MONDAY, MAY 12, 1980

The House met at 2 p.m.

Prayers.

STATEMENTS BY THE MINISTRY

AID TO CHRYSLER

Hon. Mr. Grossman: Mr. Speaker, following several months of discussions and weeks of intensive negotiations, our government over the weekend has agreed to offer Chrysler Canada Limited assistance in financing a \$20-million automotive research and development facility in Windsor. Construction of this facility will commence no later than 1982.

Funds will be disbursed to Chrysler by the province on a matching basis. Chrysler will be reimbursed for 50 per cent of any approved construction and equipment expenditures to a maximum of \$10 million. These expenditures will also be fully audited before any funds can be drawn down by the company. In the event of a failure of Chrysler, the Canadian research and development centre and all related equipment will become the property of the province of Ontario. When construction is completed, Chrysler Canada Limited will employ a research, engineering and technical staff of at least 150 people.

Chrysler's Canadian research and development centre will be used by the company to undertake research and development in aluminum and plastics applications for light-weight, fuel-efficient automobiles. The centre will be equipped with an engineering and manufacturing laboratory to support the development and testing of structural plastics components to replace steel, including seat frames, wheels, bumpers and small components.

The facility will also provide for the engineering and manufacturing development of a light-weight aluminum casting process to permit the economic substitution of aluminum for cast iron in cylinder heads, engine manifolds and small castings. Chrysler's Canadian research and development facility will be equipped with highly sophisticated plastics compounding, forming and injection machinery; aluminum remelt and casting

equipment; a complete machine shop, and a full range of laboratory and analytical testing equipment to support its research.

The agreement indicates the importance the Ontario government places on the role of research and development in the medium and long-term health of the auto industry in Ontario. The trend toward lighter, more fuel-efficient vehicles requires that the industry, by necessity, increase its expertise in working with new materials, such as plastic, aluminum, magnesium and high-technology electronics systems. The construction of Chrysler's Canadian research and development facility represents a major step towards meeting those objectives.

The Ontario government's offer of a \$10-million grant for the construction of Chrysler's Canadian research and development centre is expressly predicated on the company's meeting both the spirit and the letter of its undertakings to the federal government. The continuation of Chrysler Corporation and Chrysler Canada Limited is important to this country. We wish Chrysler success in the future and look forward to participating with the company in its renewed strength and viability.

NEW CAR PURCHASES

Hon. F. S. Miller: Mr. Speaker, there has been some speculation this morning that the province may be considering a retail sales tax rebate program for new car purchases.

The Premier (Mr. Davis) and I met today with mayors of communities most affected by the current situation in the auto industry. At that meeting we were presented with a recommendation that the province should implement a sales tax rebate plan similar to the program undertaken in 1975. To clear up any confusion that may exist, I wish to make it clear that the province is not considering a program of this nature at the present time.

As members know, we did undertake a very temporary selective sales tax rebate for new 1979 cars during the month of February. This was done to eliminate the inventory glut that had to be removed if sales of 1980 models had any chance of success. That program accomplished what was intended. Over 80

per cent of the Big Three 1979 car inventory was cleared away.

When we look at the current situation, we are witnessing a major, fundamental change in the auto industry as consumers move to more energy-efficient vehicles. While the negative impact of this change is exacerbated by the downturn in the United States economy, I would question whether short-term provincial measures to stimulate demand could have a major impact on a market that is undergoing such a basic readjustment.

Moreover, as members know, it is constitutionally impossible for the province to limit a sales tax incentive to vehicles covered by the auto pact. Yet it is precisely here that the problem lies. Sales of imported cars have been holding up reasonably well. If we stimulate demand now through a sales tax cut or some other measure, it is conceivable that we could worsen the problem of import penetration in the market.

2:10 p.m.

This government is very concerned about the situation in the auto industry. We are concerned about the immediate problems of unemployment and we are concerned about the longer-term future of the Canadian sector of the assembly and parts industries. We have made our views known to the federal government and will continue to work towards the development of effective policies.

We endorse and will take appropriate action to assist an awareness campaign encouraging purchase of North American vehicles which is now being carried out by the auto manufacturing cities and we will request a meeting with the leaders of American auto manufacturing states to request their support for this campaign in the United States.

I am continuing to monitor the situation in the auto industry very closely and, if we get to the point where immediate and direct tax actions would genuinely help the situation, then I will be prepared to consider them.

ORAL QUESTIONS

MINISTRY OF HEALTH ADVERTISING

Mr. S. Smith: Mr. Speaker, I will direct my first question to the Premier with regard to the advertising program begun today by the Ministry of Health in three Toronto newspapers and, I would imagine, in most of the 41 other dailies in Ontario, for which the cost must surely be about \$50,000 minimum just for today. Could the Premier explain how this advertising, with which I am sure he is

familiar, would help anyone who reads it to maintain good health or to obtain better health? The Premier surely would agree that health advertising should be to help people maintain their health or to inform them of some new government service they might wish to make use of. All this advertising does is announce that hospitals in many communities are going to be getting a lot more money than they used to. How does this help anybody's health?

Hon. Mr. Davis: Mr. Speaker, perhaps it helps people's mental health.

Mr. T. P. Reid: The political health of the Tory Party.

Hon. Mr. Davis: It is very good. It is excellent.

Mr. Nixon: You are in a terminal stage.

Hon. Mr. Davis: I can only say to the member for Brant-Oxford-Norfolk that the health of our party compared to the health of his party is such that I am quite content with the way things are at the moment.

Mr. Nixon: The Tory government is spending public money on it.

Hon. Mr. Davis: The member for Brant-Oxford-Norfolk is interrupting. He is talking about the health of the party. I am trying to answer his leader's question and he is interrupting me.

I have not seen the particular ads. I would be delighted to consult with the Minister of Health (Mr. Timbrell) and have him explain, as I am sure he will, to the total satisfaction of the Leader of the Opposition, the public necessity of the question of communication in informing the public as to the activities of that ministry. I expect he will be here tomorrow afternoon and I will have him prepare to answer that in some detail for the member.

Mr. S. Smith: By way of supplementary: We will look forward to the minister's answer, of course, but since the Premier has not seen the ad I must just read the first paragraph. First, there is a list of communities, allegedly in alphabetical order, with two mistakes, by the way. The alphabetical order is apparently not known to people in the ministry.

Mr. Nixon: The government will have to hire a new alphabeticist.

Mr. S. Smith: The message basically says: "Over the next three years hospitals in all these communities will be among those that will share in \$360 million the Ontario government is providing to upgrade Ontario's public hospitals."

Mr. Nixon: That is not even an impressive bribe.

Mr. S. Smith: Undoubtedly, Mr. Speaker, this increase is based on publicly funded, public opinion polls which told the government it had to do it. But would the Premier please explain why taxpayers should have to pay for the government to get that particular message across in order to increase its own sagging popularity? Would the Premier not agree that the people who should pay for this kind of ad are not the taxpayers of Ontario, already overburdened, but the Progressive Conservative Party, which is the only beneficiary of this ad?

Hon. Mr. Davis: With great respect, I do not want to get into matters of polls of a partisan nature except to say I am sure the Leader of the Opposition has been doing his own fairly recently. If he has not, he should have. He will find what he suggested a little earlier to be factually incorrect. But that is a subject for another occasion.

Mr. S. Smith: Why don't we let the people decide that? Let us go today.

Hon. Mr. Davis: The Leader of the Opposition has asked a supplementary question. He wants to have a \$25-million election by the people of this province. We would rather use that \$25 million to help the farmers of this province. That is what we want to do. The Liberal Party would rather spend it on an election than help the farmers. Its rural members are very upset.

Mr. Speaker: I would also suggest that I do not know anything about who set the type for this advertisement.

Mr. S. Smith: Who called the last election?

Hon. Mr. Davis: The opposition did. You people defeated us.

Mr. Speaker: That is not a question.

Hon. Mr. Davis: I have to tell you, Mr. Speaker, and I have said this before, we learn by experience. That is one thing the member has not yet learned.

Mr. Makarchuk: It cost the taxpayers \$20 million for the Premier to learn from that experience.

Hon. Mr. Davis: The members opposite were the ones who were enthusiastic about it. I can recall it so vividly. I remember what the former NDP leader said on that occasion. He welcomed it. He thought the time had come. I remember the rhetoric as only Stephen Lewis could produce it. He did it very well. Where did I leave off?

Mr. Speaker, dealing with the ad that I have not seen, I cannot account for the fact that there may be some errors in the alphabetical order. I would ask if Peel Memorial

Hospital is on the list? I don't know whether it is on the list or not, but I would make this observation: I think the ministry does have a right to communicate what the ministry is doing because some members opposite, not all, but some, have been endeavouring to suggest that in terms of the health-care system of this province the hospitals were not getting sufficient moneys. There were attempts made, even by the member for Hamilton West, to create this impression in many speeches he made around this province. Surely, the ministry has an obligation—

Mr. S. Smith: The public doesn't pay for me to make those speeches.

Hon. Mr. Davis: Fine, but surely the ministry has an obligation to tell the people what the facts are and not what the Leader of the Opposition has tried to portray them to be.

Mr. Cassidy: Mr. Speaker, a supplementary: I think what the Premier is trying to say is that the Liberal Party was so committed to the question of having an election on interest rates that the federal finance minister was not prepared to offer a nickel to relieve home owners in Ontario or across the country. I might mention as well that the Liberal Party—

Mr. Speaker: That is not a supplementary question. If the member has one, please place it forthwith.

Mr. Cassidy: If the Premier gets away with it, I don't see why I shouldn't as well. Mr. Speaker, I was thinking about that 70 per cent of Toronto electors who said they didn't want an election right now.

I was going to say to the Premier, my supplementary—

Mr. Speaker: Supplementary, the member for Renfrew North.

Mr. Conway: Mr. Speaker, I have a question for the Premier: Recognizing that it must surely be presumption in the extreme to suggest through the budget and this kind of advertising to the people of Ontario that after five years of strangling the public hospital sector of this province within an inch of its life, he is now going to advertise that he is—

Mr. Speaker: Order.

Mr. Conway: Is the Premier prepared to indicate that we will never again return to the kind of budgetary restraints we saw last year in particular, and that these public hospitals in this province will get the funding to which they are clearly entitled?

Hon. Mr. Davis: Mr. Speaker, I would just remind the member for Renfrew North

that I think it was his leader who, four years ago or three years ago or whenever, was going to cut another \$50 million out of the health budget. That is what I recall him saying.

Mr. S. Smith: It was the fat in the budget.

Hon. Mr. Davis: Sure it was; he said as much here in the House. The Leader of the Opposition was going to reduce the health budget even further. He was so committed in those days to restraint.

Hon. Mr. Norton: As recently as last year, he was still saying the same thing in Frontenac-Addington.

Hon. Mr. Davis: I recall him saying it.

I would say to the member for Renfrew North, it is just the kind of statement he made just now about a stranglehold or whatever on the hospital system that was never factually true, about which the ministry, I assume, through this public information campaign, is endeavouring to assure the people of this province that in spite of what he says, the facts are as presented in that public information ad.

Mr. Cassidy: Mr. Speaker, since the government's announcement about hospital spending is a direct result of a response to the NDP's health-care campaign and of the 279,000-signature petition we submitted to this Legislature last fall, will the Premier undertake, rather than spending public money to publicize the government's change of heart on the cutbacks in health care, that in future this government will no longer engage in a cutbacks mentality, but will ensure adequate funding for social and health services in Ontario?

Hon. Mr. Davis: Mr. Speaker, I am the last one to suggest that the extensive campaign conducted by the New Democratic Party of Ontario last fall was not constructive. I would just go once again by memory, but my recollection is that it was in June, well before the campaign, that the government of this province recommended the additional 60 million. It was before the NDP even thought of the campaign.

INCO EMISSIONS

Mr. S. Smith: Mr. Speaker, a question for the Minister of the Environment: Does the minister have any reason to dispute the statement made in the federal House by the federal Minister of the Environment when he said, and I quote, "That Inco emissions alone account for approximately 30 per cent of the sulphur deposition in Ottawa, and with respect

to the Muskokas, which are particularly susceptible to damage from acid rain, approximately 40 per cent of the sulphur deposition originates from this source"? Does the Minister of the Environment dispute the figure that 40 per cent of the sulphur falling on the Muskokas comes from Inco?

Hon. Mr. Parrott: Mr. Speaker, I haven't seen that particular quote, I was just handed it.

There is a great deal of information out there that I think the federal minister and I share as being fact. After a fairly lengthy discussion with Mr. Roberts, we have agreed, and I noted he had agreed in those comments in the House with his predecessor, Mr. Fraser, that we do accept those kinds of facts. More particularly, and extremely important, he and I have agreed that we should sit down together with our officials and come up with a definitive study on all of the facts and not just take one quotation out of context, as that can, on occasion, be misleading.

I think the federal-provincial task force will put in perspective all of the information we share.

Mr. S. Smith: By way of supplementary: Since the facts that Mr. Roberts quoted are included in a study that will be published at the end of the month, I am surprised that the Ministry of the Environment would not even know about this and didn't even bother to read Mr. Roberts's speech, since it is the same speech in which he said nice things about the minister.

2:20 p.m.

Mr. Speaker: Is there a question there someplace?

Mr. S. Smith: How can the minister go about putting orders on Inco without even knowing that 40 per cent of the sulphur falling on Muskoka comes from Inco? In view of that, can the minister please explain to the House why his publication called Cottage Country says, "If we eliminated every Ontario source of sulphur or nitrous oxide, it would have virtually no impact on the continuing damage to our lakes"? It goes on to compare that to the United States. If 40 per cent comes from Inco, wouldn't that be quite an impact?

Hon. Mr. Parrott: I think again in this whole area it is so easy to take one study or one statement in isolation and not put the perspective to it that is absolutely essential. I think the study, taken when Inco was down for such a long period of time, gives substance to the comment the honourable member has just read.

I am very pleased that the federal minister and the members of his staff are not at loggerheads with our staff and ministry, nor should they be. It is a common problem that we must all work together on and solve. It is a fine thing that the two governments are putting their collective resources together along with, I might say, members of the private sector to come to a full understanding of this problem. I don't see anything productive in being forever in controversy with my federal counterpart in Ottawa on this matter.

I think perhaps the most major step that has been taken to address the problem of acid rain is that we are putting our resources together. We will come with a common and an agreed-upon position. There might be some heavier reliance on one study rather than another. But I think in the final analysis we will find that the joint federal-provincial task force will resolve many of the controversies there have been here in this province and in this country and, I guess, in North America on the subject of acid rain.

Mr. Laughren: Supplementary, Mr. Speaker: In view of the fact that for these many years Inco has argued that it cannot extract much more of the sulphur from the ores because it would create an excess of sulphur for which there is no market, and in view of the comment made by the federal people as well, would the minister be prepared to initiate on this government's behalf, either by itself or as a joint venture, a program to utilize the phosphates of north-eastern Ontario and the sulphur from Inco and Falconbridge to establish a good fertilizer industry in northeastern Ontario?

Hon. Mr. Parrott: Mr. Speaker, I don't think there is any doubt that is one of the things this task force will be investigating. I think it is an important matter. If those details are able to be worked out, and there are some significant problems standing in the way of that—

Mr. Laughren: Nobody knows. They have never studied it.

Hon. Mr. Parrott: I am saying to the member that is one of the studies that will be part of the task force. If he is asking if we will study that particular aspect of the total problem, the answer is yes, we will.

Mr. Laughren: Has the minister seen the federal study?

Hon. Mr. Parrott: I have not seen that federal study.

Mr. Laughren: Why not?

Hon. Mr. Parrott: It will be coming to our officials. They have seen it briefly. We will be taking in all of these studies. Let me report a dozen times if necessary that I think it is very important that we work in a co-ordinated way on all of the studies, in both the private and public sectors. The time has gone when we can afford to be going off in different directions without making a very concentrated effort to get all of the information we need on a co-ordinated basis.

That is happening not just between the federal government and ourselves, but the mechanism is very clearly in place between ourselves and the US. I feel very confident that the studies the member is asking for will be part of the activity of the federal-provincial task force in this coming year.

Mr. S. Smith: By way of supplementary: Can the minister explain why with this, the number one environmental problem in Ontario, the minister himself hasn't demanded to see all the relevant material and read it himself so that he doesn't have to wait for some of his officials to tell him what might be discussed with the other level of government? May I also ask whether the minister has told the member for Muskoka, the provincial Treasurer (Mr. F. S. Miller), that 40 per cent of the sulphur falling on his lakes happened to be coming from Inco? Does he know about that and, if so, what did he say?

Hon. Mr. Parrott: Contrary to the method of the Leader of the Opposition, Mr. Speaker, I do not choose to use one study as the definitive study. It seems to be something that the Leader of the Opposition is so apt to do. He picks out a particular study, picks out a particular segment of the information on that study, and then uses it as the total package of information on which he bases all his assessment. That is not a very responsible approach to a very complex problem. We need a very comprehensive study, and I have no apologies to make whatsoever. There are dozens and dozens of studies on this subject matter and they must all be co-ordinated. That is precisely what the ministry officials are doing and what they should be doing.

Ms. Bryden: Final supplementary, Mr. Speaker: The minister says he does not rely on one study alone, but he keeps citing the study of what happened when Inco was closed down due to the strike as evidence that even if he put tougher controls on Inco there would be no effect on the acid rain. Can I ask him when we will be able to see that study? When will it be tabled in this House? He has cited it, but we have never seen it yet.

Hon. Mr. Parrott: Mr. Speaker, we will be glad to have all of that information ready for the estimates. It might be an excellent idea for the members opposite to avail themselves of the opportunity to make some of these presentations at the public meeting that will be held in Sudbury in the next three or four weeks. I would encourage the members to go to Sudbury, make these statements up there, and get this information on the record. I think it would be a very helpful, fruitful exercise. We will be there. I do not mean I personally will be there, but our ministry will be there. I think it would be just great if the members opposite would go to Sudbury and make some of those presentations.

AID TO CHRYSLER

Mr. Cassidy: Mr. Speaker, I have a question to the Minister of Industry and Tourism regarding the announcement with respect to Chrysler Corporation. Does the minister agree with the federal government's estimate that the result of the package, in which Ontario has a small but significant part, will be the creation or the resumption by Chrysler of 15,900 jobs by 1984? If not, would the minister share with the House what Ontario's projections are as to the likely employment by Chrysler Canada Limited in Canada over the course of the next four years?

Hon. Mr. Grossman: Mr. Speaker, on the basis of the information filed with us during the course of the negotiations, it would appear the job target being talked about, that is, about 15,900 persons working in Chrysler's operations in Canada by 1985, will be reached only if all the facilities in Ontario are operating at maximum capacity. That would mean, in turn, only if their cars and products were selling as strongly as Chrysler expects they will. In other words, it is the optimal market number that is being talked about at 15,900.

Reaching that, as compared to the current levels of about 8,500 or less, is very much a function of the market, notwithstanding the assistance given by the federal government. Therefore, I can only say to the leader of the third party that I think what the federal government has done is ensure there are new facilities in Windsor, and that will be very helpful. In terms of the job levels, it will continue to be very much a function of the market. I can repeat what I said last week in the House: with or without the aid package, I expect the number of workers in Chrysler's operations in Ontario next year to be down to about 6,000 people.

Mr. Cassidy: A supplementary question: I hear the minister saying quite clearly that there will be a drop in Chrysler employment, that he is not satisfied with the job guarantees. The minister knows that, as far as our party is concerned, we felt no loan guarantees should be granted without job guarantees. We feel relatively positive about the single specific involvement of Ontario in getting a breakthrough and having a major facility for research and development in Windsor as a result of Ontario's involvement in the Chrysler deal.

Ontario was originally considering a commitment of \$50 million in loan guarantees to Chrysler and has now cut that back to a \$10-million grant for the research and development facility. Given the fact that there will be very substantial levels of unemployment in the auto industry in the Windsor area over the course of the next few years, can the minister say whether Ontario is prepared to undertake that the remaining \$40 million it was prepared to commit to Chrysler will be used to create jobs in the parts industries or other sectors of the automobile industry in Windsor, and whether those jobs should start to be created right now?

2:30 p.m.

Hon. Mr. Grossman: As I, and the Treasurer (Mr. F. S. Miller) as well, have indicated in this House on earlier occasions, we welcome opportunities to invest in the automobile industry in Windsor. Whether it is that figure, \$40 million, or a higher figure indeed, what we seek are opportunities to make investments in the auto industry in Windsor and other parts of this province.

This government will not hesitate, in spite of some of the criticism we have received on other counts, to make whatever investments are reasonable and sensible. As we have seen in the Chrysler situation, we will make only those investments that are reasonable and sensible to reinforce the auto industry in this province. We are prepared to do that.

Mr. S. Smith: Mr. Speaker, given that our view is that the deal that was struck was actually a reasonably good one on all three sides, could the minister explain why he chose to criticize the federal aspect of the deal on the radio this morning?

Mr. Laughren: That is the branch plant Liberal Party speaking.

Mr. S. Smith: The reason the Liberal Party has branches is that it happens to be alive and has roots, which the New Democratic Party has none of.

Could the minister explain why he felt free to criticize the federal side since, if it is a bad deal federally, 40 per cent or 45 per cent of that money comes from Ontario taxpayers? The federal government made it very clear that if Ontario didn't want the deal to go ahead, it simply had to say "no deal" and the deal would not have gone ahead. It was Ontario's action that allowed the trigger to occur that allowed the federal deal to go through. If the minister thought it was so bad for Ontario people, why didn't he just cancel it, which he had the power to do? We think he thought it was a good deal, but he is trying to have it both ways.

Hon. Mr. Grossman: Mr. Speaker, may I say to the Leader of the Opposition we were quite prepared to do that. In fact, as is fairly evident now, last Thursday's announcements compromised a federal announcement to go ahead with the program and an Ontario announcement that we were not participating at the time.

The federal government then chose not to go ahead. On Friday the Prime Minister of this country indicated, I suspect with a tongue in his cheek, that Ontario thought it knew better and Ontario thought a better deal could be had at some risk. He was hinting that we were risking the whole deal.

I think it is interesting to reflect now that we were, with respect, quite right. Notwithstanding the reservations of Mr. Trudeau—and I understand those reservations—we did get a better deal because of our refusal to go ahead on Thursday. The federal government was quite free to go ahead on Thursday and it chose not to.

The Leader of the Opposition suggests that if we hadn't participated the federal government would not have participated. He says that. He may not be entirely accurate in saying that. I think they were still prepared to go ahead. Whether he is right or I am right, the fact is that we would not today be involved in the transaction if we didn't get what we needed for Ontario taxpayers. If we had not got the research and development centre, we would not have been part of the deal, and the federal government could have made whatever decision it wanted.

In fairness I would like to take this opportunity to say that had we not had the time pressures that always occur on morning radio telephone broadcasts that we are all involved in at some stage or another, I would have expanded a bit on my comments to indicate that my job was to look at it from the standpoint of the Ontario taxpayers' investment

and that we had made very clear we were not going to go ahead without job guarantees.

That being the case, the federal government had other concerns and other considerations. In their judgement, they found the job guarantees satisfactory from their point of view. That is up to them, and their judgement may prove to be right. I think to date ours has been proved to be right. We got something we had no prospect of getting until this government stood very hard and firm on those job guarantees. In lieu of our inability to extract those job guarantees, we got something that no one has succeeded in getting from Chrysler in any of the jurisdictions in which they have done business, which is a world-leading research and development institute for our province.

Mr. Cooke: Mr. Speaker, I would just like to say thank goodness we have the NDP in the Ontario Legislature because we are the ones who forced that government into the deal.

My supplementary is to the Minister of Industry and Tourism. Since the minister did not spend the \$50 million and since we do recognize he is trying to get offshore automobile parts facilities in Ontario—we realize it will take some time for those facilities to be built and tooled along with the Big Three, which are retooling—would he fulfil a commitment he made to me in a letter on November 8? In the letter he said, "In the event there develops a clear, long-term Chrysler employment crisis, then a job creation program may be required." Is he willing to create short-term make-work projects in Windsor to help the unemployed get over the next two or three years in transition?

Hon. Mr. Grossman: May I begin, Mr. Speaker, by breaking the illusion the honourable member might have. On Saturday at 2 a.m.—I don't know how to tell him this—but neither his body nor his spirit nor his thoughts were paramount in my mind as we did the negotiations. The best interests of the taxpayers of the province were foremost in my mind, as always is the case.

I am interested in the member's comments as he reflects upon the need for, as he calls it, "offshore firms." Now that he agrees we need some of them he doesn't want to say "foreign multinational firms." He wants to call them "offshore firms" so I will use that term this afternoon.

We are hard at work attracting those "offshore firms" in the interim. If the member will reflect on the letter he refers to and the other letters I have exchanged with him,

both publicly and privately, he will find it has long been my opinion and that of my colleague the Minister of Labour (Mr. Elgie) that the proper responsibility for those programs, as has historically been the case, lies in Ottawa. I am sure, in view of the arrangement struck, they will be pleased to carry through on those undertakings. I have heard nothing from either Mr. Gray or Mr. Axworthy that indicates they don't intend to fulfil those undertakings and commitments.

VISITORS

Mr. Cassidy: I would like to draw attention to the presence of the executive of the First Canadian Portuguese Club, Mr. Speaker. In the members' gallery are Mr. Lorenzo, Mr. Nunes and Mr. Estevans.

FAMILY BENEFITS

Mr. Cassidy: My question, Mr. Speaker, is to the Minister of Community and Social Services. Is the minister aware that various organizations such as the Canadian Council on Social Development, the Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto and Statistics Canada have computed how much it would take for families to live in this province without having to live in poverty? Does the minister consider those calculations are well-founded and does he agree that no family should have to live in poverty in Ontario?

Hon. Mr. Norton: Mr. Speaker, perhaps I could deal with the last part of that question first. Certainly we on this side of the House, and I am sure all members of the Legislature, are committed to attempting to alleviate those problems that confront people on limited incomes and to deal with the circumstances of poverty. I think the honourable member opposite would agree that in our society there are relative matters when one compares our standard of living with the standards that exist in other jurisdictions.

I think the honourable member would also recognize that in the establishment of the guidelines he has referred to there are many subjective decisions implied. It is very difficult to arrive at any absolute standard that really deals with the questions of definition of what poverty is and what ought to be an appropriate level of income to ensure that persons are not living in poverty.

2:40 p.m.

The practical approach to that is to deal with the matter on the basis of applying the maximum amount of resources available, which is precisely what we are doing in ad-

ressing the problems of low-income members of our society.

Mr. Cassidy: A supplementary question: The Legislature will be dealing with some bills this week that relate to the levels of income available to people who are among the poorest in our society. The minister suggests that the CCSD, the social planning council and the Statistics Canada guidelines for the poverty line are subjective kinds of guidelines. Would he agree to table in this Legislature, before those debates take place this week, an objective measure of what it would require for a family to live over the poverty line in Ontario?

Would he have that tabling explain how it is possible for people on family benefits in this province to survive when the family benefits available to a mother with two children are 53 per cent, 61 per cent or 65 per cent respectively of the social planning council, Statistics Canada and the CCSD estimates of the poverty line in this province?

Hon. Mr. Norton: Mr. Speaker, I am not sure there is a clearly objective measure available. The guidelines the honourable member cites are surely, in themselves, to some extent indicative of the fact that there are subjective judgements, since no two of them are at the same level. They cannot be lumped together, since they are taking into consideration different matters.

I suggest to the honourable member that he also take into consideration the much-criticized—by some members of his party—work incentives program we instituted in January of this year. It would be interesting for him to recognize—and I can provide him with some data on that as it becomes available—that the 700 or more people who have availed themselves of that program have on average more than doubled their levels of income.

Mr. B. Newman: Mr. Speaker, may I ask of the minister, since the housing component of the level of income is extremely high in many municipalities, whether he is prepared to increase that housing component so that at least it would be the going rate in the community and not the small amount he provides for that housing component?

Hon. Mr. Norton: Mr. Speaker, as I have attempted to explain to the honourable members on a number of occasions, for several years we have admitted that the housing component, as it is repeatedly referred to, is retained primarily to meet the requirements for cost-sharing under the Canada Assistance Plan.

We have been progressively trying to move away from specific categories or allocations of

income from within the family benefits in order to approach the family benefits on the same basis as anyone else's income is received—as, if you wish, a pay package.

I would be the first to agree there is not much relationship between that component as it exists now and the reality of rents in this province. I have admitted that for the last three years and tried to explain to you why it is the case. When the family benefits levels are increased, the total income package is increased at the same rate, but that component is one we have moved away from. It is only there to continue to meet the requirements of CAP.

That is not to suggest that is an indicator of a realistic rent in the community. When we receive income as members of this Legislature, no particular portion of our income is earmarked for shelter. People who are in receipt of family benefits ought to have their income treated in the same way rather than allocated for specific things.

Mr. Cassidy: Mr. Speaker, I would like the minister to say whether he could meet his own needs and the needs of two children under the age of 10, including the cost of housing, on \$533 a month. If not, why do he and this government expect a single mother with two children under the age of 10 to get by and to maintain all her needs and the needs of her two children on \$533 a month, which is what she gets under family benefits, including the child tax allowance and family allowances? If he cannot do it, why should a single mother with two kids have to do it?

Hon. Mr. Norton: Mr. Speaker, that is an extremely hypothetical question, since the honourable member knows my status. I do not purport to give him a straight answer on this, but I would caution him that he may be asking the wrong person, because he happens to be asking a person who has been accustomed, for a long time, to leading a very frugal life.

ABSENCE OF MINISTER

Mr. Riddell: Mr. Speaker, once again I am deprived of the opportunity to ask a question of the Minister of Agriculture and Food (Mr. Henderson) for very obvious reasons; so I rise on a point of privilege.

My colleagues and I, for a number of weeks, now have had questions that we wanted to put to the Minister of Agriculture and Food. He comes in for the leaders' questions; then, at the end of the opposition leaders' questions, he disappears. I wondered where he went; so last Friday I went to the

back lobby and I found the minister out there. Why is it that he cannot stay in this House and answer questions that we want to put to him and we have wanted to put to him now for a number of weeks?

Hon. Mr. Norton: Mr. Speaker, I don't know that this is appropriately a matter of personal privilege, but I think it is appropriate that the honourable member opposite know that the Minister of Agriculture and Food had to leave by virtue of a health condition which required his attendance at a doctor's office. He asked me, if this kind of attack took place, that I advise the House that is where he had to go.

Mr. Riddell: If that is the situation, Mr. Speaker, then I have to apologize, but I do not think that has been the case for the last three weeks. I do not think it has been his health that has been making him leave the House. If he cannot stay in the House to answer questions, then it is up to the Premier to see that there is a minister put in his place so that at least we can get some of these important agricultural questions asked and answered.

Hon. Mr. Davis: I have always tried to be obliging, Mr. Speaker. While ministers are not always here, with great respect, members of the opposition are not always here either; and I would be delighted to give chapter and verse.

If the honourable member has had a question related to agriculture and the minister was not here, if he has asked me the question, I think in most cases I have been able to provide the answer for him, or somebody has, the following day. If he is all upset, if he is hot and bothered, please let him ask the question and I will get an answer for him at two o'clock tomorrow afternoon. I say to him, don't make such a fuss and don't be so childish about it.

MILK QUOTAS

Mr. Riddell: I will put the question to the Premier, Mr. Speaker.

In view of the fact that Ontario currently is allocated 33 per cent of the total manufacturing milk supply in Canada, and yet 40 per cent of the national industrial milk product supply is consumed in Ontario, and since the national market sharing quotas plan does not consider market conditions in allocating market sharing quota, would the Premier not think it wise to sign a one-year agreement, rather than a long-term, five-year agreement, with the Canadian milk supply management committee—that's the

job of the Minister of Agriculture and Food (Mr. Henderson)—for provincial milk sharing quota now under review, until Ontario is allocated a more equitable share of industrial milk supplies?

Hon. Mr. Davis: Mr. Speaker, if the honourable member had had the courtesy to send me, or somebody, before two o'clock, the question, which obviously has been written for him, I would have had a written answer for him to that written question. It is so simple. If he really wants that today, that's all he had to do—

Mr. Nixon: Maybe you couldn't write that question—but he could and he did.

Hon. Mr. Davis: I am delighted to get the information for him. The honourable member had it all written out; why didn't he just send it across? I'll get the information.

My recollection, Mr. Speaker, is that the question of allocation of quota, is one that the Minister of Agriculture and Food has dealt with; he has debated it here on a number of occasions. I am only going by memory, but I think part of the problem is the quotas or the policy of the government of Canada. I may be wrong in that as it relates to this issue, but I do not think so. I still have a few milk producers in the great riding of Brampton. Part of the problem regarding quotas for industrial milk does relate to the honourable member's federal colleagues in the national capital. I will get a more detailed answer for him for some time after two o'clock tomorrow afternoon.

2:50 p.m.

Mr. Riddell: Despite the fact that the question might have been written out, it is a question I happened to write out because there was some factual information in it which I wanted to get across to the Premier.

I am asking the Premier whether he knows that all the provincial ministers are signatories to the agreement that is currently being considered. I am simply asking that the minister look at a one-year agreement rather than a five-year agreement until we get a more equitable share.

As a supplementary: In view of the fact that Ontario now is producing only about 95 per cent of our provincial milk supply allotment, will the minister introduce a provincial program to provide financial support on a long-term basis for possible overproduction of milk to encourage farmers to produce up to our allotment and to take some of the risk out of overproduction? In other words, they were gun-shy because of the penalties they had to pay two or three

years ago. We want them to produce more milk now, but they do not want to do so for fear that they are going to be penalized. Is there some kind of provincial assistance?

Hon. Mr. Davis: I think the honourable member may find we are producing at this moment only 93.5 per cent of the quota, not 94 per cent.

I say to the honourable member, if he will send me over the supplementary question, which obviously he has prepared, I will get that information for him as well.

I would remind him that the minister on a number of occasions, both in this House and outside the House, has argued strenuously with the government of Canada that we were not getting our fair share. He will never catch the Minister of Agriculture and Food of this province not speaking out for the farmers of this province. No one does it as eloquently, as articulately, with greater sense and logic, as the member for Lambton.

CALEDON VILLAGE CONDOMINIUM DEVELOPMENT

Mr. R. F. Johnston: Mr. Speaker, I have a question of the Attorney General, who was absent when I asked a question of the Minister of Consumer and Commercial Relations (Mr. Drea) on Thursday.

Has the minister begun investigating the Caledon Village condominium problems, as requested by the North York council, which is concerned that a judicial inquiry may be required? Will he involve the Minister of Consumer and Commercial Relations in that investigation? Has he, as yet, received the books of the York Condominium 46, which must be examined before a decision to proceed can be made?

Hon. Mr. McMurtry: Mr. Speaker, I am not aware of the matter the honourable member has raised. It may be that there has been some communication with my office. I am sorry, but it has not been brought to my attention. I will inquire further and report back to the member.

Mr. R. F. Johnston: Is the minister, therefore, not aware that at the end of last week the member for Wilson Heights (Mr. Rotenberg) was given custody of the books which Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation has been trying to acquire and which have legal implications for CMHC, the property managers and the condominium corporation? Is he not aware that those books are in the possession of the member for Wilson Heights?

Hon. Mr. McMurtry: No. I repeat, I am not aware of the matter at all. It follows, there-

fore, that I am not aware of the facts that have just been related to me by the member.

Mr. S. Smith: Mr. Speaker, if I am not mistaken, it is my understanding that North York council had voted to request an investigation into this matter. Was that not transmitted to the Attorney General's office? If he does find it in his files, will he agree to an investigation?

Hon. Mr. McMurtry: Mr. Speaker, I was not aware of the matter. A note has been passed to me indicating that the matter apparently has been brought to the attention of my office; some of the senior law officers are reviewing it right now, but they have not brought it to my attention. I expect they will shortly.

SUDBURY STUDENTS' CREDITS

Mr. Nixon: Mr. Speaker, I want to direct a question to the Minister of Education, now that the secondary schools in Sudbury have been back in operation on a full-time basis for more than a week. By the way, I want to congratulate the minister for her role in achieving that. In fact, I expected one of her colleagues to bring that to our attention more forcefully.

Has the minister seen reports that the staff of most of the secondary schools there have decided not to have any kind of final examinations but simply to recommend promotion on the basis of the students' responses during these last few days of the truncated school year? Does she share any of the concern I have that perhaps in some few instances this is not a fair way to decide on promotion for all the students? Does she not agree that there ought to be an examination for the good of those students who perhaps are not adept at impressing teachers with their co-operation?

Hon. Miss Stephenson: I am sure the honourable member is aware that there probably is a greater proportion of students with the capability of impressing the teachers with their knowledge and their co-operation in a classroom setting than the number capable of providing that kind of impression through written examinations of the traditional type.

I am aware, at least, that there was a suggestion made specifically by a group of teachers within Sudbury that this might be the appropriate route to providing the credits to a certain number of young people within the secondary system for this year.

We have expressed the concern of the ministry regarding this to those responsible in Sudbury for the educational program. As I

suggested very strongly in this House last week, or the week before last, there are ongoing discussions with the board, with the director of education through the regional office, in order to ensure that the most appropriate program is developed for each of the young people. There are some young people who have made decisions, apparently, not to return to school this year, which I find most unfortunate, and there are those who have decided to return. The program, because the requirements of the young people are not equal in all circumstances and not totally similar, must be tailored as carefully as possible to the needs of each of the young people. Simply asking for responses in class and not providing any extra instruction or any extra activity, I think, is an inappropriate way to ensure that the educational program is delivered in full measure to those young people.

Mr. Nixon: I would be interested in knowing whether the minister has any information as to what additional assistance or instruction will be provided by the teachers now that they are back in the classrooms, or will it be business as usual, with the normal spares, the normal professional activity days, no exams and just looking into the pupils' eyes and saying, "You have survived" and "You have not"?

Hon. Miss Stephenson: I am not sure whether that was the traditional role of the teacher when the honourable member was teaching, but I do not think it is in many circumstances today. There are a number of programs which have been suggested strongly. In some schools, I am aware, the number of spares has been reduced dramatically or eliminated, and in other situations there are programs for extra assistance to students.

As I said, the program is not precisely the same for all students even within the same school, because it depends upon the needs of the students. However, we are continuing conversations with the board of education in Sudbury, which is discussing the kind of arrangements for the large groups of students for whom it is responsible. These arrangements have not been finalized at this point, to my knowledge.

Mr. Martel: Mr. Speaker, when will the minister be in a position to indicate to the House whether the school year will be extended, or whether Saturdays or additional hours per day will be used, to make sure that students get the basic requirements that are necessary to carry them on into either a community college or a university?

Hon. Miss Stephenson: Mr. Speaker, the problems related to grades 12 and 13 are particularly acute. I would anticipate that we will have some final arrangement established through the discussions between the board and the teachers before the end of this week. I am anticipating that we will have some further information by that time.

CANADIAN PURCHASING POLICY

Mr. Bounsall: Mr. Speaker, I have a question of the Minister of Industry and Tourism. I first want to congratulate the minister in not participating on behalf of Ontario as an add-on to the federal \$200-million loan guarantee program which produced nothing in the way of fair-share job guarantees, parts production, or research and development, all of which is absolutely necessary.

However, did the minister obtain any guarantees from Chrysler that, in return for the \$10 million of Ontario money for either the construction or the renovation to create the research and development centre, all the construction companies, labour, material and supplies will be Canadian and, in addition, that the research equipment for the centre will be either produced or purchased here in Canada—all matters which, of course, were not obtained for the Ford engine plant construction, with the resulting involvement of American construction companies and American labour?

3 p.m.

Hon. Mr. Grossman: Mr. Speaker, those matters were understood between the parties, although they are not yet reflected in the formal exchange of Telexes that was carried on hurriedly at noon on Saturday, but I can assure the honourable member that will be part and parcel of the ultimate contract entered into.

Mr. Bounsall: Can the minister indicate from his knowledge of the federal negotiations if there will be an expansion of the Windsor van plant to accommodate the new van-wagon production? If so, did the federal government place any conditions on the loan guarantees for Canadian construction companies, labour, material, supplies and equipment to be used at that van plant?

Hon. Mr. Grossman: The construction deal does involve an expansion of the van plant.

With regard to the second part of the question, regarding sourcing for the products used, I would have to refer that question to my federal counterpart, as I am not privy to the final Telex reflecting the final agreement between the federal government and Chrysler

Corporation. Since we did not participate in that deal, as the member has noted, I am not privy to that particular communication.

Mr. B. Newman: Mr. Speaker, can the minister tell the House if there was any assurance in the agreement as far as the research and development was concerned that the personnel there was essentially going to be Canadian?

Hon. Mr. Grossman: Again, Mr. Speaker, to the largest extent possible, that will be the case. I suspect we will have to have some American engineers moving into the area to provide some of the expertise that only they have currently. If we are successful in doing that, I think that will be an important part of the transaction.

POLICE GRANTS

Mr. T. P. Reid: A question for the Solicitor General, Mr. Speaker: Is the Solicitor General aware of the appearance before the public accounts committee of his deputy, at which time the deputy was questioned about the per capita grants for policing across Ontario and the mish-mash of grants that are available to regional municipalities, to municipalities which provide their own police forces and so on? Can the Solicitor General indicate what action he is taking to ensure there is some kind of rationale for grants to police forces across Ontario?

Hon. Mr. McMurtry: Mr. Speaker, the officials in my ministry have been working with officials in the Ministry of Intergovernmental Affairs to rationalize the policy. Certainly there are some inconsistencies, which we have long conceded, and we would hope there will be a policy. I assume the Treasurer (Mr. F. S. Miller) will become involved in these discussions at some point as well, and we are working towards that end.

Mr. T. P. Reid: Is the Solicitor General aware that his deputy said he did not really know what was going on; that there was a group composed of Intergovernmental Affairs staff and the Justice policy field which was looking at this, but the Solicitor General's ministry was not involved and he, the deputy, thought obviously they should be? If the minister is not aware of that, will he check into it and bring the House up to date on where that group is and who is on that group?

Hon. Mr. McMurtry: I cannot imagine the Deputy Solicitor General ever stating he did not know what was going on, but I will be discussing the matter with him.

HAZARDOUS WASTES DISPOSAL

Ms. Bryden: Mr. Speaker, I have a two-part question for the Minister of the Environment. Does the minister agree with the federal Minister of the Environment, John Roberts, as reported in today's *Globe and Mail*, that Canada's disposal system for toxic wastes is in a shocking state? When can we expect the minister here to produce a comprehensive plan for the safe handling and disposal of 60 million to 70 million gallons of toxic wastes in Ontario, as was recommended by the resources development committee 18 months ago and last August by the MacLaren report, which the ministry commissioned?

Hon. Mr. Parrott: Mr. Speaker, I think that interview probably stemmed from the council of ministers' meeting in Halifax which I was pleased to attend last Thursday. I do not think there is any doubt that my conferees at that meeting recognized that Ontario is well advanced on a comprehensive plan by comparison with any other jurisdiction in Canada.

I think it would be more accurate to say that my ministry put forward a comprehensive plan to deal with our liquid industrial wastes; many of the things we said we would do have been done and others are in the process of being done. I do not think there is any doubt we will see the completion of that proposal put forward by the ministry, by myself, and which met with concurrence of the committee. It perhaps would be inaccurate to suggest it was the reverse—in other words, put forward by the committee.

If the member will recall, we had a long discussion on a seven-point program that I think we tabled about February 1979. We are proceeding very nicely with that plan, but it certainly is not all in place yet. But I was very pleased in Halifax to see this jurisdiction singled out in advance of all other jurisdictions in Canada.

Ms. Bryden: The MacLaren report found the present facilities put up by private industry were completely inadequate. So far we have had only three or four isolated hit-and-miss facilities proposed by the private sector which will not cover anywhere near the 60,000 to 70,000—the 60 million to 70 million gallons. Some of these are only temporary.

Mr. Speaker: Does the member have a supplementary?

Ms. Bryden: Yes, Mr. Speaker. Has the minister started to look for the government

site which the MacLaren report recommended the government should acquire in order to provide facilities which private enterprise has failed to provide?

Hon. Mr. Parrott: The second part from MacLaren is in the advanced stages. Perhaps we will be able to discuss that second report in the near future.

I am glad that the member corrected herself on the figures 60 million to 70 million. Unfortunately her quote received some publicity not too long ago—that there were 60,000 million gallons. I hope that figure will not become fixed in members' minds, as the volume. A thousand-times-wrong error is one of considerable magnitude. We have enough. Let us not make it appear it is any larger than it is.

FLOOD DISASTER RELIEF

Mr. O'Neil: Mr. Speaker, I have a question of the Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs. Some time ago when there was serious flooding in Port Hope, both the town of Trenton and myself wrote to him about assistance for that town. I wonder if the minister could bring this Legislature up to date on the decision that was made. I have been told a letter is coming, but it has been almost two weeks since it was signed and it has not been received either by the town of Trenton or by myself.

Mr. Eakins: Have you mailed it yet?

Hon. Mr. Wells: Oh yes. Unfortunately, we don't run the post office, so I cannot guarantee what happens after we mail it.

I certainly recall signing it. The answer to my friend's question is that we looked at the situation very carefully, and field staff from our ministry were on the site and talked with various municipal people. It was decided not to recommend that Trenton be designated a disaster area under our disaster relief assistance program. But it was decided that Trenton and, as I recall, the Hastings-Northumberland area and Peterborough county were to be designated as an area where the low interest loans from the Ontario Development Corporation would apply to those who had been affected by the floods.

Mr. Speaker: Time for oral questions has expired.

3:10 p.m.

QUEBEC REFERENDUM

Mr. Renwick: Mr. Speaker, I rise on a matter of privilege to correct the editorial in the *Globe and Mail* on Saturday, May 10,

entitled, Yes Won't Get You No, in so far as it relates to my argument in the debate last week on national unity. It substantially misrepresents my argument and must be corrected.

My position then and now is as follows: Whatever the outcome of the referendum on May 20, the New Democratic Party is committed to the negotiation of a new constitution for Canada. Whatever the outcome of the referendum on May 20, there will be a substantial yes vote and a substantial no vote. If there is a majority yes vote, this party will not turn its back on the substantial number of people in Quebec who vote no and will attempt to win over to a new constitution for Canada some at least of those who may vote yes. I have no illusion about the position of the government of Quebec or the meaning it gives to the term "sovereignty-association."

My position is not similar to, nor does it overlap with, that of the group referred to in the editorial as the Grant-Watkins group. A delegation from the Grant-Watkins group met with our caucus last week. It was clear to me that the members of that delegation were not prepared to support the resolution then before this assembly. This party supported that resolution unanimously.

The sentences attributed to me and quoted in the editorial were in a letter to the editor of the *Globe and Mail* on Saturday, May 3, from the co-chairman of the policy committee of the federal Liberal Party (Ontario) and, while referred to in my remarks, were certainly not the chief point in my position.

I called upon the assembly to say clearly, distinctly and unanimously that the meaning of the resolution is a commitment to negotiate a new constitution for Canada, whatever the result of the referendum may be on May 20.

MEMBER'S ANNIVERSARY

Hon. Mr. Davis: On a matter of personal privilege, Mr. Speaker: I know it is not the custom to introduce people in the gallery prior to Orders of the Day, and there are some strict rules on that, but I would like to introduce to the members of the House the member for Cochrane North (Mr. Brunelle), who is celebrating his 22nd anniversary as a member of this Legislature. He may have forgotten it but I haven't, and I wish to extend our congratulations to him.

MOTION

COMMITTEE MEETING

Hon. Mr. Wells moved that the select committee on company law be authorized to meet this afternoon concurrently with the House.

Motion agreed to.

EQUIPMENT PROCUREMENT

Mr. Conway: On a point of privilege, Mr. Speaker: I would like to correct the record. On April 10 in this House I raised with the Minister of Health (Mr. Timbrell) a matter concerning the equipment procurement policies of the new Ottawa Health Sciences Centre.

I have since had the opportunity to assess some of the information provided to me at that time. While in no way regretting the questions that were put, because I certainly see them as very much part of my parliamentary responsibilities, I do want to state for the record that I am completely satisfied with the response of the Minister of Health in stating his position that the hospital in question has pursued a right and proper course of action with respect to the equipment procurement for that facility and that it is equipping the hospital to the very best of its ability with the best equipment available.

I, for my part, regret any inconvenience or embarrassment to the new Ottawa Health Sciences Centre General Hospital which has arisen, as a result of allied information, from my question.

Mr. Speaker: You are correcting the record then.

INTRODUCTION OF BILLS

DISTRICT MUNICIPALITY OF MUSKOKA AMENDMENT ACT

Hon. Mr. Wells moved first reading of Bill 69, An Act to amend the District Municipality of Muskoka Act.

Motion agreed to.

Hon. Mr. Wells: Mr. Speaker, this bill proposes to give the district council of Muskoka the authority to provide such benefits as group life, accident, medical and hospital-care insurance to members of council. In addition, it proposes to remove the requirement that the district council pass a road consolidation bylaw every five years and to delete a provision which refers to a section in the Homes for the Aged and Rest Homes Act which no longer exists.

Finally, it proposes to permit the district council to purchase and rent machinery for the municipality's purpose and seeks to validate all such past purchases and rentals.

The Honourable the Lieutenant Governor of Ontario entered the chamber of the Legislative Assembly and took her seat upon the throne.

ROYAL ASSENT

Hon. Mrs. McGibbon: Pray be seated.

Mr. Speaker: May it please Your Honour, we, Her Majesty's most dutiful and faithful subjects of the Legislative Assembly of the province of Ontario in session assembled, approach Your Honour with sentiments of unfeigned devotion and loyalty to Her Majesty's person and government, and humbly beg to present for Your Honour's acceptance, a bill entitled An Act granting to Her Majesty certain additional sums of money for the Public Service for the fiscal year ending March 31, 1980.

3:20 p.m.

Clerk of the House: The Honourable the Lieutenant Governor doth thank Her Majesty's dutiful and loyal subjects, accept their benevolence and assent to this bill in Her Majesty's name.

The Honourable the Lieutenant Governor was pleased to retire from the chamber.

ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS ON NOTICE PAPER

Hon. Mr. Wells: Mr. Speaker, before the orders of the day, I wish to table the answers to questions 43, 142 to 144, 146 to 147 and the interim answers to questions 139, 140 and 145 standing on the Notice Paper. (See appendix, page 1801.)

ORDERS OF THE DAY

House in committee of supply.

ESTIMATES, MINISTRY OF INTERGOVERNMENTAL AFFAIRS

Hon. Mr. Wells: Mr. Chairman, I have a few comments I would like to offer as we consider these estimates for this year. I am very pleased again to be opening discussion here in the House on the estimates of the Ministry of Intergovernmental Affairs.

It is not yet two years since this ministry was established to provide co-ordination between the government of Ontario and other governments and to act as a catalyst leading to increased co-operation among this govern-

ment, the municipalities of Ontario, the federal government, our sister provinces and, indeed, foreign governments as well. Even in this short time I think the need for this central role has been demonstrated time and time again. The whole business of harmonious intergovernmental relations at all levels is becoming more vital and more important in this day and age.

In the context of the kinds of issues and problems today confronting virtually all governments, and with complexity as one of the primary underlying facts of life with which all governments must increasingly cope, we all work in an environment where improved liaison and co-operation is absolutely essential for the continuance of good government on behalf of the people we serve, no matter what level or order of government each of us finds himself serving in.

Over the course of this debate the Ministry of Intergovernmental Affairs is presenting for approval a budget of \$470 million for the fiscal year 1980-81. Included in this is \$428 million in transfer payments to municipalities.

Let me remind members of this House that in March we obtained through supplementary estimates an amount of \$135 million in order to prepay some unconditional grants to municipalities, which grants would normally have come out of the 1980-81 estimates. This means that a total of \$563 million will actually be transferred to municipalities in respect of the calendar year 1980. This compares with a figure of \$511 million which was included in last year's estimates and represents an increase in unconditional grants to municipalities of just over 10 per cent.

As in previous years, the bulk of our expenditures, over 97 per cent of this ministry, is allocated to transfer payments, and as I have said, the two largest types of payments are the unconditional grants to municipalities, which I've just talked about, and the payments to employers under the Ontario Youth Employment Program, which amount to \$28.8 million.

Salaries, wages and employee benefits take up less than \$8 million, or 1.7 per cent of the total budget of this ministry. Goods and services comprise \$4.3 million, or just under one per cent of the total budget of this ministry.

Before getting into some of the broad areas of activities that occupied much of the time and effort of the ministry during the past year, I think it is most appropriate to ask members to recognize the first-class contribution of the staff of this ministry.

The men and women who, through their daily efforts, make our operations run smoothly and make them run effectively do not comprise a large force in numerical terms. We are really a relatively small ministry. However, the energy and competence that is continually demonstrated by all staff is such that I think all honourable members and, indeed, the people of this province, have reason to appreciate.

I would like to make particular mention of the contribution of my parliamentary assistant, the member for Wilson Heights (Mr. Rotenberg). His wide range of experience in municipal government and his considerable understanding of the municipal sphere of government has been a great practical help to me and to many others in the ministry.

Don Stevenson, my deputy minister, continues to fulfil his responsibilities with great dedication and competence. I'm sure members will remember that Mr. Stevenson also wears the other hat of co-ordinator of French-language services for the government, and here too he has performed very effectively.

The other members of our senior management team also deserve recognition at this time. They are Eric Fleming, the executive director of the local government division; Ed Greathead, executive director of the office of intergovernmental affairs, and Sam Clasky, the executive co-ordinator of the planning and co-ordination group.

Mr. Chairman, these four senior officials, of course, represent just the tip of the iceberg in the sense that they are supported by others too numerous to mention, but who all contribute enormously to the overall effectiveness of the Ministry of Intergovernmental Affairs.

When we last discussed the budget of the ministry in this chamber, starting in June 1979, I mentioned three key organizational aspects and I'm pleased to report that on all fronts there has been positive and beneficial action in the interim.

First of all, most of the staff of the ministry are now physically moved into the Mowat Block, and already this has added considerably to our internal co-ordination and effectiveness on a day-to-day basis.

Second, the ministry has taken under its wing, from the Ministry of Treasury and Economics, much of the staff of the municipal finance branch, including its director, Larry Close, and some of the staff of the intergovernmental finance and grants policy branch. This was a move of the greatest sig-

nificance and I'll mention some of its implications in a few moments.

Third, we've assumed responsibility for the major protocol services of the government, which moved into our realm of operation from the Ministry of Government Services. The chief of protocol, Walter Borosa, and his very capable staff, constitute the office of protocol and provide a variety of protocol, hospitality and public events services.

The issuing of congratulatory scrolls and other government documents remains a function of the official documents section in the Ministry of Government Services.

The office of protocol maintains official liaison with 61 foreign government consular posts in Ontario, and handles matters pertaining to privileges and immunities accorded to foreign government representatives in Ontario. During this year, arrangements were co-ordinated for 74 official visits to this province. These included visits by Her Majesty the Queen Mother, Her Royal Highness the Princess Anne, our new Governor General of Canada and Mrs. Edward Schreyer, the Prime Ministers of Thailand and Lesotho, the King of Nepal, 30 senior ministers and delegations, and 24 ambassadors accredited to Canada.

3:30 p.m.

The office of protocol also arranged 121 functions, offering Ontario hospitality to some 34,000 visitors and guests. The office also assisted in arrangements for 42 ceremonies and public events, including the At Queen's Park series of 19 concerts and exhibitions.

For a few minutes I would like to highlight for the members some of the activities and priorities of the office of intergovernmental affairs. This is the component of the ministry that deals primarily with governments outside Ontario. It consists of two branches: the federal-provincial and interprovincial affairs secretariat, headed by Gary Posen, and the external activities co-ordination secretariat, under the direction of John Carson.

During the past year, the normal course of federal-provincial and interprovincial activities has been significantly interrupted and disrupted because of the two federal elections that have occurred. However, while such outwardly visible activities as federal-provincial conferences have diminished through this period, the work load in the intergovernmental area has kept us very busy indeed, especially our continuing efforts to propose reforms and adjustments to Confederation and to respond to the constructive suggestions of others.

At the same time, we have been engaged in a wide variety of operational issues and problems which, while perhaps not as dramatic as those matters related to Confederation and the constitution, are none the less vital to the continuing good health of Ontario's external relations with Ottawa and with the other provinces.

At all times, and especially today, with the strains of the national debate on Confederation enveloping us, it is extremely important that Ontario's relationships with all provinces be close, frank, open and friendly, whatever our current policy differences may be. Ontarians and all Canadians expect their governments to co-operate, and rightfully so. This has always been the *modus operandi* of the Ministry of Intergovernmental Affairs. The strength of this country in large measure depends upon the personal contacts that must be maintained across all our internal borders.

As I documented in the House last week during the Confederation debate, our Quebec relationship is naturally historic and special. Despite the current referendum friction, we have expended particular efforts to maintain this relationship for its own sake, and not to the detriment of any other Canadian relationships.

Ontario and Quebec are neighbours by geography, friends by tradition, and compatriots by agreement. In this context, it is not surprising that Ontario's most regular ongoing relationships are with Quebec. In this connection, a great deal is accomplished through the Ontario-Quebec permanent commission, which has played a very constructive and beneficial role for the last 11 years. The continuing work of this commission is enough to give anyone cause for optimism.

While we obviously differ, and we do, on some very fundamental questions with the present government of Quebec, I firmly believe that the commission's mandate remains as important as ever. It acts as a facilitator of cultural and educational exchanges between our two provinces. It is reflective of my hope and intention to work towards increasing co-operation and collaboration with every province in this country, Quebec included, in the future.

Meanwhile, as this kind of effort continues, the impending referendum in Quebec naturally looms large in the consciousness of all Ontarians and all Canadians. Certainly it has received a great deal of continuing attention by the Ministry of Intergovernmental Affairs, not only in our frequent

contacts with Ottawa and Quebec but also with the other provinces as well.

For the purposes of our discussion today, I don't think it's necessary to list our recent activities or reiterate our previously stated positions with regard to the Quebec referendum. This ground was extensively, and I think very well, covered in this House last week during our debate.

As many of us said during last week's debate, history was made. I think the debate did indeed pass the message of the elected representatives and, from them, of the people of this province to the people of Quebec. It also did something else. Last week's debate, during which over 80 members of this House participated in something I can never remember the likes of having occurred in this House before, did indeed bring to the attention of the people of Ontario, in a very dramatic way, exactly what is going on.

I don't know whether other members have had the same reaction, but I was surprised and very pleased to find people at various events over this last weekend come up to me and say they really appreciated the motion of this Legislature and the fact that we were all working together to keep Canada united and speaking on their behalf to the people of Quebec. It highlighted to me the fact that this debate, because it was on television and through the coverage that the media gave to it, made the people of Ontario even a little more aware of our role and of our message to Quebec.

That message seemed to be the message the people of this province wanted transmitted to Quebec. I think we can say that the members of this House contributed positively and vigorously to all the activities related to the Confederation issue, just as the members of my ministry staff have been working on these issues for many months now.

I think that debate and the resolution of this House put very clearly our position that we believe in a strong, united Canada with Quebec as a full partner, as a full province along with all the other provinces. We believe that renewed efforts must be made to rejuvenate the constitution, to reshape it, and that intergovernmental relationships must be strengthened in this country. Through that, this country can be kept as one.

We also put very clearly a position that this government and this province have held for a long time. Our position, of course, is that we stand very strongly with the proposition that under no circumstances will we

negotiate sovereignty-association with the government of Quebec. What we are for is change, in the coming weeks and months you can be sure that in the spirit of the resolution of this House, that course will be the one that we are actively pursuing. I am confident that as the select committee of this House begins meeting and as we carry on the discussions after the Quebec referendum, much of our time will be taken, and much of our effort will be expended in this direction. The intergovernmental affairs branch of our ministry will be ready, willing and, I am sure, able to participate on behalf of the government and the members of this House in this very important task.

Let me turn briefly to our activities in co-ordinating Ontario's intergovernmental relationships with governments outside Canada, and specifically, some of the more important themes and issues that come within the purview of the external activities co-ordination secretariat.

As we all know, this province's most significant relationship outside Canada is with the United States. We are closely involved in the widest variety of matters with our American neighbours. At the moment, policies related to economic, commercial, environmental and energy matters dominate this relationship and will probably continue to do so into the foreseeable future.

In discussions on these and other matters, the secretariat works to ensure that Ontario's connections with the United States government, and with individual border states, are effective, productive and maintained in a friendly spirit of constructive two-way co-operation. Thus, the secretariat maintains effective linkages with other ministries of the Ontario government that have specific functional responsibilities as well as with the federal Department of External Affairs and with other federal departments on a frequent and continuing basis.

The co-ordination of provincial and federal policies and activities in trans-border relations is essential. One of the secretariat's vital functions is to facilitate the melding of Ontario's best interests in each particular issue with Canada's position as it is articulated in advance by the Department of External Affairs.

Of course, Ontario's interests are not limited to relations with the United States. The external activities co-ordination secretariat also functions in a monitoring role to help maintain our good connections in western Europe, both with individual nations and with the European community as a whole. Paralleling

this activity are similar involvements with the Middle East, Latin America and the Pacific Basin, for example, once again, for the purposes of keeping us alert to developments that may have an impact on this province.

3:40 p.m.

One of the positive offshoots of this type of international activity has been the provision of Ontario grants to assist distressed countries and their people following a natural disaster or a major disruption caused by political events. During the past year, the following grants were made: \$7,000 to the island of St. Vincent following a volcanic eruption in April 1979; \$20,000 through the Canadian Red Cross to Yugoslavia following an earthquake in April 1979; \$20,000 to Dominica through the Canadian Red Cross after Hurricane David swept through there in September 1979; and \$315,575 to the Canadian Red Cross on a matching grant basis for South Asian refugee work in November 1979.

Up to \$50,000 is to be presented very shortly to Toronto's fund-raising committee for earthquake victims in the Azores, the decision to make this grant having been made in March 1980. In addition, \$100,000 went to the Canadian Red Cross towards an international appeal for the Afghan refugees in Pakistan, this grant being made in March 1980.

With that brief overview of some of our activities in relationships with governments outside Ontario, perhaps I can now turn my attention to the very important local government side of the Ministry of Intergovernmental Affairs.

As I stressed last year in introducing the ministry's estimates and as I have continued to stress since, we have adopted a co-operative and responsive style of operation in our dealings with local government. The best interests of all citizens, I would say, demand a harmonious partnership between the provincial and municipal levels of government and between municipal governments themselves.

I have continued over the last few months to establish closer personal contacts with as many municipalities as possible. At the same time, local governments have been very active in helping us shape policies by playing a much greater contributory role than ever before. Our decision-making process is not a one-way street. We make decisions only after consulting the people directly affected. Only then do we feel we are ready to arrive at solutions which best suit the needs of local government. As a result, the municipalities are today, I

think, better equipped than ever to deal with complex situations.

If anyone needs tangible proof of the merits of a consultative approach to problem-solving, a very good example is available in the approach that has been taken to finding a solution to that very sensitive issue of local boundary disputes. A recent agreement was reached in the Brant-Brantford area. What has emerged there is an approach that will provide a key to unlocking situations in other areas of this province that are facing similar boundary problems. It came about only because of a consultative stance among all parties, including this ministry. I will say more about the Brant-Brantford situation in a few moments.

An important part of all this has been the shape and form of our formal consultative process with the municipalities. Since the first provincial-municipal conference at the Ontario Science Centre in April 1970, the various municipal associations that represent municipalities across Ontario have worked together as the Municipal Liaison Committee, or the MLC, as it is known. The MLC has acted as a focus and a forum for developing advice to the government of Ontario on issues affecting local government.

Over the years, this has been a very helpful and very effective process but, as in all things, circumstances and conditions change and from time to time established arrangements need review. The associations that compose the Municipal Liaison Committee are currently reviewing their own relationships with each other. They have formed a special committee comprising the presidents and past presidents of AMO, ACRO and ROMA, that is, the Association of Municipalities of Ontario, the Association of Counties and Regions in Ontario and the Rural Ontario Municipal Association respectively. These people are studying their relationships, one with the other.

Michael Smither, the editor of *Municipal World*, is acting as chairman of this group. The members of this committee will be reporting to their associations in late June or July. I look forward to reviewing their comments and recommendations. I might say, as they look at their relationships, particularly vis-à-vis the Municipal Liaison Committee, we are looking at the relationship between the Municipal Liaison Committee and the Provincial-Municipal Liaison Committee in the kind of forum that has been established, whether it is still the effective one, or how better the total municipal needs can be served and interface with the province.

As Mr. Smither and his committee reports, we will be reviewing our side of the process and by next fall we hope we will have arrived at perhaps an even better and more streamlined process for provincial-municipal liaison and co-ordination.

Our interests are so inextricably tied together that we must continue to recognize some type of liaison forum. The forum must be capable in this very complex world of local government issues to bring some coherent process to bear on the development of rational and effective authority for the governing of our communities across this province as conditions and circumstances change. That is the kind of vehicle we will be looking for.

Co-operation and consultation, of course, are a two-way street. In this regard I want to recognize publicly the positive contribution of so many of our municipal leaders during the past year. They have realized that ultimately all of us share the same responsibilities and that the challenges we face must be tackled in that spirit. While we may not always agree on solutions, it is essential we continue to address the problems together.

Obviously, one of the most pressing challenges ahead will be coping with the economic realities of the day. In this connection, I am very pleased about the recent shifting of some key municipal financial personnel into this ministry from the Ministry of Treasury and Economics, which is something I mentioned just a few moments ago.

This was a two-part move; the municipal finance branch was transferred, with the exception of staff dealing with property tax policy and the local borrowing corporations, and some staff of the intergovernmental finance and grants policy branch were also transferred, reflecting our responsibility for developing policy for the administering of the unconditional grants program.

The result of these shifts will be to increase our ability to assist municipalities in financial matters and to better enable us to assess municipal needs in a manner closely related to our own perceptions as a result of our own experiences in consultation with local governments.

I might mention that an information bulletin was prepared for municipalities to explain these changes and to outline the various functions now performed by all the branches within the local government division. The new responsibilities have been allotted among a number of branches in such a way as to maximize co-ordination and services to municipalities.

It might be helpful if I could outline the overall financial assistance that will be provided to municipalities by the government in 1980. The first point is that total government transfers to municipalities and their agencies in calendar year 1980 will be more than \$2 billion—\$2,045,000,000, to be precise—which is an increase of \$252 million or 14 per cent over 1979 funding. I should emphasize that the \$2 billion includes \$30.5 million for modifying the impact of the new equalization factors and, of course, significant funding for capital projects. Of the total, the unconditional grants package administered by this ministry will rise to \$543 million from \$486 million, which is an increase of 11.9 per cent.

I would like to describe for the members very briefly some of the unconditional grant programs.

The total 1980 resource equalization grant entitlements will be about \$144 million, up over 27 per cent from 1979. Three major changes have been made to this grant for 1980.

3:50 p.m.

First, the farm and residential assessment is now weighted at 85 per cent to reflect more accurately local property taxation capacities. The problem of dramatic decreases in grant entitlement caused by a minor loss of population has been alleviated by using either the 1980 grants population or the average of the 1978, 1979 and 1980 grants population, whichever is greater.

The 1980 resource equalization grant standards have been increased to \$21,200 per capita on the basis of the new equalization factors and to \$11,050 on the basis of the old equalization factors. The 1980 grants will be reflected in the 1980 county and region apportionments so that current apportionments will reflect current grants.

Second, the total 1980 general support grant entitlements will be about \$166 million, up 12.4 per cent from \$148 million in 1979. The grant rate will continue to be six per cent of the net local levies.

Mr. G. I. Miller: Must be an election coming up.

Hon. Mr. Wells: No, no; just the good work of the government and all the members of this House in their relationships with the municipalities.

Third, the total 1980 northern Ontario special support grant entitlement will increase 12.7 per cent to about \$46 million. The grant rate will remain unchanged at 18 per cent of net local levies.

Fourth, the 1980 per capita grant entitlements will total \$177 million. This includes \$77 million for the general grant, \$94 million for the police grant and \$6 million for the density grant. The grant rates are unchanged from 1979. However, as with the resource equalization grant, the greater of the 1980 grants population or the averaging of 1978, 1979 and 1980 grants population will be and can be used for the per capita grants this year.

Fifth, last fall I announced a special apportionment protection grant which pertains to the apportionment of regional and county levies for the 1980 municipal fiscal year. Members will recall that a five per cent ceiling on a municipality's apportionment increase was originally set by the province to cushion the adverse effects on any local government and its taxpayers caused by the new equalization factors.

Since that time we have become aware that the upper-tier levy increases in general throughout the province are estimated to be more significant this year than I think we had anticipated. In mid-April I announced that this grant will be enriched by a further \$8.5 million in order to offset completely any potential tax increases that could be caused by the new assessment equalization factors. All municipalities were informed of this about mid-April.

Sixth, on March 20 last year I announced special ad hoc grants totalling \$6.6 million to assist 49 municipalities most adversely affected by frozen equalization factors under the province's resource equalization grant program. It was hoped that the 1980 resource equalization program, with its greater emphasis on updated property values, would eliminate the need to consider further compensatory assistance in 1980.

It is now clear, however, that a one-year extension is going to be necessary for 33 of these municipalities to avoid undue property tax increases. This revision will require additional payments of approximately \$3.8 million. I might add that these municipalities probably will just have been informed this week—that is, the 33 receiving a one-year extension of some form of ad hoc grants.

Before leaving the subject of unconditional grants, I would also like to mention our recent announcement stating that we would advance the payments for the first instalments of certain 1980 grant payments by four to six weeks. As a result, in March, municipalities received a total of about \$135 million for advanced interim payments of the 1980 general support, general per capita,

density and northern Ontario special support grants. These payments would normally have been made in April and May of the year. We have also advanced the 1980 police per capita grant to the tune of \$7.8 million. This amount was advanced about five weeks ahead of when those grants would normally have been paid.

When all the advanced payments of more than \$143 million of first instalments on these grants are made, we believe they will serve to reduce temporary municipal borrowing at current high interest rates and ease some of the financial pressures our municipalities face.

In addition to the Ontario unconditional grants payments we will be transferring another \$19 million to municipalities and I would like to highlight six of these programs.

First, the 1980 payments in lieu of taxes on land and buildings owned and occupied by the province will be \$14.6 million. This is about 0.7 per cent less than was estimated for 1979.

Second, payments to reimburse municipalities for taxes on provincially owned properties that are tenant-occupied will remain at \$2.1 million for 1980.

Third, payments to assist municipalities in repairing and preventing flood damage because of high water levels on the Great Lakes are estimated at \$440,000, \$10,000 less than the 1979-80 figure.

Fourth, payments to municipalities with provincial parks will be increased by 3.3 per cent to \$310,000 in 1980-81. This increase covers the payments for a newly designated park.

Fifth, our continuing program to provide training and experience in municipal government to students and recent graduates deserves mention. In 1980-81, \$75,000 will be paid to municipal governments under the Involvement in Municipal Administration (IMA) program and the Ontario Municipal Training (OMT) program. Under the IMA program we will reimburse municipalities at a rate of 80 per cent of the salary costs to a maximum of \$125 per week for 20 weeks per student. The new OMT program will utilize \$60,000 of the \$750,000 allocated to provide 10 training positions to municipalities in 1980 at 50 per cent of salary cost to a maximum of \$6,000 this year and \$4,000 in 1981.

Sixth, total grants for the local government bilingualism program will remain at \$550,000 for 1980-81. The rate of fiscal assistance remains at 80 per cent for the first year and decreases by 20 per cent each year thereafter for four years.

I would like to return to a subject which I mentioned briefly a few minutes ago, namely, the development of a new process to resolve boundary and related problems in our major urban areas outside the restructured areas or the regional government areas. I think members are aware that negotiators from municipal councils in the Brantford area were successful, after intensive discussions beginning last September, in agreeing on a package which they have recommended to their council. This promises to be a real milestone in the municipal affairs of this province.

On August 21, 1978, about three days after I assumed this responsibility, I spoke to the annual meeting of the Association of Municipalities of Ontario. In that statement I made a firm pledge that a top priority of this new ministry would be to find a better way to handle annexation and amalgamation disputes. In the intervening two years I spent a great deal of time discussing this matter. Only a month after I spoke to AMO, a delegation from 15 major urban municipalities in the province met with the Premier (Mr. Davis), myself and several of my cabinet colleagues, and they underlined in very strong and cogent terms the problems they faced. They made an urgent appeal for a less expensive, less cumbersome, more reasonable and more co-operative approach to boundary adjustments and readjustments. I agreed with their ultimate objective of finding some reasonable way for all parties to deal with rationalizing urban boundaries.

4 p.m.

At that time rural Ontario responded swiftly to the urban brief and informed us in no uncertain terms that they found some of the urban position presented to us, some of the specifics that were presented, unacceptable.

Later I referred to this period in a number of speeches and remarks as a preface to the great Ontario border war. Urban and rural municipal groups started to line up on opposing sides on this issue, and common ground was becoming very difficult to find. I would like to say it is a credit to the municipal leaders in this province that they persevered and that by the spring of 1979 a consensus emerged that a new process was needed.

Last May I asked the Provincial-Municipal Liaison Committee to establish an inter-association working group to assist and to attempt to agree on the characteristics of a new process. This group met several times

and on August 10 advised me of the areas of agreement and disagreement that had been reached.

Ten days later I announced the government's response to the working group's suggestions. Almost a year to the day since my first address to AMO, the consultative approach had allowed me to outline a pilot project to test the elements of the new process. The essence of this process is the application to boundary issues of collective bargaining techniques. We established a negotiating phase, a mediation phase and, if it was required, an arbitration phase.

I do not have to review here the problems that the previous system of resolving boundary disputes created for all parties. Members are well aware of the adversarial, expensive and divisive nature of the OMB and court proceedings on these matters.

Thus it was that last September the city of Brantford, the township of Brantford and the county of Brant agreed to participate in the pilot project to attempt to negotiate an agreed settlement to one of the longest-standing boundary disputes in this province.

Negotiations were conducted by elected representatives of the three municipalities, assisted by a team of fact-finders from this ministry. From September to March of this year the negotiators met in regular session 25 times and in caucus on a great many more occasions. The process was thoroughly tested, since virtually every issue of an inter-municipal nature was raised and became part of the negotiations that were carried on.

Early last month, of course, I was able to announce to this House that an agreement had been recommended to their councils. It is with considerable satisfaction that I can now report that all three councils, following an active public debate, have endorsed the agreement and have recommended it to me. I intend, therefore, to introduce legislation this session to implement the proposals in that agreement.

This dramatic demonstration of the capacity of municipal leaders to solve local problems without recourse to legal remedies provides us with a real opportunity to develop a new annexation and amalgamation process for this province. It is my intention to press firmly ahead and establish the new method on a province-wide basis as quickly as possible.

It is a very highly complex area, and the process must be carefully constructed to ensure that it can deal with the wide variety of issues with which it will be faced as it

becomes more general across this whole province. I do not intend to rush into a general process. Rather, we will now consult closely with the interassociation working group, which was working with us last summer, but I hope to be able to introduce legislation this autumn to provide a new approach to annexations across this province.

It is with considerable satisfaction that I compare where we are today with this very issue and where we were 12 months ago. We may never solve all annexation problems, but through the co-operative approach I think we have found a way to deal with them now in a more reasonable and more cost-effective manner.

I would like to say a few words about the status of the five regional review reports that are commonly known to all of us as the Robarts, Mayo, Archer, Stewart and Palmer reports. During the mid-1970s the Metropolitan Toronto council and the Ottawa-Carleton, Niagara, Waterloo and Hamilton-Wentworth regional councils all passed resolutions asking the provincial government to support reviews of local governments in their areas. In response to these requests, the Robarts commission was established in Metro, the Mayo commission in Ottawa-Carleton, the Archer commission in Niagara, the Palmer commission in Waterloo, and the Stewart commission in Hamilton-Wentworth.

When the Robarts, Mayo and Archer commissions submitted their reports in 1976 and 1977, the government invited briefs from interested citizens and municipal councils. Based upon analysis of these briefs, the government presented white papers in May 1978 proposing a number of changes in the electoral and functional arrangements in Metro Toronto, Ottawa-Carleton and Niagara.

The reaction to those proposals showed there was not sufficient support among citizens and in the Legislature for the government to proceed with wide-scale changes at that time. I do not believe those situations have been significantly altered by subsequent events.

The Stewart commission and the Palmer commission submitted their reports in 1978 and 1979 respectively. Strong public opposition immediately developed to the Stewart commission's proposals for a one-tier system in Hamilton-Wentworth. In response, the government stated it was committed to continuing with the two-tier system, giving it time to evolve and mature.

This is a position to which we are still committed, and it is my hope that the leaders in Hamilton-Wentworth will carry on with their system in the spirit of co-operation and good faith which I believe they can.

A unique approach has been adopted for the follow-up to the Palmer report. A committee composed of the regional chairman and the local mayors was formed to study the recommendations, and its report will be discussed locally and then forwarded for our consideration.

It is not accurate to say that nothing has been done on the recommendations contained in the other commission reports. In the case of Ottawa-Carleton, for example, the government has sponsored legislation over the last two years, incorporating the western growth area as the city of Kanata, erecting Nepean township into a city, and adjusting the composition of the regional transit commission.

We will be introducing legislation to correct the most important imbalances in the distribution of seats on regional council and the city of Ottawa on its own initiative has secured the abolition of the board of control, as recommended in the Mayo report.

In the case of Niagara, the regional act has been amended to give St. Catharines an additional seat on the regional council, and no other changes there are felt to be needed in the near future.

The government has rejected the recommendations for boundary changes and direct elections in Metropolitan Toronto, because the present system seems to be working fairly well and because we want to ensure stability for the next few years.

Unless proposals for change are certain to provide substantial benefits and have the support of the municipalities and residents involved, I believe it is unwise to tinker with institutions that are emerging from growing pains into effective instruments of local government.

The functional issues raised by the Robarts report are being dealt with on a selective basis through the usual channels. Planning issues are being looked at as part of the review of the Planning Act, health boards are being reviewed within the Ministry of Health, and public housing is the subject of negotiations with the Ministry of Housing and the Treasurer of Ontario (Mr. F. S. Miller).

I believe it is a serious mistake to judge the success or failure of any of the commission reports by the amount of immediate or abrupt change they may happen to produce.

I agree with the editorial position taken by one of the Ottawa newspapers, and I would like to quote that editorial at this time:

"By that standard, the Mayo report might be considered a waste of most of the \$250,000 that it cost. But this overlooks the fact that change is usually evolutionary and that a study may often confirm, inadvertently or otherwise, that no change is necessary yet."

As for the question of future reviews in regional municipalities, let me repeat what I have said before: Any new reviews should be initiated by the regional municipalities that wish to carry them out. It is a legitimate function of any government to step back from itself from time to time to review its functions and its operations.

I would commend to any regional municipality in this regard the work of the Waterloo review commission as a model. While we are not prepared to enter into a direct financing of any future studies, we are prepared to offer any appropriate staff assistance from this ministry.

4:10 p.m.

Another important activity in my ministry is what I would call the modernization of the Municipal Act. This forms part of the government's overall policy on regulatory reform, but it is also being done in recognition of local needs and circumstances. We are constantly amending the Municipal Act and related acts, as members know, to make sure that municipalities have the power and authority to deal adequately with the problems of a changing society that they find in their own areas.

We are also aware that the Municipal Act needs updating in some of its existing provisions, and we are doing something about it. We have three major goals in this regard: to remove the archaic provisions, to eliminate redundant provisions and to modernize the language.

The act has many sections that certainly appear to be archaic. A discussion paper on bylaw powers identified 18 provisions which are probably archaic. These proposals were generally acceptable to the MLC committee on the Municipal Act. An example of such an archaic provision is the power of local councils to prohibit "the hauling of dead horses, offal, night soil or any other offensive matter or thing along any highway during the hours of daylight." We might ask ourselves how long it has been since a municipality has had to order a stop to the hauling of a dead horse along a road during daylight.

There are a number of matters like this that we are examining which we think could

help to bring the act up to date and make it perhaps a little more usable and even a little smaller. There are a number of matters we are examining which we think could help to reduce and rationalize the Municipal Act and make municipal governments more responsible and effective. Some examples are: updating the power of municipalities to make agreements; reviewing and revising status distinctions between municipalities; and removing provincial approvals of municipal actions wherever possible.

The complete revision of the Line Fences Act also represented an important updating of provisions affecting local matters. The new act clarifies, as members know, municipal responsibilities and duties and eliminates a number of redundant and archaic provisions. To aid municipalities in the implementation of these improved procedures, nine seminars were conducted across Ontario by the ministry, all of which were well attended and very well received.

A general goal in all this legislative revision is to make local governments more meaningful and more responsible for their own actions. Where possible, we will make every effort to limit regulatory provisions to those areas where they are clearly in the public interest. We have made some progress in this field. In conjunction with representatives of municipalities, we have reviewed the ministerial and ministry approvals required under the Municipal Act, and many of these have already been removed.

I would like to bring to members' attention a number of other key areas of activity during the past year. Chief among these is the considerable experience and skill we have had to develop—and I say unfortunately—in responding to disasters in this province through our responsibility for the province's disaster relief assistance fund. In 1979-80, an unprecedented 12 disasters caused by natural calamities occurred in Ontario. All of the affected areas were declared to be disaster areas for the purposes of providing financial assistance through our fund on a matching grant basis. The ministry and this government handled more disasters in this one year than in the previous 12 years during which this program has been in place.

Activities in the four areas of Iron Bridge, Paris, Searchmont-Goulais and White River have all been finalized. We are still active with the funds in Dover, Nipissing North, Himsworth, Onaping Falls-Walden, Oxford-Brant-Haldimand-Norfolk, West Carleton, Nepean, Renfrew and West Nipissing. In all of these cases, ministry staff from the local

field offices co-ordinated the efforts of the affected municipalities and other ministries in cleaning up the immediate damage and in restoring municipal services.

In both Woodstock and Port Hope, for example, staff were on the scene within hours to contribute their time and expertise to all the parties involved. In Woodstock, staff co-ordinated the long-term, ongoing provincial response.

In addition, the subsidies branch of the Ministry of Intergovernmental Affairs has provided assistance in establishing disaster relief committees and in working with both committees and municipal councils in their fund-raising, appraisal and settlement efforts. The subsidies branch of this ministry has also been responsible for payments of the provincial contributions. They initiated advance payments in 1979-80 to help the local committees' cash flow in making settlements and keeping bank interest charges down as low as possible.

In 1979-80, a total of \$3.5 million was paid in interim and final contributions to nine of the 12 local disaster relief committees. The amount included in the 1980-81 estimates represents a contingency based on our experience prior to 1979.

To date, in this fiscal year, one disaster area has been declared—Port Hope—where the province will be contributing \$3 for each dollar raised through local efforts. The provincial contribution was originally estimated at about \$3 million but, based on estimated damages now, it looks as though it might total about \$4 million. It appears now, however, that both figures may be lower than the early estimates.

Finally, may I make a closing comment about the financial assistance provided by the ministry to municipalities which provide certain municipal services in French as well as in English. The province pays a share of the cost of language training for municipal staff and the translation of municipal documents into French.

When this program was initiated about five years ago, municipalities wishing to apply for funds were required to pass a bylaw or to adopt a resolution committing the municipality to provide one or more services in French. The provision now has been changed so that municipalities no longer have to pass a bylaw or to adopt a resolution to be eligible for this assistance. We have just held two seminars, in Hawkesbury and Sudbury, with municipal politicians and officials from eastern and northeastern Ontario, on ways in which this program might be improved to

facilitate the provision by municipalities of French-language services to their residents.

With this general overview, I think it becomes clear to the members of this House that the responsibilities of the Ministry of Intergovernmental Affairs are infinite in their variety, complexity and importance. We are moving on many fronts to serve the people of Ontario and, we think, serve them well in countless ways which affect them both directly and indirectly.

I look forward to carrying on discussions with the critics of both of the other parties who are very knowledgeable in these matters and whose advice and comment I have welcomed over the last year. There are several critics on these topics in each of the parties, some of them very expert and very skilled in municipal affairs. Many of them have served in various capacities. I welcome their comments on these estimates as together we review them so that all of us can better serve the people of this province.

Mr. Epp: Mr. Chairman, it is a pleasure for me to participate in these estimates. I, too, want to take the opportunity of commending the members of the minister's staff who work very hard under his direction. They have given me the utmost co-operation every time I have called them on a number of matters during the course of the year.

Before I get into the full context of my statement, I want to draw the minister's attention to something he referred to earlier when he said he was pleased to make a statement in this chamber. I had thought that, although his estimates had been dealt with in this chamber last year and the year before and the year before that, some effort was going to be made to have them in a committee room, not because of any reluctance on our part to participate in the chamber, but because we felt our turn should come with respect to the discussion of the estimates in the committee room where we could be a little more informal. As the minister and everyone here knows, the procedures in the chamber are a little more stylized, a little more formal, than they might be in a committee. I would hope that maybe next year we could be in a committee room.

4:20 p.m.

Usually there are two speakers from this side who make opening statements. The member for Ottawa East (Mr. Roy), who usually handles interprovincial and federal-provincial affairs as opposed to the municipal aspect, is not here today. As a result, he will be making some comments later. The area

he is primarily interested in was covered at some length last week during the referendum debate and therefore he will make his remarks a little later.

In 1966, the province launched its multi-phase Design for Development program, which embraced three major programs: regional development, regional government and local government fiscal reform. When that program of regional government was officially launched in late 1968, both the then Premier, the Honourable John Robarts, and Municipal Affairs Minister Darcy McKeough hailed the event as an historic landmark in municipal history, as important as the passage of the Baldwin Act of 1849.

Its paramount aim was to strengthen local government in Ontario; yet the reality is that there has been little devolution of power from the provincial to the municipal level. The province has failed to solve the problem of municipal finance which is the key to increasing local autonomy. The province has failed to deal with the problems of property tax reform. The province has failed to implement grant reform, the purpose of which was to increase flexibility in municipal spending.

By introducing a new set of equalization factors, the province has succeeded only in creating new problems for municipalities without offering any answer to the overall question of property tax reform or reform of municipal finance which it had promised so many years ago.

The province continues to treat municipalities as children, as caretaker governments. Regional government in Ontario remains a source of widespread dissatisfaction in this province. The province has done nothing about improving the municipal structure of government despite widespread support for the introduction of a three-year term and despite expensive studies, such as the \$1.5-million Robarts study on Metropolitan Toronto.

In dealing with specific issues, such as the Toronto Island issue, the province has failed to deal with urban problems in a fair and satisfactory manner. Above all, despite all the rhetoric about strengthening local government which we heard back in the 1960s, hopes for a long-term revenue-sharing agreement, which local governments need if they are to be able to plan in advance, continue to receive setback after setback.

In the minister's statement of August 7, 1978, before the AMO annual meeting, he spoke about the three Cs—co-ordination, co-operation and consultation—and he reiterated some of those again today. The fact is that

the three Cs have been replaced by the three Ps: platitudes, procrastination and paternalism. In my remarks today I intend to elaborate on the points I have just raised and to give some indication of the approach which the Ontario Liberal Party thinks is the right one.

First, with respect to property tax reform: The Progressive Conservative record on property tax reform is a dismal one. The move to reform Ontario's property tax system began 12 years ago. The original intent was full-scale reform, reassessment of all properties at market value, broadening the tax base by removing exemptions and by taxing public property and altering the tax burdens borne by different classes of properties.

On January 4, 1978, the minister's predecessor, Mr. McKeough, outlined his proposal. But it soon became clear that Mr. McKeough's scheme would create major shifts in tax burdens and severe hardship for many home owners, farmers and small businessmen across this province.

Unfortunately, this government made no attempt to ascertain the impact of its proposals on individual property owners and, therefore, had not designed any phase-in or cushioning process programs to lessen the negative effects. Thus, back in June 1978, the government was forced to shelve the province-wide reform of property tax, despite 11 years of study and a costly commission, all calling for changes and, we might say, major changes.

We know the need for reform has not gone away. Ontario's property tax system is riddled with inequities. Indeed, reassessment by appeal is on the increase, and municipalities are seeing their tax bases eroded by successful appeals. For instance, the city of Toronto has lost more than \$6 million in 1978 and 1979. Hamilton has lost about \$2.3 million as a result of appeals.

I have a few other examples of the problems that both the imposition of section 86 and the equalization factors have caused across the province. In the town of Niagara-on-the-Lake, where section 86 of the Assessment Act has been applied, they are using 1975 market value assessments which have been factored to bring them more in line with current market values. It would have been preferable for them to have 1978 market values rather than to rely on those of 1975, both for grant purposes and for apportionment purposes.

As a result of the equalization factors, the town will experience a 24 per cent to 30 per cent increase without the limitations which this government has proposed. In addition, they have commissioned a \$4,500 study to

show what effect the new factors will have on that municipality.

It is quite obvious that the only people who will benefit by the refusal of the provincial government to provide all the information to the municipalities when they apply section 86 are the consultants who have to be hired to help clarify the situation. For instance, one property owner found his property taxes from 1978 to 1979 had increased to \$980, an increase of about 90 per cent.

I want to present another problem with respect to the appeal hearings being held across the province. More specifically, it has to do with one that was held in the city of Kitchener in March of this year. At that time, the judge planned to hear approximately 1,700 appeals in two days. This was not an assignment court, as some people have pretended, where cases would be assigned for future hearings. I checked this out with some people who were involved. It was supposed to be a hearing of 1,700 appeals in two days. Instead, these 1,700 cases, divided among 40 individuals and companies, were to be heard in two regular days of hearings. I have drawn this to the attention of the Attorney General (Mr. McMurtry) and the Minister of Revenue (Mr. Maeck), who are directly responsible for such cases.

It would appear to me that the people of this province have a right to better treatment than was scheduled at that time. If we did a little arithmetic on this matter and allowed eight hours a day without a coffee break for the two days of hearings, we would have a total of 960 minutes, which divided by 1,700 would make about half a minute per individual property case. I think the minister would agree with me that is no way to treat the appeal process and, furthermore, no way to treat individuals in this province, or indeed, in any jurisdiction in the world. There were thousands upon thousands of dollars involved and the judge had allowed only two days to hear 1,700 cases.

It is understandable that there was a great outcry, from individuals, lawyers representing various clients, the media and elected representatives who were made aware of the situation. Consequently, the judge indicated he was going to use a few days as an assignment court and then would hear the various cases over a period of many weeks so adequate time would be given to each of the cases. This is the way it should have been done in the first place.

4:30 p.m.

In speaking of the Kitchener-Waterloo area, I want to draw the minister's attention

to some real inequities which have developed in the regional municipality of Waterloo. As the minister knows, six of the seven municipalities have adopted section 86 of the Assessment Act, the lone exception being the city of Waterloo.

It certainly was the feeling of many people involved, that once the ministry adopted that section and went for equalization within classes, that there would be some kind of equalization of school costs and regional costs for the properties of the same market value. This, however, is not the case.

Residential properties in Woolwich township, for example, which have an assessment of \$60,000, let's say, will pay substantially more for education and regional services than similar properties in the cities of Waterloo, Kitchener or Cambridge. Does the minister not believe that, since the people of Woolwich are receiving the same regional and educational services, their taxes for similar properties should be the same as for those in other municipalities within the same region?

Let me give a third example. Although this relates more to the educational levy, nevertheless it is the municipalities that have to collect the education tax and therefore it obviously affects them. It is also the local taxpayer who ends up paying the local, regional and education taxes.

In the city of Nepean, which used this section 86 route, there was a feeling that since they had been paying in excess of what they felt their educational share should be, with the equalization of the factors and with the five per cent limit the province had applied, the educational portion of their taxes would decrease by five per cent from that which was exercised the previous year.

I would have thought they had a legitimate right to expect such a decrease. Instead of using the school board equalized factor, the province used a provincial average. Thereby, Nepean only had a decrease of 2.18 per cent and subsequently lost about \$586,000 which they would have received had the school board average been applied.

The continual postponement of market value assessment and property tax reform, with accompanying tax and grant reform, is leading to a state of chaos in this province. It is management by crisis. Whenever there is one crisis, the government tries to respond and creates several other crises.

My last example comes from the editorial of the March issue of Municipal World. Dennis Date, the former finance commissioner of the city of London and the former treas-

urer of that municipality, states with respect to section 86:

"Having persuaded the council of the city of London to pursue a revised assessment roll utilizing the statutory provisions of section 86 of the Assessment Act, I think it appropriate to comment on one feature of this process which does not fit my concept of equity from a municipal standpoint.

"In theory, a revised assessment roll issued in accordance with section 86 should return to the municipality the same taxation base that is enjoyed prior to revision with the assessments within a class, having been adjusted to reflect a common ratio to market value, as established at a particular point in time.

"To accomplish this result, the assessments within the class are adjusted either up or down to reflect the common ratio to market value. It is the intention that the changes made offset each other so that the total assessment within the class remains the same as it was under the previous assessment roll, prior to the revision made under section 86.

"Although one would expect errors to affect assessments up or down, it was no surprise to learn that the result of this exercise was to reduce the overall taxable assessment base."

The city of London discovered that approximately \$400,000 would be lost in taxes that would not have been lost had the original assessment been used. It should be remembered that these changes were administrative and not assessment appeals which might represent additional losses for the city of London.

This government's present approach of using section 86 to equalize assessments within classes of property based on 1975 market value for municipalities that request this is unsatisfactory for many reasons. It leads to unfair shifts in taxes in counties and regions where only some of the member municipalities have had reassessment. It will not create a uniform province-wide base; so a fair distribution of provincial grants or a fair system of cost sharing within counties and regions is not possible. It will not stop assessment appeal.

I would like to know how the minister intends to solve these problems and whether he intends to try to make good the promises made by his government in the late 1960s.

The next point I want to deal with is the equalization factor. The province's new equalization scheme, introduced in October

1979, is not a happy solution. The scheme, with all the modifications introduced to minimize its effects, is so complex that less than a handful of people in the province are able to understand it. It makes a mockery of one of the original objectives of property tax reform; namely, to make the system clear to the public.

It is only a one-year solution and offers no answer to the question of property tax reform. While the new factors seek to relate grants and cost sharing within a two-tier system to market value, the property tax system itself in most municipalities has not moved to market value. In many municipalities, taxes are levied on values going back 30 and 40 years.

Until the fundamental problem of property tax reform is tackled, Ontario will continue to sink deeper and deeper into a quagmire of schemes taking us farther away from an honest solution. It is another example of the ad hocery which has characterized this government's approach to municipalities and which is the worst possible basis for provincial-municipal finance.

I am concerned about some of the apparent inequities arising out of the new factors. Even though these new factors were published last July, municipal officials only now are beginning to figure out their impact.

Let us look at the impact on Haldimand-Norfolk. We have received a number of letters from outraged citizens detailing tax increases of up to 200 per cent. That regional municipality's decision to implement market value assessment in the city of Nanticoke has added to the confusion. We see residents of one area being forced to accept disproportionately high increases while others in an adjacent community are not hurt. This example highlights the need for a long-term solution. The minister himself acknowledges that the new factors were intended only as a one-year solution, and I would ask him whether he plans to continue with this ad hoc, year-by-year approach.

The next item I want to speak to is with regard to regional government. The minister spoke about regional government, but he was more enamoured by the proposal and the solution that has been proposed and is being enacted in Brantford and Brant township. As I stated earlier, regional government remains a source of widespread dissatisfaction across this province. To date, the Archer report for Niagara, the Mayo report for Ottawa-Carleton, the Stewart report for Hamilton-Wentworth and the Palmer report for Waterloo have been virtually ignored by the govern-

ment, a waste of at least another \$2 million. With the exception of the Waterloo report, it is doubtful that much more will happen to these except to gather dust on the shelves of the Ministry of Intergovernmental Affairs.

The minister is also aware of the incredible mess the Hamilton-Wentworth regional council finds itself in. Only a few weeks ago all the regional councillors, except those from Hamilton, walked out on the council proceedings. A similar exercise was exhibited last year in Haldimand-Norfolk when the representatives of one participating municipality walked out so that the council would not have a quorum. I would like to know what solution the minister proposes for Hamilton-Wentworth.

It appears the government of Ontario may have learned something by its mistake in imposing regional governments on almost a dozen areas in Ontario, as evidenced by the greater consultation that is going on in the annexation dispute in Brantford. Although the present process may not be perfect, the ministry's efforts, together with those of Brant township and the city of Brantford in seeking a solution to the touchy annexation problem, are to be commended.

4:40 p.m.

On grant reform, in the last few years the dependence of municipalities on transfers from the province as a source of municipal revenues has increased. In 1978, Ontario municipalities received about 40 per cent of their revenue requirements in provincial transfers. Three years ago the extensive report of the provincial-municipal grant committee chaired by the minister's very able deputy minister, called for a major reform of the grant system. It contained about 100 recommendations proposing a reduction from 87 to 36 conditional grant programs.

The reality is that attempts at reforming the provincial-municipal grant system in this province have accomplished little. The dependence on a transfer system as a source of revenue for the municipal sector has increased, not decreased.

Design for Development perhaps should have been called a design for municipal dependency. As a result, Ontario municipalities remain, as former Toronto Mayor David Crombie so aptly described them a few years ago, "caretaker governments tied to regressive, inelastic revenue sources which are required to turn over half of their revenues to autonomous school boards and which spend most of the rest of the money on roads, sewers, fire and police protection, general

government expenses and carrying charges on debt."

Does the government intend to bring in any constructive reform in the provincial-municipal transfer system during the next year or in the near future for that matter? Does it intend to deconditionalize any of the grants? As we know, revenue sharing is a very important matter as far as municipalities are concerned.

Legislative transfer payment agreements now exist in New Brunswick, Manitoba, Saskatchewan and British Columbia. This feature is absolutely necessary because it gives a degree of certainty and continuity in a transfer system that is now lacking in this province. If the province is sincere in talking about strengthening local government and local autonomy, surely it must do something about making a multi-year, revenue-sharing agreement with the municipalities that is certain, predictable and set out in a provincial statute.

Surely few municipal issues have been longer awaited, longer studied and longer needed. The formula proposed by the Municipal Liaison Committee was as reasonable and as fair a proposal as could possibly have been expected by the government. It is one the minister participated in, yet his government turned it down. This proved to be the straw that broke the camel's back for the AMO. AMO has pulled out of the PMLC because of the government's inaction and hypocrisy.

You will recall that notices were sent around within the last two months saying there was not a sufficient amount of items to be discussed in the PMLC context. That is obvious, because the AMO is a larger municipal organization and it no longer participates in the discussions. The reason it does not participate is that it felt it was double-crossed last year with the Premier stating quite categorically he did not want to give it any kind of revenue-sharing agreement. That was something they thought they would be receiving if they agreed to dispense with the Edmonton commitment.

It is time for the government of Ontario to stop treating the municipalities like children who never grow up. It is time for the government of Ontario to stop playing games with the revenue-sharing system. It is time to end the humiliating dependency of municipalities on annual provincial handouts. To us, municipalities are more than mere creatures of the province. We are pledged to the establishment of a three-year revenue-sharing agreement, a legislative commitment I might say.

With respect to Metropolitan Toronto, the report of the Royal Commission on Metropolitan Toronto has proved to be an exercise in futility. It found that certain major changes were needed, and yet the minister has recently stated the system appears to be working well. If the Metro system is working so well, then why undertake the studies in the first place and spend \$1.5 million?

There is widespread agreement that a three-year term would be desirable for Metro as well as for other large Ontario municipalities. Will the minister reconsider introducing a three-year term within regions and within separated cities as a start?

The Toronto Island issue remains unresolved. The government's bill would mean death to the community by attrition and our party will not permit this. Last year, a member of our party put forward a resolution aimed at restoring ownership of the land and the 250 remaining island homes to the city of Toronto. This Liberal resolution was passed with the support of members of all three parties in this House. Why has the minister not accepted this approach?

We continue to support the island homes and believe that, as a community, it helps to make the islands, for all Torontonians, a safe and interesting place to visit. It is quite clear that all the land is not needed for parkland, as had been anticipated back in 1956 when the land was first transferred to the Metro council.

Our party agrees with the city of Toronto that the community must not be destroyed. A few weeks ago, I introduced a private member's bill which would implement the proposal to have these lands transferred back to the city and which, I might add, is essentially the same as that proposed in 1975 by the minister's colleague, the member for St. Andrew-St. Patrick (Mr. Grossman). I urge the minister to support our resolution, or our solution, and our private member's bill to have the residential lands on the Toronto Island sold back from the Metropolitan council to the city of Toronto for the purpose of saving this community, which has existed there for generations.

To conclude, I urge the province of Ontario to take steps to make good on its promise of 12 years ago. The time has come to begin to treat Ontario municipalities as equals, not subordinates, to share information openly and to consult on decisions that affect these municipalities, even if there is no legal requirement to do so.

It is clear that we need a new forum for this communication and consultation. The Pro-

vincial-Municipal Liaison Committee is now dead as a result of the government's habit of using this body as a press-release forum where ministers showed up at their pleasure. Even the minister admitted, just last month "the PMLC process is not the best process for provincial-municipal liaison," and that it has really become a place for role-playing rather than grass-roots problem solving. I presume that the role-playing was by the provincial ministers and not the municipal politicians.

Our party feels the minister should now consider the creation of a legislative select committee so the concerns of municipalities could be brought to Queen's Park in a more meaningful way. This forum would allow municipalities to have real input and to make their own initiatives instead of just simply responding to ministerial statements.

Municipal concerns, whether they be the need for a disaster relief fund or a better process for negotiations with public employees, would be expressed and solutions arrived at on the basis of genuine consultation. I challenge the minister to return to the three Cs that he talked about and to put an end to more platitudes, procrastination and paternalism.

4:50 p.m.

Mr. Swart: I just want to say at the beginning, Mr. Chairman, that as you are aware, this party will also be having two speakers on the lead-in remarks, and, unlike the party to my right, we're both here to make our contribution, whatever that may be.

I want to commend the staff of this ministry, as the minister and the critic for the Liberal Party have done.

The minister made the comment that some of us on this side of the House have been involved in municipal affairs for quite some time, and I just want to say that during that period there were at least two senior people in the ministry who had a long association, close and favourable. They were Ron Farrow and Eric Fleming. I think perhaps they are typical of those I have known for shorter periods of time in the service they are giving to the minister and to this province.

I also want to commend the minister, at the outset—although it may not carry all the way through—for the attitude he has taken in many respects with regard to co-operation with the municipalities and his commitment to endeavour to get them to work together. The example that has been put forward is Brantford. At this period of time, when it appears there are difficulties in some areas in intergovernmental affairs, I look upon the

minister as the best choice in the government benches, with his ability to co-operate and his ability to mediate, for this position.

I am not going to talk about constitutional reform today or the Quebec sovereignty-association issue, as the position of this House on that matter has already been stated. It was debated at great length—and I think usefully—last week. It would be an appropriate forum here, and perhaps the debate may continue at the time the decision is made in Quebec. The estimates here can be a useful place for debate after the vote is taken.

I am also not going to spend very much time on municipal matters, as my colleague, the member for Wentworth (Mr. Isaacs), will state our views on various aspects of municipal reform in a very comprehensive way. As he will explain, the NDP has been giving a great deal of attention to municipal policy. We are concerned about the growing injustice of the property tax, particularly on the lower-income earners.

We are concerned about structural problems, as recently demonstrated in the Hamilton-Wentworth region. I urge the minister and the other members of this House to give close attention to the proposals put forward by the municipal affairs critic for the NDP. They will provide policies for greatly improving the functioning of local government in this province.

At the outset of my remarks I want to applaud the minister for moving the municipal finance department from the Ministry of the Treasury to the Ministry of Intergovernmental Affairs. I think it makes eminent sense for its functions to be attached to this ministry. I will not enumerate them, but they certainly are all functions which I believe should come directly under the minister's control.

He stated, in making the announcement—and I'm only going to mention one paragraph—that the realignment "reflects the range of responsibilities of the Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs and enhances the ability of the ministry to assist and advise local governments and the government of Ontario on all issues relating to municipal finance, organization and management." I agree with that statement.

It is perhaps not unreasonable for us in this party to think we deserve some credit for this change. The minister will know that at the time the Ministry of Treasury, Economics and Intergovernmental Affairs was divided into two ministries I urged that these responsibilities be brought from the Ministry of the Treasury into the Ministry of Intergovernmental Affairs.

At that time we could not get support for that proposal. We had lengthy debates on the bill to establish the Ministry of Intergovernmental Affairs. I moved an amendment at that time which would have provided for administering and co-ordinating a program of financial assistance to the municipalities, instead of just co-ordinating.

At that time, the minister spoke against that. The party to my right spoke even more strongly against it. I think it is fair to say that he left the door open a bit, but the party to my right spoke against it and when it came to a vote we lost that amendment from this party.

Again, last year in the estimates of this ministry I spoke rather strongly in support of having those functions transferred and again the minister spoke in opposition, but I am glad now to see, after this period of time, they have been moved to this ministry. I think all in this House will agree they will function even more effectively than before.

Hon. Mr. Wells: I just want to tell my friend that I came very close to accepting his amendment when that bill was going through the House.

Mr. Deputy Chairman: Maybe he should have pressed a little harder.

Mr. Swart: I think it would have been impossible to press it any harder than we did at that time. However, the minister has now done it; I don't know whether he will give us any credit, but we are glad that change has taken place.

I want to say with increasing emphasis that I would like to see the minister take another function into his ministry. As I have stated before on at least two occasions in these estimates, I would like to see this ministry take over the provincial jurisdiction for municipal planning and development.

I never could understand why that function of municipal planning and development was put into the Ministry of Housing. It is a ministry, by and large, that does not have a great deal of contact with the municipalities. I have always suspected that perhaps it was patterned after the British system with the Ministry of Housing and Municipal Affairs—I hope that is the right terminology, —without realizing that there is no comparison between the two places. They have, of course, extensive municipal housing and the municipalities practically have control of all the housing within their jurisdiction.

These are two reasons I think it should come under Intergovernmental Affairs. First of all, planning and development is a municipal responsibility. In recent years it has be-

come more so, because where we formerly had a great many planning boards which were not composed of municipal council people, in the major areas of this province planning is now handled by the municipal councils themselves, certainly where there are regional governments. So this too should have a direct relationship, I suggest, between the Ministry of Intergovernmental Affairs, which, of course, is the ministry of municipal affairs, and the municipalities which administer the planning.

Second, the responsibilities of this ministry are much more related. It seems to me the new Planning Act should be discussed in this House within the municipal framework, within the framework of the hard servicing where decisions have to be made with regard to grants, to property taxation policies, in fact, to all of those things that pertain to the local municipalities. I suggest this minister should be piloting the new Planning Act through this House. His commitment to negotiation needs to be injected into planning matters as well as into matters of amalgamation of municipalities.

I would like to use what is happening in the Niagara region as an example where, perhaps, from the time of the start of the Niagara regional plan until it is finalized, a period of at least 10 years will have passed, where those who are interested in preserving the prime agricultural land in that area proposed negotiations to try to iron out some of the differences which existed with the municipalities and with the developers, but where no negotiations took place and where the people of that area are now being subjected to a tax levy to date, just for the hearings, of at least half a million dollars.

5 p.m.

The government is being criticized because it gave the Preservation of Agricultural Lands Society \$40,000 out of public funds. There is an unreasonable and excessive cost and a tremendous delay. It seems to me that could have been resolved with the right kind of approach.

The government, under the late Mr. Rhodes, made a statement that there had to be 3,000 acres cut out of the Niagara regional plan. He spoke of the unique land which was included in the Niagara regional plan and he told the council there on two or three occasions it must cut it back. When it did not cut it back he had the courage, if I may say so, to say, "This is the area which you will cut." Then his next statement was "If you don't like that, you can refer it to the Ontario Municipal Board."

I am sure the minister is aware of the situation there now. Not only were the 3,000 acres that had been cut back referred to the Ontario Municipal Board, but another 1,000 acres or so which had been outside the boundaries in the first place were referred to the Ontario Municipal Board, and the Preservation of Agricultural Lands Society referred another 1,500 acres to have the area cut back further.

These lengthy hearings have now taken place. If there had been a continuing minister there who would have said to the regional municipality of Niagara, "We are saying to you 3,000 acres must be cut back in that unique plan. If you do not like the areas where we cut back, then make other suggestions, but the end result is going to be 3,000 acres," I suggest the regional municipality could have suggested that and we would have saved hundreds of thousands of dollars for the taxpayers there.

Therefore, I am suggesting that if the planning function were to be brought into the Ministry of Intergovernmental Affairs where, may I suggest, the minister has the temperament and the ability to negotiate and has some clout, then many of these conflicts and costly planning matters could be resolved. On all counts, I think it is desirable to have the planning and development, as far as responsibility to the province is concerned, brought under the Ministry of Intergovernmental Affairs.

From this side of the House, we have been urging the government for the last three or four years to sweeten the property tax credit substantially. It has been pointed out over those years that not increasing the credits in line with tax increases has done a rather horrible injustice to the lower-income earners. I have submitted figures year after year to substantiate this.

Last year I pointed out in the Ministry of Revenue estimates that there had been an increase of only some 18 per cent in the overall amount of property tax credit from the years 1974 to 1979, although average taxes had increased during that period of time by something like 65 per cent. That meant almost everyone who received a tax credit had a net increase in taxes greater than 65 per cent because the tax credit as a percentage of total taxes paid had been dropping substantially.

I demonstrated—and I am not going to go into this, for obvious reasons, at the present time—that a senior citizen with an income of \$5,000, paying \$500 in taxation, would have

had an increase in that period of something like two and three-quarter times in the net taxes he had been paying.

I asked the Minister of Revenue (Mr. Maeck) if he would check out my figures if I was wrong. He wrote back to me last fall. I believe it was on November 30 after I had discussed this in his estimates. He confirmed almost exactly the figures which I had given him. I said it would have increased by two and three-quarters times over that period from 1974 to 1979. His figures showed that they did in fact increase about two and one-third times. There was a slight difference. As one knows, in all of these things one has to make certain suppositions. We know people on those low incomes who had the tremendous increase in their net property taxes paid.

The government has made a major adjustment in the senior citizens' credit and we on this side of the House are pleased to see it. I think it is not unfair to say once again that the pushing by myself and my party may have had some bearing on bringing about this result. There was the very real improvement the government had made in the tax credit to most senior citizens, particularly those on low incomes. But there was also the matter of paying the funds directly to them—a simple method whereby they do not have to find the money to pay their taxes and get the rebate a year later or at some later time. I want to commend the government for that.

I am not at all sure that when we have the tax being paid this fall and then another portion next spring and another portion next fall it may not have some implications relative to the possibilities of a provincial election. There may be some motivation there in that regard. Be that as it may, I think it is a practical and a fair way of providing the tax credit.

I shared the concern—perhaps the minister shared it with me and I'm sure this applies to his party—that the system which we had not only did not provide the rebates at the time they needed them and didn't provide the rebates in the amount that they needed, but also it was a complex system. Few of them understood it and it was a system whereby they didn't realize they were getting a tax rebate directly related to the taxes they were paying. I think that has solved some of those problems.

Having said that, I do have some fault to find with what the government has not done and a bit with what has been done in this regard. The straight \$500 will go to some people who won't need it or need it very little. Some will get less than they did previ-

ously and that could even be some people who are in the needy category, where the senior citizens may have owned a fairly expensive home, had fairly good jobs, a good income and then retired. Where the taxes are exceedingly high they may now be getting less than they were at that time.

I think that is regrettable and perhaps if the option had been left for either one it would have been desirable, although I know it creates some administrative problems in doing that sort of thing.

What I am really concerned about is that the only needy group where this improvement has been made—granted it is a group where there is a higher percentage of needy people in it than in any other—is to the senior citizens, unless the government is prepared to come up with some package I don't know about at this time.

According to the government's own figures, there were some three million people getting the property tax credit, of which some 700,000 or in excess of that were senior citizens.

5:10 p.m.

Granted, a great many of those others who are getting the property tax credit, those other 2.3 million, didn't have nearly as great a need as the senior citizens, but it is also true to say—and I hope the minister may have some statistics on this matter—that there were hundreds of thousands of people receiving the property tax credit, both owners and people who rented, who were in as needy positions as those senior citizens, people on minimum wages or close to minimum wages, people on family benefits and quite a large number on Workmen's Compensation Board partial permanent disability.

They are getting no benefit and they have had almost the same kinds of increases in net property taxes as the senior citizens have, though not as great. I know the limitation of funds, but I suggest the minister should take a look at this, particularly for those on the lower incomes, those in the neighbourhood of perhaps \$7,000 to \$10,000 or \$12,000. He should take a look at that and see if there isn't some way he can adjust the property tax credit for them.

It is now not only the injustice of the net property tax increase, but also the fact that many of them, whether they live in apartments or own their own homes, the younger people perhaps more than the senior citizens, are going to have tremendous increases in the interest rates they will have to pay on mortgages and owning a home is going to become

more difficult. Because of this, housing costs are going to increase substantially on the average, so I hope he will take a look at the property tax credits for those on lower incomes to see if there is some way he can provide assistance to that very needy group.

I want to turn to another matter which was touched on briefly by the minister. That is the matter of disaster relief, which comes under his authority. I notice that last year there was something in excess of \$500,000—I think that is correct—spent on disaster relief, most of it international relief; this year there is only something like \$271,000 in the budget for that. This means there will be little or nothing—in fact, I think the minister has decided there will be nothing—in the way of provincial relief for those refugees both in and out of Kampuchea, more commonly known as Cambodia.

This government was asked last fall for a \$1 million contribution to help alleviate the disaster that was taking place within that nation and outside of that nation. It is my understanding that was turned down by this government in January of last year. I very much regret that this request was turned down, because if ever there was money needed to relieve human suffering and to save human lives it was, and is, needed in Cambodia. Perhaps I should emphasize that need continues.

I wrote to the Premier on this matter and received a reply from him on December 11, 1979, in which, after saying he had real sympathy with my active efforts to provide relief and support to these beleaguered people, he said: "I have asked Mr. Wells to inform you of the results of our deliberations on Kampuchea. Please be assured that this matter is receiving our close attention." I think I am right in saying I was never informed as to the decision and found out only through the Red Cross that the government had turned down the request to provide that money.

New information has just been released by the Red Cross. The International Red Cross by the end of this year, December 31, will need something like \$262 million to provide the necessary assistance to those in the camps both in and out of Kampuchea. It is expected that Canada will provide some 10 per cent of that amount, which is the sort of traditional amount Canada has been providing. That would be some \$26 million. The Canadian government had originally pledged \$15 million last year. Then it dropped it back. It was the government to which the minister's party had some allegiance which dropped that back from \$15 million to \$10 million to transfer

some additional funds to the Indo-Chinese coming here. I understand now it may go back to \$15 million.

It means that from Ontario the Red Cross needs, in public subscriptions and government assistance somewhere between \$3 million and \$5 million. The figure which I have given of \$262 million is a figure they assure me can be usefully used and is the absolute minimum necessary to give relief and to provide sustenance for the hundreds of thousands of refugees in and around Kampuchea.

By way of further information, I would like to point out they need \$100,000 every three months for each of the four health and medical teams, doctors and nurses, they have within that country or adjacent to it. One of those teams comes from this province. It might not be a bad idea at all, it seems to me, if the provincial government could at least provide the necessary amount of money to fund that one Ontario team which is caring for so many people in and around that unfortunate country.

The Red Cross tells me there may be great need for Afghanistan too before the year is over. I would urge the minister to give higher priority in the matter of disaster relief aid internationally.

I want to come now to the main theme of what I want to talk about. I am not going to spend a great deal of time on it. I refer to federal-provincial fiscal relationships, which are in a very difficult stage and at a stage which is going to be a real disadvantage to us. I suggest this is a prime function—or ought to be—of the minister and the Ministry of Intergovernmental Affairs. The minister and I had a very brief discussion about this matter one day. He suggested to me it really didn't come under the responsibility of his ministry. The minister, as a person who has been here for many years, will recognize that the act is certainly broad enough that he can and should be making real input into this.

May I say again—no way in a flattering sense—I think this minister has the kind of personality which can be very useful in the very difficult negotiations that are going to be necessary and will inevitably take place on this whole matter of equalization payments and fiscal relationship. I would urge him to give new consideration to that.

5:20 p.m.

Subsection 5(1) of the Ministry of Intergovernmental Affairs Act says: "The minister is responsible for making recommendations to the Executive Council on the programs and activities of the government of Ontario and its agencies in relation to federal-pro-

vincial, interprovincial and international affairs." I would suggest, Mr. Chairman, that is broad enough, and he certainly should deeply involve himself in making recommendations in this field.

The negotiations in this matter of equalization payments and transfers generally will likely be part of the whole discussion on changes in the constitution, and it certainly should be. It is always a major part of any relationship between governments, and I am sure all of us are aware, from the budget paper if from nothing else, of the dramatic changes that have taken place in the equalization payments, the formulas, the application of those formulas and the need to change them.

We are very much aware that the status of this province has changed dramatically in the last two or three years from that of an economic leader to one of a much more inferior position in Confederation. The significance of the oil and gas resources has been the main factor, but there are others as well. This is all documented in the budget paper, Equalization and Fiscal Disparities in Canada. I have had the opportunity to read that and to study it, and perhaps it is done a bit more independently in the Canadian Tax Journal and the federal-provincial fiscal arrangements research paper of the economic division of the research branch at Ottawa.

Nothing has more clearly demonstrated the shift in Ontario's position as has reaching the point where we are entitled under the present formula to equalization payments from the federal government. As the minister is aware, during 1979 it was found that Ontario qualified for equalization payments starting in 1977-78. For that year it was \$110 million, \$203 million for 1978-79 and \$255 million for 1979-80, for a total of some \$568 million to which this province is entitled in equalization payments from the federal government according to the existing formula.

The attitude of this government was to reject it. I think I am not misquoting when I say this government concurred totally in the federal bill to stop Ontario from getting those payments. That bill, which incidentally was first introduced in 1978 and again in 1979, I believe is now Bill C-24—is that correct? It was tabled once again, but has not yet been debated.

My leader and the leader of the Liberal Party have both raised this issue in the House. I suggest this government made a mistake in rejecting those equalization payments and did a real disservice to the tax-

payers of this province. Just think, if Ontario had that money, or even this year's entitlement, it could introduce a comprehensive mortgage assistance program, it could pay the increased property tax credit to those people I mentioned a few moments ago, it could introduce a denticare plan for children and it could bring family benefits up to the poverty line.

It will do no harm to summarize very briefly the history of the equalization payments. Equalization grants were first introduced in 1957, although recommended in 1940. The basic principle was, and I quote from one of the cabinet ministers at that time, "To enable all provinces to provide a given standard of social services to their citizens without needing to resort to levels of taxation which are excessively stringent by the standards of the richer provinces."

From \$200 million 20 years ago, those equalization payments have now reached \$2.5 billion. They are thus a major source of revenue for the provinces and the fourth largest single expenditure by the federal government.

The amount of equalization entitlement, if any, is based on the tax resource capabilities of the respective provinces. The formula is automatically reviewed every five years. It has been changed many times to allow for changes in the situations of the various provinces. It is complex both in the method of establishing the base comparison, as well as the 29 revenues considered for that base.

The main change in the situation, as I've already mentioned, has been the tremendous additional tax revenue accruing to some provinces—most notably BC, Alberta and Saskatchewan—because of oil and gas revenues. The sharp increase started six or seven years ago. Total provincial revenues from those sources grew at an annual rate of nearly 46 per cent from 1972-73 to 1979-80—actually from \$400 million to \$5.5 billion in those seven years. Ontario, the have-not province with respect to those kinds of energy resources, had no increase in its revenue.

The revenue which is traditional for this province, such as personal income taxes and corporation income taxes, grew much more slowly. Personal income tax in Canada grew from 2.8 billion to \$10.4 billion, which was only 20 per cent a year compared to 46 per cent on energy. Corporation income tax grew from \$0.9 billion to \$2.2 billion, or just 13 per cent a year over those seven years.

The equalization entitlement is based on the weighted average of the top two provinces. Yet when they pulled so far ahead that

we became entitled to payments here, Ontario agreed to forgo them. Ontario did this even though tremendous concessions had been made in the equalization formula on oil and gas revenues to the producing provinces.

First of all, as I know the minister and the House are aware, they only consider 50 per cent of those revenues now—a change in the formula over the years—in the base computation. They have phased out, for the basis of computation, the revenue from the sale of crown leases, and this has been a major factor. And there has been a cap put on so no more than one third of the total revenue relates to these revenues from the nonrenewable resources.

In other words, revenue from income tax, from corporation tax, from hospital premiums, from forestry revenues, from school property taxes, all are figured in at 100 per cent. But the nonrenewable is considered at 50 per cent, minus various other deductions.

The end result has been that although the annual rate of growth of the oil and gas revenues is at 46 per cent per year, the amount considered grew at less than 30 per cent per year. So surely the oil and gas producing provinces, vis-à-vis Ontario, have been given adequate consideration.

The second major reason for Ontario moving into the equalization entitlement category is that our nonresource revenues have declined proportionately during the 1970s. Ontario's share of the basic federal income tax paid by Ontario people has dropped from 44.7 per cent of the total to 39.8 per cent. Ontario's share of the basic corporation income tax dropped from 45.2 per cent to 36.3 per cent. This is the picture for the last seven or eight years, and in the last year it has worsened substantially.

5:30 p.m.

First of all, I guess for the first time in many decades, we have seen more people leaving this province, more emigration than immigration. There was a net deficit last year of something in excess of 5,000 people. That was even in the situation where we had a large influx from Quebec because of the situation there.

We know the situation of the auto industry. There is a deterioration to the point where something like 30 per cent of the auto workers are unemployed. Thirty per cent of workers in the construction industry are unemployed. Even the government's budget gives recognition to this serious situation. It estimates that only 59,000 new jobs will be

created in this province this year compared to 161,000 last year.

We know very well—to put this whole thing in perspective—there are going to be substantial hikes in energy prices this year and in the years ahead, to give a further imbalance to the situation, and not in favour of Ontario. Our tax resource base is bad. It is going to worsen. The government should have been, and should now be, opposing Bill C-24 to cut us off equalization payments, not just for this year but for succeeding years as well.

The budget states that for each \$2 increase in the price of oil, it will take from the Ontario consumers something like \$640 million annually. Yet the government is opting out of getting anything in return from the federal government or from the other provinces for that \$640 million we are going to lose for each \$2 increase in the price of oil. They have disadvantaged Ontario vis-à-vis every other province in Canada by refusing equalization payments.

All of the other provinces continue to use the formula, and the have-nots get increases based on that formula. If the formula is not right for us, I suggest to the minister the formula is not right for them.

The budget paper uses the term over-equalization in many places. If it is over-equalized for us, and therefore we should reject it, it must be overequalized for the other provinces as well. Yet the people in this province have to dig into their pockets to pay federal taxes to pay equalization to other provinces which we are rejecting here. There is something wrong with that.

The producing provinces get that extra energy tax resource. We have only the two categories: those who produce the energy, and therefore are going to get an additional resource on their own; and the others, who get equalization payments—or should get equalization payments. All the other provinces are taking those additional equalization payments, except Ontario. This government has given up what we are entitled to.

The very conservative Canadian Tax Journal deals with equalization and shifting provincial revenues in its November-December 1979 edition, and expresses great concern about Ontario's position. It says: "In summary, Ontario's positive equalization for natural resource revenues has increased rapidly"—when they say positive, if anyone here doesn't know how that term applies, it means positive in moving towards, and now past, getting equalization payments—"and its relatively stable offset of negative equalization for nonresource revenues is no longer large

enough to prevent it from qualifying for equalization. The proposed exclusion of Ontario from equalization has the appearance of being rather arbitrary and creates obvious problems for equalization programs.

"There are, however, certain reasons why the federal government might wish to make such an exclusion. The cost of making payments to Ontario would be rather substantial, running into some hundreds of millions of dollars. Given the large federal deficit, it is questionable whether payments of this magnitude would be appropriate. Thus, if one assumes that Ontario is already able to finance a reasonable level of public services from its own resources, there may be valid grounds for not making payments to Ontario."

We will stop at the end of that quote for just a moment and point out that even if it does cost millions of dollars, if we are entitled to it out of their formula and the other provinces are getting it, then why should we not get it as well? Even though we may be able to finance our social services and our other services in this province on a reasonable basis—certainly, we are not as poor as many of the other provinces—the fact remains that if we are entitled to it we should be getting it because they have been paying it to the others for as long as that formula has been in existence.

I quote again: "It may also be argued that making payments to Ontario when its personal income per capita continues to be well above the national average per capita would weaken the overall credibility of the program. These may be valid arguments for not paying Ontario; however, they cannot be applied over any extended period of time if Ontario continues to qualify for equalization. It is therefore clear that the treatment of Ontario is one of the principal matters that will have to be examined in establishing a new equalization formula."

I say the minister should immediately re-examine the basis on which we have refused these equalization payments and make sure the people of this province, in the situation we are in at the present time with our massive unemployment and our economy at a much lower level than it has been, have the advantage of getting our fair share of these equalization payments.

I want to say that I recognize, first of all, on this whole issue of equalization payments, that there is some justification for treating nonrenewable resources differently to renewable resources because they are going to run out and those provinces will not always have them.

I recognize Ontario taxpayers will pay much of the additional tax because federal taxes are not levied on the basis of additional oil and gas revenues. We are going to have to pay a substantial proportion of the \$400 million that we receive. I also recognize that Ontario is not yet a have-not province in relationship to the averages of the other provinces, but I also recognize we are paying our share of equalization to other provinces and that we are now no better than fourth in the have provinces. Compared to the top two or three, we are a have-not province.

I also realize, and this is something that I suggest was not dealt with in the budget paper properly, that there is no net cost in equalization payments. The budget paper constantly speaks of the costs to the federal government. Obviously, they may have to raise more of it in taxes, but if this province gets its \$560 million or so from the federal government to which it is entitled, that is money that we don't have to raise in taxes. There is no net cost to the taxpayer of this province in having a fair equalization, so we are getting our fair share.

I also recognize that our economy is sagging badly. We are 10th in the rate of growth. I am not sure this is to our credit, but the expenditures per capita in this province for all of these services is less than for any other province in this nation. None of us likes to brag about higher expenditures, but I want to say that to some extent at least this is made on the backs of the farmers who have not been getting the low interest rate loans that they have in all the other provinces. This is made in the provision of services at a lower level than in many of the other provinces, such as Saskatchewan, where they have a denture program. We should be getting some of this money to use for those purposes.

5:40 p.m.

I am a bit confused by the budget paper, I have to admit, and perhaps the minister would like to comment on this when he gets up, because on the one hand it decries the present disparity and even more the prospects of it increasing—I am sure the minister would agree that the budget paper does that—and on the other hand it talks about exempting in the various formulas that are put forward the energy resource revenue from equalization calculations, so as to keep down federal taxation, or the amount of taxes required for the payment.

I suggest to the minister we can't have it both ways. Either he equalizes, with all the volume of taxes that that involves—recogniz-

ing it is an equalization, not new taxes—or if he doesn't, the disparity increases between the provinces. I don't see any other way out of that unless the minister gets some voluntary contributions, and I know some of these formulas provide that, even on a lesser scale than the present formula that is in existence now with regard to equalization.

The scenarios for the forum and for equalization are good study papers, I suggest, but we must not lose the transfer payments that are due to this province in the meantime until those new formulas are actually worked out. I urge the minister to make a recommendation to the cabinet immediately under section 5 of the act that it reverse its decision, accept the equalization payments to which we are entitled and fight for their continuance while developing a new formula. This year and next year, according to the budget, we are talking of a total of about \$1 billion revenue to this province.

While we are talking about equalization payments and agreements, while we have had an agreement federally now for these equalization payments for 23 years, it seems appropriate to mention the absence of agreements between the provincial government and the municipalities on the transfer payments. This was mentioned by the member for Waterloo North (Mr. Epp) and we in this party have repeatedly raised with the minister that there should be legislated revenue sharing between this province and the municipalities.

Doesn't it strike the minister as a bit odd that there were 24 pages of the budget paper on the subject of equalization and fiscal disparities in Canada? It mentions all the agreements, revisions and new scenarios for this subject at a provincial-federal level, but not one word about provincial-municipal legislated agreements.

In conclusion, I just say to the minister that two of the most important issues facing him are, first, getting everything to which we are entitled under the formula, a fair sharing from the federal government to the province, and second, the agreement that provides a fair sharing between the province and the municipalities.

Mr. Isaacs: Mr. Chairman, it is a pleasure to rise and participate with the minister in the consideration of his estimates for the second time. I want to thank, as well, my colleague the member for Welland-Thorold for leaving the major municipal issues for discussion by me in this debate. Municipalities are facing difficult times and the

taxpayers within those municipalities are facing difficult times.

I want to comment, first of all, on a remark the minister made towards the conclusion of his own introduction to these estimates earlier this afternoon. The minister said the responsibilities of his ministry are infinite in their variety, complexity and importance. I want to suggest that not only the responsibilities but also the actions of the Ministry of Intergovernmental Affairs are often infinite in their variety and complexity and perhaps in their importance too.

I want to ask the minister to think very carefully about that word "infinite." Infinity is something that is beyond all of us and bigger than all of us. Infinity is where parallel lines meet. Infinity is where property taxes become so burdensome they are unimportant. Infinity is an incredible goal for a ministry as important as the Ministry of Intergovernmental Affairs. If the minister is telling us that the responsibilities are infinite in their complexity, then no wonder the taxpayers outside and the municipal elected officials and the municipal appointed officials are unable to understand what is going on in that ministry.

I want to propose in this lead-off address that the minister should have come before us today with a charter for municipal government. We are desperately lacking a direction for municipal councils in this province. Municipal councils themselves don't know exactly where they are headed. I am convinced, after watching a year of relative inaction on the important problems that municipal government faces, that the ministry itself does not understand the direction of municipal government.

I want to suggest that the charter for municipal government should define in very broad terms the direction in which municipal governments should be heading. It should outline the responsibilities of municipal councils in the areas of planning; in the provision of local services; in the matter of charging of taxpayers for those local services; and ensuring that the people who live within organized municipalities know clearly what the responsibilities of the level of government closest to them should be and will be. Instead of that charter for municipalities, we have the Municipal Act which, as the minister has indicated, is archaic, is too specific, is impossible for any but the most experienced municipal lawyers to interpret properly.

In his example, the minister dealt with the provision of the Municipal Act which allows

municipalities to provide by bylaw restrictions on the hauling of dead horses, offal, night soil or any other offensive matter or thing along any highway during the hours of daylight. The minister has suggested that provision was one that should be removed from the Municipal Act.

If he removes that from the Municipal Act, he is taking away a power which local government presently has. I want to suggest that within a few days of taking away that power I will guarantee someone will start dragging dead horses along a highway. I will guarantee a municipal council will be coming here to tell us this Legislature needs to take action to regulate the dragging of dead horses along highways.

We can't deal with things in terms of those specifics. We have to have general powers that say local government does this and provincial government does this, in the same way that we have the British North America Act, a constitution of sorts, that says the provincial government does this and the federal government does the other. The British North America Act is not perfect—we are all aware of that—but it deals in general terms with the responsibilities of the two levels of government.

I strongly suggest to the minister that is the kind of charter we need for municipal government in this province. We need an outline of the responsibilities that municipal government has so that when taxpayers have problems they know where to turn, they know who to vote out of office for the things they don't like that are happening or who to vote into office in order to get things they want to happen, and so that it is clear in the minds of elected officials, appointed officials and taxpayers at all three levels who does what in the matter of government in this province.

5:50 p.m.

I want to comment further with regard to the quote the minister brought out of the Municipal Act and that I repeated, that while one might kid around on the matter of hauling of night soil, there is a neighbourhood very close to the neighbourhood in which I live where night soil collection goes on to this day. Indeed, the local municipal council voted just two years ago to privatize that operation because it was unhappy with the way it was being handled by municipal staff.

The hauling of night soil is important in some parts of the province, and we can't deal with things by playing around at this level with those kinds of specific details. We must have the broad overview as to the responsibilities of municipal government so that local

councils can get on with their thing and we get on with our thing.

I want to take it one step further: We need to put in place a mechanism to ensure that local government does not become the scapegoat for the inadequacies of the provincial government. On many occasions we see situations where questions are answered by ministers in this House in the vein of, "It's a municipal responsibility." That is okay if we clearly understand those areas that are a municipal responsibility and if they are defined in a charter as being a municipal responsibility. But so often we see the situation where the provincial government finds something too hot to handle and it therefore transfers the responsibility, passes the buck to the local government, in the hope that the matter will get lost or dealt with or so befuddled that no one will know who to blame.

When we look at matters of waste disposal, when we look at matters of new hospitals, when we look at matters of provision of social services, we see that going on all the time.

In addition, the provincial government should make a commitment that it will act on behalf of municipal governments so that when municipal governments collectively have a problem they can come to the province and say, "Province, help us deal with this problem." The provincial government then would make its resources available to help the municipal level of government deal with that problem, to find its solution province-wide, instead of having the present situation where literally millions of dollars are wasted because individual municipalities are hiring different consultants, or using their own staff, and all of them are studying the same problem.

The area of property taxes is one where it is clear that many municipal councils are putting much effort into trying to come to grips with the problem of property taxes, yet the problem is a common one across all municipalities.

Similarly in the area of waste disposal, particularly industrial waste disposal, that needs to be dealt with at the provincial level because there just is not the resource in any one municipality to deal with it.

At the moment, individual municipalities are spending hundreds of thousands, probably millions, of dollars in preparing for Environmental Assessment Board hearings and hiring consultants on how to build landfill sites and how to dispose of industrial waste, both solid and liquid. We have to get that kind of thing centralized because it is a common problem that all municipalities face now or will face

in the future, and it is a problem in an area where the provincial government does have the expertise.

That is the view I have of a charter for municipal government, a two-way street in which the province sets out clearly the responsibilities of the municipal level of government and it also accepts a responsibility to work on behalf of the municipal level of government. If all or part of that charter can be shared with our sister provinces and can be incorporated into a revised Canadian constitution, as my colleague the member for Scarborough West (Mr. R. F. Johnston) talked about last week, then so much the better. But as a first step let's at least get away from looking at the specific detail that is contained in the Municipal Act and let's allow municipalities a framework within which to carry out their kind of business.

The minister may have noted that the charter I have been talking about has ignored the matter of special-purpose bodies. I have been talking about the provincial government and the municipal government. I think the problem of special-purpose bodies is a serious one. I think it is one the provincial government is going to have to come to grips with and again I am disappointed the minister made no reference to it in his leadoff statement. I hope we can get into it again later, because we have special-purpose bodies at the moment to deal with all kinds of things—to deal with the police; to deal with so-called conservation which is often now getting into the area of running recreation facilities; to deal with libraries; to deal with harbours. There are special-purpose bodies all over the place.

Those special-purpose bodies are very remote from the taxpayer, from the city and from the voter. They are not directly accountable to anybody and indeed they are often set up, in my view deliberately, to avoid being accountable. I think we have to come to grips with that and I think we have to ensure that even where a special-purpose body may be justified it is clearly and directly accountable either to the municipal government or to the provincial government. Then if taxpayers and electors are upset about the actions of that special-purpose body, they can go to the appropriate level of government and say, "Please deal with this because we can't have that body going on the way it is."

I think the minister is aware of the problems that have been discussed by municipal councils and by the AMO and others over the years and I hope he can tell us later

that there is some direction being made on this matter of accountability of special-purpose bodies.

The next area I want to get into is the matter of property taxes. Property taxes continue to be the single most important and most unfair problem facing taxpayers, both home owners and tenants, as well as business and industry across this province.

I notice, Mr. Chairman, you are looking at the clock and I wonder whether this would be an appropriate place to break. I could

continue my important remarks about property taxes next day.

Mr. Chairman: If you expect your remarks to be lengthy, this would be the appropriate time.

Mr. Isaacs: My remarks will very definitely be lengthy on the important matter of property taxes, Mr. Chairman.

On motion by Hon. Mr. Wells, the committee of supply reported progress.

The House adjourned at 6 p.m.

APPENDIX (See page 1775)

ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS ON NOTICE PAPER

BADGLEY REPORT REVIEW

43. Ms. Gigantes: Would the Ministry of Health ever table, and if ever why not now, the report of the Ontario committee to review the Badgley commission report? (Tabled March 24, 1980.)

Hon. Mr. Timbrell: The Ministry of Health does not have any plans at this time to release this report.

FOREST MANAGEMENT AGREEMENT

142. Mr. Cassidy: Will the minister explain how the crown dues contained in section 5 of the forest management agreement between the government and Abitibi-Price signed on April 28, 1980, where arrived at? (Tabled April 29, 1980.)

Hon. Mr. Auld: The crown dues contained in section 5 of the forest management agreement, signed on April 28, 1980, between the government and Abitibi-Price Inc. are the charges stated in licence No. 331300 which the agreement replaces.

143. Mr. Cassidy: Will the minister table an estimate of the reduction in provincial revenues which will result from the reduced crown dues agreed to in the forest management agreement signed on April 28, 1980? Will the ministry also provide an estimate of all the other subsidies referred to in the agreement—such as nursery, stock, seeds, access roads, et cetera—and specifically indicate how the estimates were arrived at and the period of time they apply to? (Tabled April 29, 1980.)

Hon. Mr. Auld: There will be no reduction in provincial revenues resulting from the reduced rate of crown charges for increases in yield. The reduced rate applies only to increases in yield or annual allowable cut, resulting from silvicultural treatments applied by the company at its sole expense.

Tree seeds and nursery stock necessary for regeneration are provided free of charge to the company, on the basis that this material would be used if the ministry was undertaking the regeneration work.

The subsidies related to this agreement for 1980-81 are estimated to be:

Roads	\$665,700
Silviculture treatments	230,000
Total	\$895,700

The basis for these estimates is the payments as stated in the agreement; applied to the planned amount of work to be done by the company.

144. Mr. Cassidy: Will the ministry provide the information asked for in the previous two questions, (Nos. 142 and 143) as a matter of routine, when all future forest management agreements are tabled in the House? (Tabled April 29, 1980.)

Hon. Mr. Auld: Yes.

FEDERAL HEALTH-CARE FUNDING

146. Mr. Breaugh: Would the Ministry of Treasury and Economics indicate what funds the ministry has received for health-care services from the federal government through the Established Programs Financing Act and other programs yearly since 1977? What have been the amounts and sources of the additional revenues used for health care in Ontario? (Tabled April 29, 1980.)

Hon. F. S. Miller: The Ontario government considers the established programs financing arrangement as a total financial package and therefore does not designate funds received for health-care services. However, the Ministry of Treasury and Economics was informed by the federal government in early 1977 that they would flow the cash portion of the EPF arrangement—EPF involves both a cash and a tax point transfer—on the basis of monthly instalment payments, with such amounts to be received at intervals throughout the month.

The splitting of these EPF payments was according to the so-called 1975-76 base year experience. For example, in that year, federal contributions towards hospital insurance costs represented 50.7 per cent of their total transfers for hospital insurance, medical care and post-secondary education, and hence Ottawa continues to use that ratio in flowing one of four monthly EPF payments to each province.

While Ontario was reluctant to see a continued designation of EPF funds under the categories of hospital insurance, medical care, post-secondary education and extended health care, this approach was accepted as a co-operative gesture in order to assist Ottawa in their budget allocation process. However it must again be stressed that the Ministry of Treasury and Economics, in its own budget process, does not earmark EPF funds, with

all such amounts simply flowing into our general revenue fund.

However, since a response to the question of health-designated EPF funds is obviously desired, the Ministry of Treasury and Economics is prepared to display federal data that has recently been developed for the Hall commission. This is provided in the attached Table 1. It must be stressed that Ontario still considers this to be an artificial and arbitrary breakout of funds.

With regard to the question of "additional revenues," there has been no injection of additional revenues into the budget because of the arrangement. This is because, while federal EPF payments have indeed grown at a faster rate than Ontario government spend-

ing on health—as can be seen from the share of federal contributions towards provincial expenditures displayed in Table 1—the arrangement only provided partial compensation of termination of the revenue guarantee program.

It was under this arrangement that, for tax years 1972 to 1976, the federal government provided compensating payments to provinces because of reduced personal and corporate income tax collections due to the reformed income tax system. As is displayed in the attached Table 2, when one compares growth in total federal payments under the new EPF arrangement with overall Ontario budgetary spending, federal transfers continue to increase at a slower rate.

TABLE I
Health expenditures by the government of Ontario
(\$ million)

Provincial expenditure	1977-78	1978-79	1979-80	1980-81
Ministry of Health	3,680.1	3,966.1	4,274.7	4,273.6
Ministry of Culture and Recreation	11.5	18.2	19.8	19.3
Ministry of Community and Social Services	362.9	388.6	430.9	469.6
Total health	4,054.5	4,372.9	4,725.4	5,242.5
Contributions from federal government				
Hospital insurance	29.1	28.5	30.0	7.0
Medical care	7.6	—	—	—
Canada Assistance Plan	31.9	25.0	25.0	25.0
Nursing-home agreement	4.1	1.2	—	—
Health resources fund	7.1	8.0	3.2	5.5
Professional training program	0.8	0.5	—	—
Extended health care	167.1	187.3	208.2	230.2
Established program financing	1,434.0	1,748.0	1,994.0	2,147.0
	1,681.7	1,998.5	2,260.4	2,414.7
% Federal contributions to health expenditures	41.5%	45.7%	47.8%	46.1%

Note: This is a federal interpretation of data. However, Ministry of Treasury and Economics has adjusted federal contributions shown from an entitlement to a cash flow basis in order to make the table consistent,

since Ottawa chose to show "Provincial Expenditures" on a cash-flow basis. EPF payments as shown also exclude the value of one point of personal income tax plus the cash equivalent that is not health-related.

TABLE 2
CASH FLOW OF RELEVANT FEDERAL TRANSFERS
1976-77 to 1980-81
 (\$ million)

	1976-77	1977-78	1978-79	1979-80	1980-81	Growth over Period
EPF — income tax	131.8 ⁽¹⁾	967.0	1,068.9	1,228.3	1,318.6	
— cash transfer		1,138.1	1,497.2	1,699.6	1,830.7	
Hospital insurance	1,027.0	29.1	28.5	30.0	7.0	
Medicare	360.0	7.6	—	—	—	
Post-secondary education	571.3	—	—	—	—	
Old revenue guarantee	495.5	210.4	43.6	—	—	
Revenue guarantee (EPF)						
— Income tax	—	71.9	79.3	90.5	97.4	
— Cash transfer	—	94.9	107.8	117.4	132.3	
Total	2,585.6	2,519.0	2,825.3	3,165.8	3,386.0	131.0%
Total budgetary spending	11,743.0	12,920.0	13,913.0	15,368.0	16,709.0	142.3%

(1) Tax point transfer effective January 1, 1977, while actual EPF arrangement did not come into effect until April 1, 1977. Because

of this overlap, two thirds of income tax overpayment recovered by Ottawa in 1977-78 and one third in 1978-79.

BUDGET PRESS RELEASES

147. Mr. Nixon: Would the ministry provide copies of all budget-related articles provided by the press office of the Ministry of Treasury and Economics for weekly newspapers? How many newspapers printed the stories and which newspapers were they? How much did this service cost? What provisions were made to inform the public that these articles were government press releases? (Tabled May 1, 1980.)

Hon. F. S. Miller: On April 23, Treasury's press office (communications group) sent one copy of the 1980 budget, one copy of the budget press release (attached) and a 5 x 7 photo of the Treasurer to 279 Ontario weekly newspapers. This is the same Treasury material that was handed out at the media and opposition critics' lockups budget day.

The mailing was handled by government mailing services, Ministry of Government Services. The cost of this service—which covers handling and postage—was \$493.83.

Treasury does not have a monitoring system to ascertain which weekly newspapers printed the budget material.

The press release was clearly identified as being an Ontario government publication by the use of the official coat of arms on the front page.

1980 BUDGET PRESS RELEASE

Miller holds the line on tax increases, announces \$75 million in new benefits to pensioners, and small business tax incentives of \$50 million in 1980 Ontario budget

Summary of budget

—No tax increases, new grants to provide further relief to pensioners from property and sales taxes, and small business tax incentives are the highlights of the 1980 budget presented on April 22 by Ontario Treasurer Frank S. Miller.

—Pensioners who pay property taxes, directly or through rent, now will receive up to \$500 in annual assistance directly from the province. Pensioners also will receive a new sales tax grant of \$50 each year. These new benefits become effective in the fall of 1980.

—Beginning in May, the province will offer additional help to low income senior citizens by increasing payments under the Guaranteed Annual Income System (Gains) by up to \$10 a month for a single person and up to \$20 a month for a pensioner couple.

—The budget contains a \$50 million incentive package to assist small business, which includes an investment tax credit and a significant reduction in the capital tax.

—A new program is announced to encourage mineral exploration in Ontario.

—The budget proposes a number of tax reductions to encourage energy conservation and research.

—In 1979-80, the deficit was reduced by \$494 million below the original target.

—1980-81 revenues are estimated at \$16,172 million and expenditures at \$17,121 million. The projected deficit is \$949 million.

Property tax relief for pensioners

Any pensioner who pays property taxes or rent and receives the Old Age Security pension will qualify for the new provincial program which provides up to \$500 in assistance.

Mr. Miller said, "This means that the first \$500 of a pensioner's annual property taxes will be refunded dollar for dollar by provincial grants." Under the new program, the Treasurer stated that "... about one-half of our senior citizen home owners and renters will have all of their property taxes refunded by the province." Mr. Miller added that overall "... 63 per cent of property taxes paid by pensioners will be offset by the province." (p. 16)

This program replaces the existing property tax credit program for people aged 65 and over. In 1980, pensioners will receive one cheque in the fall. In 1981, they will get two payments to correspond with their interim and final tax bills.

The program will cost \$214 million in 1980-81. This will provide \$39 million more to pensioners than the tax credit program would have delivered.

Sales tax grant for pensioners

Mr. Miller said, "The government will also be replacing the sales tax credit for elderly people with a direct annual grant of \$50 beginning this year. This grant will be paid to all Ontario pensioners who receive the Old Age Security pension." (p. 17)

The sales tax grants will provide \$41 million in benefits, an increase of \$9 million over the tax credit program. Under the new grant system, pensioners will no longer have to fill in an income tax form in order to receive their property and sales tax credit benefits.

Gains

Increased Gains assistance of up to \$10 a month for a single pensioner, and \$20 a month for an eligible pensioner couple, will benefit 260,000 Ontario pensioners and cost an additional \$27 million. (p. 17)

Investment tax credit for small business

In announcing a new investment tax credit for Ontario small business, the Treasurer stated that, "The credit will be equal to 20 per cent of the purchase cost of depreciable assets for use in Ontario. The maximum credit in any one year for any individual small business will be \$3,000." (p. 13)

Mr. Miller estimates that this tax cut will put an additional \$30 million into the hands of small business in the 1980-81 fiscal year. He said, "For many entrepreneurs this will make a real difference in their ability to build up their businesses and further strengthen investment in Canadian business." (p. 13)

Capital tax reduced

The Treasurer said that the capital tax for small business will be reduced again this year.

Corporations with taxable capital of between \$100,000 and \$1 million will now pay only a \$100 flat tax. Those corporations with taxable capital of up to \$100,000 will continue to pay \$50.

The cost will be \$20 million in 1980-81.

150,000 corporations in Ontario now will pay \$100 or less in capital tax. About 8,000 corporations will pay tax at full rates. (p. 12)

Improvements to SBDC legislation

Miller said that he was pleased with the success of the small business development corporation (SBDC) legislation which he introduced last year and this year proposed a number of improvements to the SBDC program.

He announced that pension funds and credit unions now will be eligible to receive SBDC grants. This will expand the supply of funds potentially available for investment in small business.

In changing the minimum capital requirement for an SBDC to \$100,000 instead of \$250,000, the Treasurer stated that he had "adopted this proposal in response to a number of submissions, particularly on behalf of small businesses in northern Ontario." (p. 11)

In addition to manufacturing and tourism, small business development corporations will now be able to invest in book publishing, and research and development.

The Treasurer also eased the requirements for eligible investments which may be undertaken by small business development corporations.

Mr. Miller set a ceiling of \$10 million on the provincial cost of SBDC incentives in 1980-81.

Vendor compensation improved

Mr. Miller said, "As a further action to help small businesses, I propose to improve the compensation to retail sales tax collectors." (p. 13) Maximum compensation will be increased from \$700 to \$1,000. Minimum levels will be improved also.

These actions will cost the province an estimated \$8 million in the new fiscal year.

A new mineral exploration program

The Treasurer introduced a new incentive program to boost mineral exploration in the province—the "Ontario Mineral Exploration Program."

Individual investors will be eligible for grants equal to 25 per cent of their investment in approved Ontario mining exploration ventures. Certain corporations and prospectors also will qualify for direct grants or tax credits to cover 25 per cent of exploration costs. Companies already engaged in mineral production will not qualify for the new program.

Mr. Miller stated he has budgeted \$4 million to pay for these incentives. He advised that this new initiative will replace the mining exploration incentive in the SBDC program. (p. 13)

Research and development

In his 1980 budget, the Ontario Treasurer broadened sales tax exemptions to cover machinery and equipment used by manufacturers in research activities.

The cost will be \$3 million, Mr. Miller said, "I intend to urge the Minister of Finance to expand the range of incentives offered through the federal tax structure so that Canadian research and development can be further encouraged." (p. 14)

Energy conservation

In proposing three initiatives to help energy conservation in the province, the Treasurer said:

"First, certain additional equipment and materials used in buildings to improve heating efficiency, including 'chillers,' weather stripping and caulking materials, will be exempt from sales tax.

"Second, as an incentive for the development of new automobile technology, I propose the elimination of the sales tax on licensed vehicles using nonpetroleum based fuels.

"Third, to encourage further development of alternative fuels for automobiles, I am withdrawing completely the fuel tax on all natural and manufactured gases, including

propane, and on alcohol when used as a fuel." (p. 15)

The cost of these tax reductions is estimated to be \$14 million.

Discounts to the hospitality industry

Mr. Miller stated, "I also propose a measure to help tourism and the hospitality industry in our province . . . the LCBO [will be authorized] to provide a discount of five per cent of the retail price of spirits, wines and imported beer purchased by licensed establishments." The Treasurer advised that, "This measure will reduce costs to licensees by about \$7 million in 1980-81, a saving which I anticipate will be fully passed on to customers." (p. 15)

Grain storage bins

"I am proposing to rebate to farmers the full retail sales tax paid on materials incorporated into grain storage bins and structures used to dry grain," said Mr. Miller. (p. 15) The estimated cost is \$1.5 million.

Corporation tax

The Corporations Tax Act will be amended to remove the "carrying on business" test for non-resident corporations having no permanent establishment in Ontario. (p. 15)

Professional and personal service corporations will continue to be taxed at the 10 per cent rate. (p. 16)

Interest rates

In May, the government will table a discussion paper on interest rates "which will outline alternatives available to deal with this pressing situation," said Frank Miller in his budget statement. (p. 10)

Mr. Miller emphasized, however, that the interest rate question must be dealt with at the national level. He said, "I am hopeful that, by the time the federal budget is ready, Ottawa will have developed an effective program to deal with this national problem," and noted that special attention should be paid to the farming community.

"In preparing its discussion paper on interest rates," said the Treasurer, "the province will review its own programs for farm support. We are prepared, if necessary, to take independent actions to assist the farming community in Ontario." (p. 11)

Fiscal plan

Treasurer Frank Miller reviewed the province's financial performance in 1979-80. He said that, "even though we allowed expenditures to increase, the provincial deficit dropped to \$659 million, a reduction of \$494 million." (p. 20)

For the new fiscal year, 1980-81, Mr. Miller outlined a plan which involves expenditures of \$17,121 million, an increase of \$1,266 million or eight per cent over last year. The lion's share of this increase has been allocated to the Ministry of Health which has received an increase in its budget of \$487 million or 11.4 per cent.

In total, municipalities and school boards will receive a 12.4 per cent increase in provincial grants. Mr. Miller stated that, "With this large increase in transfers, I expect that local mill rates in 1980 will increase at even less than the modest rate in 1979." (p. 18)

Highlighting other provincial programs, the Treasurer noted, "Transfer payments for developmental programs to help the mentally retarded will be increased by 27 per cent. School boards will also receive a 20 per cent increase in funds for special education. Also, the budget for the day-care program will be increased by 14 per cent in order to help working mothers." (p. 21)

The Treasurer is projecting provincial revenues at \$16,172 million in 1980-81.

Mr. Miller pointed out that his revenue estimate "includes provision for negotiations with Ontario Hydro to settle the Pickering nuclear agreement." (p. 22) It also includes an additional \$10 million from provincial fees and licences.

He stated, "The resulting net cash requirements will be \$949 million. This is somewhat more than last year's deficit. However, in a year of economic uncertainty I believe it is appropriate to allow this pause in our deficit reduction strategy." (p. 22)

Mr. Miller noted that funds available to the province from the Canada Pension Plan and other nonpublic borrowing sources well exceed projected cash requirements and that this situation will likely continue for a few years. He went on to say that "pension funds should be invested in a way that will ensure long term benefits for our economy. Accordingly, this year the province will make available about \$500 million from the Canada Pension Plan to Ontario Hydro." (p. 22)

The Treasurer also indicated that he was prepared to consider a more independent investment policy for the teachers' super-annuation fund.

New benefits totalling \$75 million for Ontario pensioners

About one-half of Ontario pensioners will have all of their property taxes refunded by the province under a new program announced today by Ontario Treasurer Frank Miller. He also said that all Ontario pen-

sioners will now receive a new sales tax grant and increased Gains payments.

Mr. Miller stated that, "Beginning this year, the Ontario government will provide direct grants of up to \$500 to offset property taxes of pensioners who own or rent their homes." (p. 16)

The new program, which replaces property tax credits for senior citizens, takes effect this fall. The new program will provide to pensioners \$39 million more than they were receiving with tax credits. The annual cost of the new grant program will be \$214 million.

Describing the new program, the Treasurer said, "This means that the first \$500 of a pensioner's annual property taxes will be refunded dollar for dollar by provincial grants." Under the new program, Mr. Miller stated that "... about one-half of our senior citizen home owners and renters will have all of their property taxes refunded by the province." The Treasurer added that overall "... 63 per cent of property taxes paid by pensioners will be offset by the province." (p. 16)

In the late fall, pensioners will receive a form from the Ontario Ministry of Revenue. They will simply indicate their property taxes or rent on the form and return it to the ministry, after which they will receive a provincial cheque of up to \$500.

Mr. Miller replaced the sales tax credit for pensioners, which also required them to fill in an income tax form, with a sales tax grant of \$50. This grant will go to every Ontario pensioner who receives the Old Age Security pension and also will be sent in the fall.

The new pensioner sales tax grant will cost \$41 million, \$9 million more than sales tax credits for senior citizens.

By increasing Gains payments, Mr. Miller provided additional assistance to lower income pensioners.

He stated that, "Starting in May, 1980, the maximum payments will be increased by \$10 per month. This will provide an additional \$120 per year to a single Gains recipient and \$240 more per year to pensioner couples who receive Gains." (p. 17)

Gains, or Guaranteed Annual Income System, is a provincial program which provides supplemental pension income to elderly people.

The Treasurer said that 260,000 Ontario pensioners would benefit this year from the increase which will cost the province another \$27 million.

In discussing the new property and sales tax grant program, Mr. Miller explained why

the province has switched from a tax credit to a direct grant program. "First, the tax credit system involves a considerable lag in benefits and saddles many pensioners with the inconvenience and worry of filling out a complex tax return which they would not otherwise have to complete. Second, we wished to build an element of universality into this program in order to recognize the lifelong contribution made by all pensioners to our communities." (p. 17)

Over \$50 million in tax cuts and incentives for Ontario small business

Treasurer Frank Miller announced new assistance for small business in his 1980 budget.

There will be a new small business investment tax credit.

The capital tax has been reduced and simplified.

Compensation to retail sales tax collectors will be increased.

The provincial Treasurer also outlined improvements to the Small Business Development Corporations Act.

Mr. Miller said that his new investment tax credit for small business "... will be equal to 20 per cent of the purchase cost of depreciable assets for use in Ontario." He added that, "The maximum credit in any one year for any individual small business will be \$3,000." (p. 13)

The Treasurer estimates that his tax incentive will put an additional \$30 million into the hands of small businesses this year.

In explaining the reasons for bringing in this tax incentive, Mr. Miller said that, "It is important to the success of every small business person to be able to plough back as much capital as possible into the business. Yet the high cost of borrowing discourages this, as does the need to use scarce working capital to pay taxes." (p. 12)

Businesses with taxable capital of less than \$1 million will now pay a capital tax of only \$100. Corporations with taxable capital of up to \$100,000 will continue to pay \$50.

Mr. Miller estimates that this step will cut \$20 million from taxes paid by small business in Ontario. It will greatly simplify the calculation of the capital tax for many firms.

The maximum annual compensation for retail sales tax collectors will be increased from \$700 to \$1,000. The minimum level also will be raised. Retail vendors will receive an additional \$8 million as a result of this increase.

The Treasurer introduced changes to the small business development corporation (SBDC) program.

The minimum capital requirement for a small business development corporation will be reduced to \$100,000 from \$250,000. Mr. Miller said that he adopted this change "in response to a number of submissions, particularly on behalf of small businesses in northern Ontario." (p. 11)

Pension funds and credit unions will be eligible for provincial grants if they invest in an SBDC. Also, SBDCs may now invest in book publishing and research and development.

Introduced by the Treasurer last year, the SBDC program encourages investment in small business. Individual investors receive a grant from the province equal to 30 per cent of their investment in a small business development corporation. The SBDC in turn may buy shares of eligible small businesses. So far, about 50 SBDCs have been formed in Ontario.

INTERIM ANSWERS

139. Mr. Grande: 1. Could the Minister of Culture and Recreation provide a complete list of all translation companies and/or individuals who have been given work by the ministry over the span of the last five years? 2. Would the minister also provide, along with this list, the exact cost involved and the monies given to each company and/or individual? 3. Would the minister indicate whether the public tendering process applies in these instances? (Tabled April 28, 1980.)

Hon. Mr. Baetz: Due to the large volume of information requested, it will not be possible to provide an answer by the allotted date. The information should be available on or about May 16, 1980.

140. Mr. Di Santo: Will the Ministry of Culture and Recreation table the following information: 1. How many hours of the TV-Ontario programs are devoted to ethnic groups, their cultures and traditions? Can a breakdown be provided of the hours devoted to such programs, year by year, since 1975? 2. How many programs with multicultural content have been broadcast since 1975, number of hours, with breakdown year by year? 3. What new programs, devoted to the ethnic groups of Ontario and/or with multicultural content have been broadcast since the minister's commitment in the House on April 2, 1979? 4. Has TVOntario any new plan for programs devoted to ethnic groups

and/or with multicultural content? If so, can the ministry elaborate on the content of these programs? (Tabled April 28, 1980.)

Hon. Mr. Baetz: Due to the large volume of information requested, it will not be possible to provide an answer by the allotted date. The information should be available on or about May 30, 1980.

145. Mr. Cassidy: Will the minister table a comprehensive listing of: 1. All timber licences held by companies in Ontario? 2. The annual allowable and actual cuts on each of these licences for the most recent five years available? 3. The annual allowable and

actual cuts for all crown management units for the most recent five years available? 4. The amount of revenues accruing to the province via crown dues and area charges by license and crown management unit for the most recent five years available? 5. A specific table providing all the above material by MNR region? (Tabled April 29, 1980.)

Hon. Mr. Auld: Because of the volume of material involved in the preparation of answer to question 145, we will require additional time to submit our response. The final answer will be ready on or about May 20.

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Cassidy, M. (Ottawa Centre NDP)
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No. 47

Legislature of Ontario Debates

Official Report (Hansard)

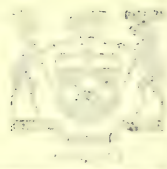
Fourth Session, 31st Parliament

Tuesday, May 13, 1980

Afternoon Sitting

Speaker: Honourable John E. Stokes

Clerk: Roderick Lewis, QC



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Reference to a cumulative index of previous issues can be obtained by calling the Hansard Reporting Service indexing staff at (416) 965-2159.

Hansard subscription price is \$15.00 per session, from: Sessional Subscription Service, Central Purchasing Service, Print Procurement Section, Ministry of Government Services, 9th Floor, Ferguson Block, Parliament Buildings, Toronto M7A 1N3. Phone (416) 965-2238.

Published by the Legislature of the Province of Ontario.
Editor of Debates: Peter Brannan.

LEGISLATURE OF ONTARIO

TUESDAY, MAY 13, 1980

The House met at 2 p.m.

Prayers.

PUBLIC OPINION POLLS

Mr. S. Smith: On a point of privilege, Mr. Speaker: You will be aware that the estimates of the Ministry of the Environment will be discussed in the standing committee on resources development after the Ministry of Transportation and Communications estimates are dealt with, which means some time at the end of next week.

You will recall that the Premier (Mr. Davis) gave an undertaking that certain public opinion polls, including a \$56,000 poll by Decima Research Limited, would be made available by individual ministers at the appropriate time. The Minister of the Environment (Mr. Parrott) is here now and presumably he will wish to listen to this point of privilege.

As a matter of privilege, can we have assurance from you, Mr. Speaker, that you will seek from the minister this particular poll, which must be extensive to have cost \$50,000, so that we can study it in time for our discussion of the estimates? Could we have assurance that this poll which, after all, the minister has and it having been paid for with public funds, will be given to us for our study in the opposition by the end of this weeks?

Hon. Mr. Parrott: Mr. Speaker, on that point of privilege: I have said several times that we would be more than happy to release that poll, and will be doing so. It is a very extensive poll and a very important one. It has a lot of information in it. It is one that is very valuable and we will be releasing it. I cannot say to the Leader of the Opposition that we can do it by the end of this week, but I can certainly assure him it will be released in advance of the standing committee's consideration of my ministry's estimates.

Hon. Mr. Wells: Mr. Speaker, it is my recollection that the Workmen's Compensation Board is to be heard in the resources development committee before the estimates of the Ministry of the Environment are con-

sidered and following those of the Ministry of Transportation and Communications. I would have to check that but, that being the case, I think the minister would have time, even if he does not have that report before the end of this week, for that report to be considered by members before his estimates are considered by the committee.

Hon. Mr. Parrott: There will be no problem.

Mr. S. Smith: Mr. Speaker, if I might, I was going from what is on the order paper. I am told by the House leader for the party that there might be the Workmen's Compensation Board hearing, which he understood may be dealt with by subcommittee of that committee.

In any event, Mr. Speaker, I would ask you to consider how the privileges of members of the opposition are affected if we are being obstructed from access to information which the minister has had for some time, information which he can use to prepare himself for estimates and for other matters in the House and to which we in Her Majesty's loyal opposition, are denied access until such time as the minister decides he will be nice enough to let us see it.

Could you kindly rule on that, Mr. Speaker? I ask you to consider, in your wisdom, whether we can carry on as members of an opposition when we are being obstructed by the government from access to information that we have all paid for?

Mr. Speaker: I will look into it and see whether there was a commitment made to table it as soon as possible.

VISITORS

Mr. Speaker: I would like to draw to the attention of honourable members the presence in our gallery of five members of the Australian delegation to the Duke of Edinburgh's Fifth Commonwealth Study Conference to Canada, led by Mr. Mal Bryce, MLA, Ascot, and deputy leader of the Parliamentary Labour Party in Western Australia. Will members please welcome them to our gallery?

STATEMENTS BY THE MINISTRY

EXPORT '80

Hon. Mr. Grossman: Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to announce Export '80, a new program under which my ministry will launch a revitalized, better financed and more comprehensive trade strategy for Ontario.

Mr. Breithaupt: More commercials.

Hon. Mr. Grossman: They are in the can. They will be out soon.

During the past year, we have been involved in an analysis of the exporting problems of Canadian firms. This analysis was conducted both in the context of our input into the Hatch review of federal export support measures and as a result of an intensive internal assessment of Ontario's own activities.

Our review indicated a need for this government to expand and modify its export support activity, particularly in the areas of direct financial assistance, trade missions, foreign offices and general trade policy.

To ensure maximum benefits from our efforts, resources will be deliberately concentrated in support of both firms and markets which offer the greatest potential for increased and sustained export sales.

I would like to highlight the eight key elements of Export '80.

2:10 p.m.

The first component involves increased financial assistance for exports. The Ontario Development Corporations will double their overall financial support in this area from \$12 million to \$25 million annually, and will double their line of export credit to individual firms from \$500,000 to \$1 million per firm.

This assistance will be available to finance production for export markets and export receivables. Further, the Ontario Development Corporations will provide specific support to co-ordinate access to the federal government's Export Development Corporation and to private-sector lending institutions.

The second element of Export '80 involves a substantial change in our trade mission activity. The current limit of three visits by a firm to the same market in five years will be removed. Firms showing a willingness to commit marketing and other resources to specific export markets will be encouraged to concentrate on and return to those markets. Further, businesses with a clearly identified potential for improved export sales now will be permitted to participate in an unlimited number of trade missions each year.

Export '80 no longer will automatically subsidize the air fares of all participants in

trade missions, but will support those business people showing a proven need for assistance and reasonable market prospects.

The third component of Export '80 involves targeting participation in trade fairs and exhibitions. We will henceforth participate only in those trade fairs which are highly specialized and which have specific relevance to major Ontario industries and firms. Efforts also will be made to combine trade fairs with allied missions to maximize the results. Further, we will be emphasizing involvement in regional US trade fairs as effective avenues for increased export sales by smaller Canadian firms.

As a fourth component of Export '80, we will be assigning responsibility for Ontario's participation in technology missions to the Ontario Research Foundation. This will ensure that efforts to import technology are concentrated in fields that will support and complement domestic research and development activity.

The fifth initiative we are undertaking involves provincial government support for the development of full-service private and public trading houses. To encourage the most beneficial operation of trading houses in Ontario, we will be inviting them to participate in Export '80 trade missions for the first time. We will also permit trading houses to gain access to export support credit through the Ontario Development Corporations.

Sixth, my ministry will be establishing an office of commercial policy. This office will be responsible for co-ordinating our efforts to encourage multinational companies to implement world mandating and specialization strategy in Ontario. The office also will be responsible for identifying specific foreign nontariff trade barriers which impede Ontario's attempts to export, and will be involved in developing effective provincial responses to those barriers.

The seventh component of our trade action plan involves the establishment of new foreign offices to support marketing efforts in priority markets. Last month we opened two new offices in the United States. Our Dallas office will serve the expanding southwestern US market, and our Atlanta office will serve the southeast. Our network of foreign offices will be further expanded with the opening next month of a new Ministry of Industry and Tourism office in Hong Kong. From this location, we will serve China, Hong Kong and Taiwan, as well as the growing markets of the developing countries in the Pacific Rim.

Mr. Foulds: Do all those offices have revolving doors?

Interjections.

Hon. Mr. Grossman: Behave yourselves; you might get the job one day. No, you won't; you really won't get the job.

Mr. Eakins: Is Marvin still on the payroll?

Hon. Mr. Grossman: They should do it the way he did it. It's the only way the members opposite will be able to do it.

The eighth element of Export '80 involves a major drive to promote more effective export marketing by Ontario firms.

In order to develop improved professional expertise in trade, trade policy, customs, tariffs and export marketing, we have established an internship program in international business for Ontario university graduates. Interns will be sent to nine of our ministry's 10 foreign offices for a period of two years. This program will assist the graduates in developing a high level of skilled and sophisticated knowledge about international trade which should be in considerable demand by the private sector when their internships are completed.

We also will be offering a three-year subsidy for the establishment of a chair of commercial law at an Ontario university. Further, my ministry will be retaining the services of experienced export managers to conduct marketing probes on behalf of small Canadian-owned firms.

We also will be committing \$250,000 to a highly innovative and flexible program which will help small firms that have developed international marketing strategies meet the costs of initial export ventures. Through this program, assistance will be provided in such areas as: consignment costs, warehousing or changes in products or packages for international markets.

What I have described represents a wide-ranging program of new initiatives being undertaken by our government to support and encourage the export activities of Ontario-based businesses.

I am confident these initiatives will enable Ontario firms to meet the challenges of export markets while contributing to the development of Ontario's manufacturing base and generating new wealth for all Canadians.

ORAL QUESTIONS

SMALL BUSINESS LOANS

Mr. S. Smith: Mr. Speaker, I will direct my first question to the Treasurer. He will recall the suggestion made by the Bank of Canada back in 1973, the policy adopted then, and a

suggestion I have made in the House and which others have made as well, that banks introduce a favourable interest rate for small businesses, especially given the crunch that many of these small businesses are feeling with the current interest rate problem.

Is the Treasurer aware that in British Columbia, the Bank of British Columbia, a privately owned institution, since last fall has offered half of one per cent under prime as its interest rate for small businesses in that province, in view of the importance stressed with regard to small businesses in British Columbia? Why does the Treasurer not call in the heads of the commercial banks here in Ontario and ask them to do the very same thing?

Hon. F. S. Miller: Mr. Speaker, Ontario does offer lower-interest loans to small businesses through the Ontario Development Corporation. The current rate is in the range of 10.5 per cent to 11 per cent, I believe, on eligible loans through that route.

The question of asking the banks to do the same certainly deserves some consideration. But I suggest to the member that in the last two or three months financial intermediaries have been among the ones suffering from the cyclical movements of the interest rate in general. The quick movement upward of interest rates cuts the profit to the banks.

I am not being an apologist. I am trying to explain to the member that a bank works on a spread. I am sure he knows that. The spread is the difference between the price it pays for money that goes up as interest rates go up and down as they go down. That spread caught them short. They often make a commitment, as they made to me on my own house 10 years ago, and perhaps to other members, to lend money for a certain period of time. They are caught with that rate. In the meantime, of course, payments have gone up.

I have had great faith, perhaps misplaced, in the ability of the banks to assess the creditworthiness of the given applications before them and, in a very competitive time, to do what they could to help small businesses. All lenders have to have a real concern about what is happening to their customers as these high costs go through.

I would like to end by saying I thought the action taken the other day, albeit a copy of Mr. Crosbie's move, by the federal Finance Minister, Mr. MacEachen, to introduce the small business income debenture bond, was far more useful than the one the member has just touched upon. In the meantime, we have contacted the banks to find out whether they

are going to see that action is put into place. The answer I get is, "Yes. As soon as federal legislation is introduced describing the rules." I think then a very potent assistance for small businesses will become available through the banks.

Mr. S. Smith: Instead of coming to this House weeping for the fact that the banks' record profits for the past several years might be somewhat lower this year, or perhaps not as big as they might otherwise be this year, instead of shedding tears for the banks, why does the Treasurer not call in the heads of the chartered banks who are just down the street here—they are not that far away—and tell them that in British Columbia the bank is able to give small businesses—and I remind you, Mr. Speaker, that 80 per cent of small business loans in this country are from chartered banks—a half a per cent under prime, and ask the Ontario banks to do the same thing?

2:20 p.m.

Hon. F. S. Miller: Mr. Speaker, I am quite sure the honourable member knows there are real problems with that approach, but it is very convenient to bring it up. I think the two steps I suggested are very positive. The one from Ontario, through ODC, in effect is about five or five and a half points under prime right now, and the second, the small business development bond, will be about half of prime.

Mr. Cassidy: Mr. Speaker, I think we all know the Liberal leader wants the Treasurer to do a job which he cannot get his federal Minister of Finance to do. Could we have an assurance from the Treasurer that Ontario will bring in a plan to cushion home owners against very high interest rates when they renegotiate their mortgages, despite the statement by the federal Minister of Finance that the Liberal Party will not do so at the federal level?

Hon. F. S. Miller: Mr. Speaker, I read the federal minister's press release. The fact is, I do not think he said that. I hope he did not say that, because it is my understanding he made a firm commitment to offer assistance. I trust he is not withdrawing from that.

He still had some clauses or escape lines in his statement the other day, if it was reported accurately, stating that he did not rule out the need to help those people in real financial need. We are continuing on that assumption and, as I said, we are preparing our paper.

Mr. McGuigan: Mr. Speaker, does the Treasurer realize that a great many of the

small businessmen and farmers finance by demand notes and, therefore, the argument about spread is really not valid in this instance?

Hon. F. S. Miller: Mr. Speaker, I am quite aware of that. I have a few demand loans myself, and they go up every time the interest rates go up and down every time they go down, and those are the safe ones. The member will also notice that whereas in the past one could make an agreement with a lending institution for four, five, 10, 15, even 20 years, one finds it very difficult to do that in a time of unstable rates. That has brought the floating rate syndrome into very common usage, one which I am sure protects the lender but leaves the borrower in a great deal of concern, because he never knows what next month's costs are going to be. That is one of the biggest arguments I can see in favour of a relatively stable interest rate, as we had for many years.

Mr. Makarchuk: Mr. Speaker, in view of the fact that the federal House will be amending the Bank Act shortly, will the minister get together with the Minister of National Revenue and ask that the Bank Act be amended so the Province of Ontario Savings Office can have the full powers of a chartered bank? In that way we would have some meaningful competition in the banking system, by using the powers of the POSO as a competitive tool in the economic process.

Hon. F. S. Miller: No, Mr. Speaker.

DISPUTE AT AMR CENTRES

Mr. S. Smith: Mr. Speaker, I have a question for the Minister of Community and Social Services. The minister undoubtedly is aware that we now are in the sixth week of a strike in Hamilton by workers who work among the mentally retarded in preschool services and family support services, and I believe the same type of strike now is going on in Toronto.

Is the minister able to tell us what he is doing about this matter, keeping in mind the fact that 49 of the 53 people in Hamilton, of whom about half have college degrees and are trained people with diplomas and degrees in the care of the retarded, in their present contract are earning less than the receptionist in the minister's office?

Under these circumstances, does the minister not believe it is time to put a little more money into that situation so that these people can get decent increases in salary to bring

them at least close to what is a reasonable living wage, given their amount of training and the responsibilities they bear?

Hon. Mr. Norton: Yes, Mr. Speaker, I am aware of that situation. The staffs of both my ministry and the Ministry of Labour have been working with people in the area who are involved in the strike situation, attempting to assist in some resolution of that situation.

The honourable member made specific reference to certain salary differentials between some of the people in the funded agency and in my ministry. I cannot confirm his suggestion with respect to the receptionist in my office, because I honestly don't know what she is receiving. However, it is true there is a gap. I think the problem is not that we do not recognize that; rather, it is the rate at which that gap might be closed. It is not a situation that is affecting only the association in Hamilton; it has a much broader impact than that. It also has impact on other agencies besides the associations for the mentally retarded.

I can assure the member that I and my staff are trying to assist the province-wide situation. At the moment I do not feel it is appropriate to address one specific situation in isolation from the broader context.

As far as the strike in Hamilton is concerned, I believe the association has made an offer which is consistent with the funding that is available to it at the present time. That is a rate of increase which I suggest is higher than the average rate of settlements across the province this year.

Mr. S. Smith: The minister is correct when he suggests that the rate of increase is greater than that of the average worker in the work force this year, but the minister is surely aware of the point from which these people are starting. An Ontario civil service receptionist's maximum salary as of April this year is \$10,473. Given that only four of the 53 people in the current wage schedule in Hamilton are paid more than that—the highest, for an instructor, being the princely sum of \$11,000 after 11.5 years of service, surely the schedule needs to be rectified everywhere, and not just in Hamilton. Will the minister, who can find money for his colleagues to put ads in every newspaper across Ontario to say what fine folks they are, find money to pay these people properly to take care of the retarded in our society?

Hon. Mr. Norton: I would like to assure the honourable members opposite that never, to the best of my knowledge, has any money that has gone towards any advertising pro-

gram in any other ministry come from the budget of the Ministry of Community and Social Services.

Mr. S. Smith: Yes, it has.

Hon. Mr. Norton: If the Leader of the Opposition is aware of something of which I am not, I wish he would give me that information, because I would not look kindly upon that kind of transfer.

In response to the serious part of his question, at this stage I can only assure him that I and the staff of my ministry will continue to work in co-operation with the Ministry of Labour in efforts to seek a solution to that strike.

Mr. M. N. Davison: Mr. Speaker, as the Leader of the Opposition has pointed out, a percentage increase is not terribly relevant when one is talking about \$8,000 to \$9,000 a year for these people. Given the huge variation between what these people in Hamilton make as opposed to people working for like associations in other parts of the province and given the funding system for the association, would the minister not now agree that the only way to solve the strike so that the workers can get a decent living wage is for his ministry to commit more money to that association? Would he not admit that in the House?

Hon. Mr. Norton: Mr. Speaker, I would never be so naive as to agree that there is only one way to solve any problem.

Mr. Mackenzie: Mr. Speaker, I wonder whether the minister is also aware that not only is there a 35 per cent gap, with average wages of \$8,500 or less in the Hamilton operation, but also some of the operations they are being compared to are currently in the process of negotiations as well? There is a double catch-up necessary in this situation.

Hon. Mr. Norton: Yes, Mr. Speaker, I am aware that there are many negotiations going on which these people are using for comparative purposes in the course of their negotiations. I don't think that is an uncommon occurrence.

2:30 p.m.

AUTO INDUSTRY LAYOFFS

Mr. Cassidy: Mr. Speaker, I have a new question, for the Minister of Industry and Tourism, arising out of the announcement today that a further 850 jobs are going to be eliminated on an indefinite basis at the Chrysler Canada operations in Windsor.

In view of the fact he said yesterday that the expected employment of Chrysler

would drop to around the 6,000 mark, was the minister aware that Chrysler was intending to move its car plant to a single shift and to eliminate another 850 jobs in the next month or so? Can the minister say what steps the government now intends to take to create short-term jobs for the automobile workers who are faced with further unemployment in Windsor?

Hon. Mr. Grossman: Mr. Speaker, as Minister of Industry and Tourism, my responsibilities are to ensure the short-term, medium-term and long-term strength of the industries in that part of the province and in all parts of the province.

With regard to specific job-creation measures, most of the things my ministry is equipped to do are related to securing the strength of the industries which, in turn, create jobs. The overall job-creation responsibilities are shared; they are centred mostly in the hands of the Treasurer in terms of the economic climate and are reflected quite well in his budget.

In fairness, we should understand that what is happening in the auto industry in the entire Windsor area is very much a function of the health of the automobile industry in North America. The only answer to the short-term job situation in that area is increased sales for North American vehicles.

As the companies currently are closing down and beginning to retool for the 1981 models, I think we are going to see a period of time in the short term where, to be fair, there are not going to be a great number of opportunities to put jobs back into that community until the new models are out and we see how they are selling.

Mr. Cassidy: Since in Chrysler's case the shortfall of employment is not going to be a temporary thing until the fall, but is very likely to last over the next two or three years at the very minimum, is the government now prepared to establish a loan fund which the Automotive Parts Manufacturers' Association of Canada has been urging for years, in order to encourage domestic manufacturers to retool existing capacity or to create a new capacity with which they can create jobs and help to meet the needs of both the Big Three and offshore automobile producers?

Hon. Mr. Grossman: I think that is very important. The leader of the third party will recall that for some years we have had an offer open to the federal government to participate in a specific automotive investment fund. At the time of the Ford deal two years ago we suggested to the federal government

that they match us on a one-for-one basis. To create that automotive fund we were prepared to put up \$50 million and asked the federal government to match it with \$100 million. The federal government turned that down at the time. We would hope the federal government would show some interest in that sort of program in view of what has happened, in which case I think this government would respond positively.

In any case, the Employment Development Fund continues to be available, and in my remarks to the automotive parts manufacturers' association last week I indicated to them that availability of funds was not a problem; what we needed was more applications. In fact, it is lack of applications that is the problem. We are willing to spend the money on any good proposition. We need some proposals and we are looking for them.

Mr. Mancini: Mr. Speaker, the minister may recall the fiasco caused by his Employment Development Fund, which put 200 people out of work in my riding through a direct grant given to a Windsor company. Will the minister now use his influence over the \$10 million he is going to give Chrysler for the research centre, to have that located in the town of Kingsville to make up in some small way to all the people he has put out of work in that area?

Hon. Mr. Grossman: Mr. Speaker, as the member has been informed, we did not cause the loss of any jobs in the community to which he is referring. To clarify the situation, there were two firms in his area which were involved in making approximately the same kind of product. I do not want to be unfair or to get into specific details about the operation, but the firm in the member's area was about to lose its place in the market because it had been unable to keep up technologically to the demands of its customers. Another firm came along and was able to keep that business for Ontario, rather than losing it to an American firm, which had a great opportunity to take over the business the firm in the community was about to lose.

Having carefully looked at that situation, the Employment Development Fund was able to support an alternative firm, which was able to keep that business for Ontario rather than losing it to an American jurisdiction. I am sure the people in the member's community, in the member's area at large, much appreciate the fact that the Employment Development Fund kept jobs here which otherwise were slipping away to the United States. I think the member knows

that to be the case, having talked with the firms.

Mr. Bounsall: Mr. Speaker, now that today's announced layoff by Chrysler in Windsor, particularly of the second shift at the automobile assembly plant, confirms the minister's prediction of yesterday that Chrysler employment will be decreased to 6,000 in Windsor, what additional pressure is the minister putting on the federal Minister of Employment and Immigration, Mr. Axworthy, to bring in a proper transitional assistance benefits program for all those auto workers in Windsor and across Ontario? How long must these workers wait in dire need of help for this proper kind of assistance?

Hon. Mr. Grossman: Mr. Speaker, I can only assure the House that those discussions are being led appropriately by my colleague the Minister of Labour (Mr. Elgie) and that together we are continuing to keep all sorts of pressure on the federal government. I repeat what I said the other day: We have seen no sign from Mr. Gray or Mr. Axworthy that they intend to withdraw from their undertaking to ensure that there will be sufficient funds available for those workers, but the pressure is being kept on.

Mr. Ruston: Mr. Speaker, have there been any discussions lately with regard to the possibility of a Massey-Ferguson engine plant in Windsor?

Hon. Mr. Grossman: There have been discussions with a great number of firms, Mr. Speaker. I would not like to indicate which ones were involved, but I can assure the member that there are two or three quite substantial firms of the size of Massey-Ferguson which are actively looking at some opportunities in his area of the province.

HARBOURFRONT PROJECT

Mr. Cassidy: Mr. Speaker, I have a question to the Premier about creating jobs in Metropolitan Toronto. Will the government of Ontario intervene with the government of Canada to see that construction of the \$200-million Harbourfront housing project is begun without delay and is not further delayed because of the objections of half a dozen Liberal MPs who are blocking the project up in Ottawa?

Hon. Mr. Davis: Mr. Speaker, I did not know that half a dozen MPs were holding up the project.

Mr. Worton: Single handedly!

Mr. Swart: It takes a half a dozen to do anything.

Hon. Mr. Davis: Mr. Speaker, I am doing my best to behave myself and here we have all these interjections.

I read certain news reports about it yesterday. I am having the matter looked into, and I will have a reply for the member for Ottawa Centre later on in the week.

Mr. Cassidy: In view of the fact that the unemployment rate in the construction industry now exceeds 30 per cent in Metropolitan Toronto, and in view of the desperate need for affordable housing in this area, will the Premier make an unequivocal statement that, as far as Ontario is concerned, his government supports the Harbourfront project? Will it say the government supports the project because it will create needed housing and will make more access available to parkland along the waterfront? Will the government undertake to do everything in its power to get the federal government off of its butt and get the go-aheads for this needed project?

Hon. Mr. Davis: Mr. Speaker, I would never quarrel with the anatomical descriptions the leader of the New Democratic Party uses but, with respect, I would say this government always has been prepared to move ahead with proper projects that would create activity in Metropolitan Toronto, or anywhere else for that matter. In fact, we are prepared to go ahead with the courthouse in Ottawa; that would provide construction activity there.

We are prepared to do a number of things that the NDP have traditionally opposed. We were in favour of Metro Centre, and I can recall the rhetoric from that particular party saying we should not go ahead with Metro Centre. I am delighted to see that at long last they know there are jobs in the construction industry, and that we have to build buildings, although sometimes those buildings are controversial. I am delighted to have their support at long last for a certain amount of activity in the construction field.

Mr. R. F. Johnston: Mr. Speaker, does the Premier mean by his response that he is in favour of public housing in Toronto, or is he going to continue to stop good plans, as he calls them, like the east-of-Bay plan proposed by the city of Toronto, which now is going to become a massive home for the bureaucracy of the provincial government? Is the Premier going to allow that to come back too?

2:40 p.m.

Hon. Mr. Davis: Mr. Speaker, thinking of some things the honourable member's col-

league said, I tell him that we are in favour of the convention centre. It took the NDP a long time to get around to support that. We are in favour of that and we have been. We are prepared to support it. The NDP have been negative day after day after day.

With respect to leasing Bay Street, the members opposite should understand what they are talking about. We have not delayed that. We just want to see that what is done, is right.

MILK QUOTAS

Hon. Mr. Henderson: Mr. Speaker, yesterday in my absence, which my honourable colleague explained, it is my understanding that a representative of the Liberal Party, the member for Huron-Middlesex (Mr. Riddell), asked a question about the milk situation in Canada. I sat here for more than a month waiting for agriculture to get to be a priority in that party and was not asked a question. So I regret I was not here when they did ask one.

Mr. Speaker: You have the answer to a specific question?

Hon. Mr. Henderson: Mr. Speaker, I have an answer here in response to the question by the member for Huron-Middlesex.

The Canadian milk supply management committee is composed of the signatories to the national comprehensive milk marketing plan. The participating parties are the Canadian Dairy Commission, the provincial commissions and boards, and producer boards. Ontario is represented by the chairman of the Milk Commission of Ontario, the chairman of the Ontario Milk Marketing Board, and the chairman of the Ontario Cream Producers' Marketing Board. In 1971, the above-mentioned chairmen were signatories to the initial agreement.

Each province's share was based on the amount of industrial milk produced in the year from April 1, 1969 to March 31, 1970. Under an interprovincial adjustment formula, Ontario lost some quota to other provinces in 1974, and 1975, owing to low production in the preceding years. To encourage more production and protect our share of the national market, the Industrial Milk Production Incentive Program was introduced in 1973.

At the moment, the national plan is being redrafted by a subcommittee of the Canadian milk supply management committee. Its report will be reviewed shortly by the full supply management committee, and it will be carefully examined by this province prior to signing.

All the provinces are determined to protect their share of the national market share quota. In Ontario's case, we have repeatedly asked that the new agreement provide some recognition of market conditions. We are also concerned that the question of adjusting quota among provinces be resolved.

I might also remind the honourable member that Ontario has received a five per cent increase in its quota allocation in this present quota year, which runs from August 1, 1979 to July 31, 1980. Discussions about the allocation for the year beginning August 1, 1980 will begin next week. I can say, however, that no interprovincial adjustment will occur in the coming year. It is the same allocation as the current year.

PENSION FUNDS

Mr. Peterson: A question to the Treasurer, Mr. Speaker. The Treasurer no doubt is aware of the resignation of Mr. Eric Kierans from the Quebec pension agency, the Caisse de dépôt et placement du Québec over a dispute of principle. He objected very much to the provincial government's borrowing \$1.5 billion from that fund to finance its deficit this year.

In view of the fact that the province of Ontario now owes the pension funds about \$13.5 billion, money used only to finance deficits of the government over the last decade or so, is the Treasurer now prepared to reconsider his policy and put all that available pension money—internally generated funds at below market rates, I hasten to point out—into productive stock, productive capital to build investment in this province to create jobs, rather than just running it down the pipe on his deficits year after year?

Hon. F. S. Miller: Mr. Speaker, the honourable member knows full well that Quebec had a deficit this year of something in the order of \$2 billion for six million people. We had a deficit last year of \$650 million for 8.5 million people. That puts it in perspective.

It was my understanding that Mr. Kierans' resignation related to the rate of interest paid on those loans relative to the market price of money for the government of Quebec. I don't have the exact differentials, because that was not published. We pay on a formula related to federal money, and have for a long time. Studies of the rates of interest we paid year by year have shown those rates to be comparable to those we could get in the open market. In fact, studies of things like the teachers' superannuation fund show that the returns within the government in some cases

have exceeded the returns they might have got in the free market.

Last of all, this province is managing its money so well that we have \$500 million to release this year from those moneys for Ontario Hydro.

Mr. Peterson: Certainly people applaud putting that money into productive capital, but why has the government not been doing it over the past 10 years? I hasten to point out to the Treasurer that the difference between the \$1.5 billion they owe and the \$13.5 billion the Ontario government owes to the pension fund, which is going to have to be repaid, surely deserves a serious rethinking of government policy about how that capital is to be deployed to create jobs in this country.

I am asking whether the Treasurer will reconsider his policy of consuming almost every available dollar of internally generated funds to fuel deficits and instead, put it into the productive marketplace? Almost every study says that, had that been done, we would be in a far better economic position today than we are.

I hasten to point out one other thing: the Treasurer's figures are wrong. We have been paying, on average, below-market rates. The Treasurer has used those preferential rates to take advantage of those funds contributed by pensioners and seriously jeopardized the strength of those pension plans, when people like the Treasurer are going to be collecting those funds. Is the Treasurer prepared to reconsider his policy today?

Hon. F. S. Miller: My cash requirements last year were in the order of \$659 million, and the member accused me of inflating that by \$217 million. He said it was only \$442 million. That was true. We never tried to hide that fact.

We simply prepaid certain expenses. We brought it before this House, got the approval of the House, explained it and did it, because of good management. I have to point out that was roughly less than one third—

Mr. S. Smith: Because you got more from the feds than you expected.

Hon. F. S. Miller: Be quiet.

Mr. S. Smith: When you got less, you blamed the feds.

Hon. F. S. Miller: I would like to say one thing, Mr. Speaker—I don't know whether the provincial Liberals are different from the Liberals in Ottawa—my deficit is costing roughly 10 per cent of the budget in interest; theirs is costing roughly 20 per cent in interest. My budget deficit is roughly five per cent of my spending; their budget deficit

is roughly 25 per cent of their spending. That's the difference between us.

Mr. Roy: Why were you so critical of Joe Clark?

Mr. Speaker: Order.

Mr. Laughren: Thank you for that intervention, Mr. Speaker.

Rather than having the pensioners of Ontario subsidize the private sector, which has allowed our industrial machine to run down, would the Treasurer direct the province's resources into rebuilding particular sectors in Ontario so that we could have a healthy mining machinery industry in northern Ontario, for example?

Hon. F. S. Miller: Mr. Speaker, one of the things I missed in the previous question and which relates to the question the member for Nickel Belt just asked, was the matter of putting money into productive things. I wonder when in fact a government investment is productive. Is a new university productive? Is a new hospital productive? Is a new highway productive?

I would argue that in terms of the economy that is so. In fact, over the years if one takes the sum total of our deficits in the last few years and compares it to the year-by-year investments in capital in this province, I believe there is only one year in the last 10 where the annual cash requirement exceeded the investment in this province. Last year it far exceeded the investment.

We are guaranteeing the benefits to people in those pension plans; the member knows that. In the teachers' plan, for example, we guarantee the benefits, and when there are actuarial deficits we make them up.

2:50 p.m.

DEATH OF ALBERT JOHNSON

Mr. Renwick: Mr. Speaker, I have a question of the Attorney General, who was here, but in his absence, and as it is a matter I want taken under advisement, I will put it to the Premier. Perhaps he will draw it to the attention of the Attorney General.

As there continues to be deep concern and unrest in the community about the death of Albert Cecil Johnson on August 26, 1979, will the Attorney General now take under advisement, and in due course report back to this House, the matter of the exercise by him of the authority conferred upon him by section 508 of the Criminal Code? In accordance therewith, would he direct that the proceedings against Constables William Inglis and Walter Carnelli on the indictments now found be stayed, so that he may immedi-

ately retain as special counsel on his behalf, Mr. John Robinette, QC, and Mr. Morris Manning, QC?

They could be instructed to review for him jointly the report of the investigation by the Ontario Provincial Police and all other information and material relative to the death of Albert Cecil Johnson. They would also give him their joint opinion whether the indictments now found against Constables William Inglis and Walter Cagnelli are the appropriate indictments or whether other indictments should be preferred against them, or either of them, or any other person, or whether the proceedings under the present indictment should proceed.

Hon. Mr. Davis: Mr. Speaker, I will communicate that question to the Attorney General.

Hon. Mr. McMurtry: Excuse me, Mr. Speaker.

Mr. Speaker: Order. The Attorney General I think has a response to the previous question.

Hon. Mr. McMurtry: Yes, Mr. Speaker, I was outside conferring with staff. I heard the question and I want to make it quite clear that I have no intention of following the suggestion that was made by the member for Riverdale. This matter has been reviewed by very senior law officers of the crown. I certainly have no intention of bringing in lawyers from the private sector to advise the Attorney General as to his responsibilities.

Mr. Renwick: By way of a supplementary question: I regret the response of the Attorney General and the hasty reply to a well-considered question asking him to take a matter under advisement. Will he please take the question under advisement and report to this assembly as to the course of action I have suggested to him? If not, will he then give us his considered reasons rather than his off-the-cuff response?

Hon. Mr. McMurtry: I think it is very unlikely that I will have anything further to add. This matter is before the courts. Quite frankly, I think it is insulting to the senior officers of the crown who have been consulted and who have considered this matter very carefully to suggest that they require assistance from the private sector. The matter is before the courts and I certainly do not anticipate that I will have anything more to say about it.

CALEDON VILLAGE CONDOMINIUM DEVELOPMENT

Hon. Mr. Drea: Mr. Speaker, on Thursday the member for Scarborough West asked me

about the application of the Condominium Act to the Caledon Village Condominium Development. I said at that time I would table the history of the project. However, on going into the matter I have determined there are many matters related and unrelated to the Condominium Act that are the subject of ongoing litigation.

This litigation appears to cover everything that could possibly be litigated. In view of this litigation, it would not be proper to table a history, as to do so may inadvertently take a position in a matter that is now before the courts. I tried to develop a history that would even get in the context of inadvertently, but there is no possible way.

In respect to the condominium board, I am advised that the court approved the holding of a special meeting of owners and that, as a result, a new board has been put into place. I am further advised that by the same court order this board has been restricted to the carrying on of routine business only until the full issue of the board's makeup and related problems is heard by the court on June 18. This hearing, which will give all concerned parties an opportunity to be heard, will certainly help to clear the air.

I have also had discussions with the Attorney General (Mr. McMurtry) considering the request by the borough of North York for a further investigation into the matter.

Mr. R. F. Johnston: Supplementary, Mr. Speaker: Would the minister be willing to confide in the House the nature of his conversation with the Attorney General, in terms of how he is going to proceed with the matter, from this point on, in pursuing it to see whether a judicial inquiry is necessary?

Hon. Mr. Drea: Mr. Speaker, I think the honourable member misunderstood. I will provide the Attorney General with as much information as we have. The decision as to whether there will be an investigation, which would be in the nature of possible violations of the Criminal Code, will be up to the Attorney General.

The difficulty in this entire situation, and I want to weigh my words very carefully, is that there is a great deal of confusion. This particular development, from day one, has been in litigation of one form or another with virtually everybody, from the developer right on through almost every board.

The other day the member said there were 120 building deficiencies there. That, once again, is not correct. There is an original lawsuit which has been going on for some years about the construction deficiencies in the building. What the member is referring to,

and it is very difficult to discern these things, is the fact that North York visited there and found that maintenance was not up to standard—in respect to doors, lights and so forth. There is no connection with the original litigation which is still before the courts.

Mr. Breithaupt: A supplementary, Mr. Speaker: Will the minister be represented at these hearings, or at least have a staff person available to learn from the unwinding of this whole problem whether there are certain changes or other matters that should be made with respect to condominium legislation, or other protections for consumers in this area?

Hon. Mr. Drea: Mr. Speaker, I will certainly watch the events of June 18.

The Condominium Act, which would have dealt with some of the long-standing situations, was changed. But, and I am going to be very frank with the House, I don't know what kind of act or improvement in the present act one could produce that would deal with the internal controversy or, indeed, the internal warfare in a condominium unit that has successfully eroded board after board to the extent that there are libel and slander suits involved. I really don't know of a piece of legislation that would tell the residents of a condominium after they have elected a board, whether they voted for those particular people or not, that it is in their best interests to support it rather than getting into difficulty.

I want to make it very plain, I am not talking about any of the events from March 9 onward, which are involved in yet another court case; I am talking about the whole history of the enterprise there.

SHORTAGE OF SKILLED WORKERS

Mr. Roy: Mr. Speaker, I would like to ask a question of the Minister of Labour. What are the Minister of Labour and his colleague the Minister of Colleges and Universities doing about the shortage of skilled workers in Ottawa, pertaining to the high technology industry that is booming in the Ottawa area and at present is short of about 800 workers?

Would the minister advise whether he, or his colleague the Minister of Colleges and Universities, has been in touch with this industry in Ottawa, and what steps they are going to take in view of the fact that apparently the supply far outstrips the demand for this type of worker?

3 p.m.

Hon. Mr. Elgie: With respect, Mr. Speaker, I would suggest the demand outstrips the supply.

I am sure the Minister of Colleges and Universities can respond directly on the involvement of that ministry with regard to employer-sponsored training and with regard to the apprenticeship program.

In a general way, however, I can tell the member that we expect there will be something in the neighbourhood of 5,000 people enrolled this year in the employer-sponsored training program. It is expanding, it is working, and I think the reports I have seen in the press as recently as yesterday, indicate there is a feeling in the business community that there is a turn-around point in that the private sector is getting the message that there is a need to step up the industrial training base and broaden it.

Mr. Roy: By way of supplementary: Has the minister been in touch with the technology industry in the Ottawa area, or has his colleague the Minister of Colleges and Universities been in touch with that industry? In view of their comments of last week in the local press, to the effect that they want the provincial officials to start giving this matter some priority, and that they have some concern about the fact there are so many young people across this province who are graduating from our colleges and universities looking for work, while on the other hand we have all of these openings in that industry, is the minister taking some special interest to satisfy the needs of that one industry, the high technology industry that is booming in Ottawa?

Hon. Mr. Elgie: Mr. Speaker, I will refer that question to my colleague. I am sure the community industrial training council would be the proper avenue for that, but if there is any specific comment she wishes to make she can do so.

Hon. Miss Stephenson: Mr. Speaker, the honourable member for Ottawa East has left an unfortunate impression. He has suggested there are thousands of graduates of the college system and the university system looking for employment. That is not true. The employment record of graduates of community colleges and the universities of this province is excellent. The employment record for university graduates is approximately 94 per cent for 1979 and for community college graduates somewhat over 90 per cent. There are not thousands of graduates of those institutions looking for employment.

There are, however, graduates and non-graduates of the secondary school program who have not completed skills training and who do require employment, and we have made contact with many technologically ad-

vanced industries in order to attempt to provide a better training relationship between the community college and the industry. There is a provincial advisory committee for most industries at most community colleges.

Indeed, the industry has a responsibility, as does the community college, to meet with one another in order to ensure that the requirements of industry and the requirements of young people are co-ordinated within that area.

Mr. Cassidy: Supplementary, Mr. Speaker:

In view of the prospects of establishing in Ottawa an electronics industry which will rival Silicon Valley south of San Francisco, around Route 100, is the Ministry of Labour, in conjunction with the Ministry of Colleges and Universities and the Ministry of Industry and Tourism, prepared to join with civic officials in Ottawa in establishing a task force to turn that potential in the Ottawa area into a reality?

Hon. Mr. Elgie: Mr. Speaker, I would suggest that question would be properly directed to the Minister of Colleges and Universities.

Hon. Miss Stephenson: Mr. Speaker, the mechanism is there, in place and ready to go, if the people in Ottawa wish to make use of it. The community industrial training committee is the mechanism that has been properly, appropriately and very effectively used in many areas of this province and does indeed address the specific problems of new industry and industry that is already in place.

DEATH OF STEVEN YUZ

Mr. McClellan: Mr. Speaker, I have a question of the Minister of Health with respect to the MacGregor committee of inquiry, which the minister announced on May 9 and which is pursuing the recommendations of the coroner's jury following the inquest into the death of Steven Yuz. Could the minister give us an unequivocal assurance today that the report of the MacGregor committee will be made public?

Hon. Mr. Timbrell: Yes, Mr. Speaker.

Mr. McClellan: Thank you. By way of supplementary: I think the minister is aware that many people were both disturbed and repelled that as a result of a psychogenic diagnosis Steven Yuz was required to clean up his own vomit at the Hospital for Sick Children. I want to ask the minister whether the terms of reference of the MacGregor committee inquiry include an investigation into the use of behaviour modification therapy and so-called aversive therapy tech-

niques at the Hospital for Sick Children. If not, I want to ask the minister to broaden the terms of reference of the MacGregor committee to deal with this question.

Hon. Mr. Timbrell: Mr. Speaker, as I recall, the second or third recommendation of the coroner's jury had to do with the question of psychogenic diagnosis. The recommendation was to the effect that where a physician felt that was the appropriate diagnosis, it should be checked with a second physician.

Mr. McClellan: It is not the same thing.

Hon. Mr. Timbrell: With respect, I think it is because it gets into the whole question of psychogenic diagnoses and the treatment of those diagnosed. I would say yes, that would form part of the review.

MINISTRY OF HEALTH ADVERTISING

Hon. Mr. Timbrell: Mr. Speaker, yesterday I was in southwestern Ontario, visiting Sarnia, Fergus, Mount Bridges and Newbury in honour of Hospital Day in Canada. The reason I couldn't be here to answer the question from the member for Hamilton West (Mr. S. Smith) was that I was opening a hospital at that very time in Fergus, the \$4-million addition to the Groves Memorial Community Hospital.

In my absence, my leader the Premier (Mr. Davis) took as notice a question from the Leader of the Opposition about an ad that appeared yesterday in newspapers across the province. The ad in question concerned our \$360-million capital construction program. Very simply, we feel on this side of the House that the public of Ontario has a right to know that the hospitals in this province are benefiting from Super-Loto and our other programs to ensure we continue to have the best health-care system in the world.

Interjections.

Mr. Speaker: Order.

Hon. Mr. Timbrell: For the record, the ad was intended to meet the following objectives: to draw public attention to Hospital Day; to set out the extent of hospital construction planned over the next three years; to encourage support for the lottery because community hospitals across Ontario do benefit from Super-Loto, and to support efforts towards energy conservation.

I also think the ads act as a signal to the private sector, indicating the scope of construction projects to be undertaken through the program, particularly given the interest shown today by the member for London

Centre (Mr. Peterson) in the productive application of government funds, which I can only assume also motivated the federal government to run the ad it did this morning regarding the F-18 aircraft.

HOG STABILIZATION PROGRAM

Mr. McKessock: Mr. Speaker, I have a question for the Minister of Agriculture and Food.

Interjections.

Mr. Speaker: Order. Can we hear from the member for Grey?

Mr. McKessock: In view of the fact that it is reported in today's Globe and Mail Report on Business section, page B3, that the Alberta government is setting up a one-year stabilization program for the hog industry in that province, does the minister intend to do the same to give Ontario farmers the same competitive opportunity?

Hon. Mr. Henderson: Mr. Speaker, as I am sure the honourable member is well aware, the government of Canada announced a stabilization program about two weeks ago this Thursday. For each hog produced, up to a maximum of 5,000, producers would receive a little over \$4 per pig. This covers 90 per cent of the five-year average of the cost of the hog.

I have spoken to the Ontario Swine Breeders' Association. The machinery is in place. If we get a request from them, we are ready to consider it. But at this moment, as I am sure the member is aware, under our legislation there is a premium associated with it. Farmers who want to be covered must apply for the coverage.

3:10 p.m.

Mr. McKessock: A supplementary question: In view of the fact the Alberta government is also aware of what the federal government is doing and is giving this as a straight assistance program, paying \$35 per hog over feed cost, would the minister consider giving at least one tenth of this, as he has become accustomed to doing in his recent program in interest assistance?

Hon. Mr. Henderson: I believe I answered the honourable member's question. I told him about two weeks ago I met with the Ontario hog producers. I pointed out to them the machinery is in place, there is a premium involved, if the hog producers themselves are ready to take part in it, we did not object. We are ready to take the necessary action.

BOILERS AND PRESSURE VESSELS INSPECTION

Mr. Germa: Mr. Speaker, I have a question of the Minister of Consumer and Commercial Relations with reference to the inspection service supplied by the boilers and pressure vessels branch of the ministry. Is it the minister's intention to privatize this service or is he going to continue with the inspection branch?

Hon. Mr. Drea: Mr. Speaker, shortly after assuming this portfolio in the fall of 1978 I said we were going to continue. I made that very plain—as a matter of fact, so plain I was criticized for it.

Mr. Germa: A supplementary: If such is the minister's intention, why has he not hired the six more inspectors as recommended by the advisory committee chaired by the member for Cochrane South (Mr. Pope) which reported to the minister January 23, 1979? Also, why has he neglected to enter into an agreement with the federal Treasury Board to carry out the inspections for the federal government?

Ms. Gigantes: Let the insurance companies do it.

Hon. Mr. Drea: No, Mr. Speaker, it is not "let the insurance companies do it." As usual the member is wrong.

In the whole review of the boilers and pressure vessels, which began before I was the minister and continued on, there were recommendations made by the present Minister without Portfolio, who was the parliamentary assistant at the time. Part of the negotiations with the federal government involved other matters, particularly elevators. We came to a conclusion. Neither we nor the industry accepted all of the recommendations put forward in the report by the Minister without Portfolio.

I can assure the House we are not going to privatize. The insurance companies are not going to take it over. We are in the process of continuing with the review to provide the best possible service to the boiler industry because our inspections, and the plate that goes on, are very essential to employment and to sales. At the same time, we are looking towards the most efficient manner of doing so within the parameters of the public service.

GENERAL BAKERIES PLANT SHUTDOWN

Hon. Mr. Elgie: The member for Hamilton Centre raised a question with the Premier (Mr. Davis) in connection with the announcement by General Bakeries of the closure of its

Sanford Avenue plant in Hamilton on June 27, 1980.

It is my understanding that of the 205 people now on the payroll of that plant, 95 will continue to be employed in the Hamilton area in sales, distribution, accounting and shipping activities. The 110 in production and other related activities will be offered first option on 65 openings at other company plants in Ontario on the basis of seniority.

I have also been informed that the company is willing to participate with my ministry and Canada Employment and Immigration in establishing a manpower adjustment committee to assist those workers who might not wish to transfer to other plants. I believe the company has indicated a willingness to provide voluntary additional severance payments to workers remaining with the firm until the closing, tied to their length of service with the company.

Finally, I understand the member has discussed the plant closure with company officials and if he feels it would be helpful if I met with them, I would be pleased to do so.

Mr. M. N. Davison: Mr. Speaker, I have already read the corporate rationale and explanation, and that was the reason I raised the question in the assembly with the Premier. I have met with Mr. Wygant and found him not to be the world's most sensitive person.

I would go back to the question I put to the Premier: Does the minister not think such profitable companies, in such cases where they close down a plant after owning it for only 12 years, have a responsibility to provide more in the way of income maintenance and job retraining rather than throwing the expense of looking after these workers on the taxpayers of Ontario?

Hon. Mr. Elgie: Mr. Speaker, I don't want to get into whether or not it was a wise business decision. Surely that is a decision individuals have to make if they decide to leave a company and the companies have to make if they decide to close or move. I think the fact they are involving 95 people in their Hamilton area sales staff and offering a move to other parts of the province to 65 others with seniority, is evidence of good faith.

NOTICE OF DISSATISFACTION

Mr. Speaker: The member for Essex South (Mr. Mancini) has expressed his dissatisfaction with the answer to a question posed of the Minister of Industry and Tourism (Mr. Grossman) about grants to the automobile industry. This matter will be debated at 10:30 this evening.

WEDDING ANNIVERSARY

Hon. Mr. Davis: Mr. Speaker, before presenting reports I would like to report to the House that the Treasurer (Mr. F. S. Miller) and his wife are today celebrating 30 years of conjugal bliss.

Mr. Speaker: Are you going to table the report?

Hon. Mr. Davis: No, I think we should ask him to table the report.

Mr. Peterson: A motion expressing our sympathy and understanding should go forward from here to Mrs. Miller, for the long number of years she has suffered.

MOTION

COMMITTEE SITTING

Hon. Mr. Wells moved that the select committee on Ontario Hydro affairs be authorized to sit concurrently with the House Thursday afternoon, May 15.

Motion agreed to.

INTRODUCTION OF BILLS

CONDOMINIUM AMENDMENT ACT

Mr. Wildman moved first reading of Bill 70, An Act to amend the Condominium Act.

Motion agreed to.

Mr. Wildman: Mr. Speaker, the bill amends the Condominium Act, 1978, to clarify that a condominium unit may consist of vacant land. The bill also adds mobile homes to the definition of buildings in the act. The effect of the amendment is to enable mobile home parks to be registered as condominium projects. The bill consequently permits the development of mobile home condominium projects by enabling a developer to choose between designating a mobile home as a unit in itself or alternately designating a vacant lot as a unit upon which a mobile home may be placed.

ORDERS OF THE DAY

ESTATE BILLS REFERRAL

Hon. Mr. Wells moved resolution 9:

That standing order 71 be revoked and the following substituted therefor:

71—(a) Every estate bill or part of a bill that contains an estate bill provision stands referred to the commissioners of estate bills after first reading.

(b) The commissioners of estate bills, or any two of them, shall report their opinion on the bill or the part thereof that has been

submitted to them, and whether, presuming the allegations contained in the preamble to be proven to the satisfaction of the House, it is reasonable for the bill or the part thereof to pass and what, if any, alterations are necessary.

(c) A report of the commissioners of estate bills shall be transmitted to the Clerk of the House.

(d) Where the commissioners of estate bills report that, in their opinion, it is not reasonable that the bill or the part thereof submitted to them pass into law, the bill or the part thereof shall not be further considered.

(e) Where the bill or the part thereof submitted to the commissioners of estate bills is reported favourably by the commissioners, the bill and the report shall stand referred to the appropriate standing committee, and where only part of a bill is submitted to the commissioners and the commissioners report that, in their opinion, it is not reasonable that the part pass into law, the bill, except for the part to which the report applies, shall stand referred to the appropriate standing committee.

Further, that standing order 74 be revoked and the following substituted therefor:

74. Private bills when reported by standing committees shall be placed on the Order Paper for second reading.

Further, that paragraph 7 of standing order 101 be revoked and the following substituted therefor:

7. Report to the Clerk of the House any bill or part thereof that should be referred to the Ontario Municipal Board or the commissioners of estate bills under standing orders 70 and 71.

Motion agreed to.

BASIN-JIB MINES LIMITED ACT

Mr. Lawlor, on behalf of Mr. Renwick, moved second reading of Bill Pr1, An Act to revive Basin-Jib Mines Limited.

Motion agreed to.

Third reading also agreed to on motion.

3:20 p.m.

CHRISTIAN REFORMED CHURCH OF WALLACEBURG ACT

Mr. Watson moved second reading of Bill Pr2, An Act to revive Christian Reformed Church of Wallaceburg.

Motion agreed to.

Third reading also agreed to on motion.

MILANI LATHING LIMITED ACT

Mr. Di Santo moved second reading of Bill Pr5, An Act to revive Milani Lathing Limited.

Motion agreed to.

Third reading also agreed to on motion.

CITY OF ST. CATHARINES ACT

Mr. Bradley moved second reading of Bill Pr8, An Act respecting the City of St. Catharines.

Motion agreed to.

Third reading also agreed to on motion.

JOHN MADRONICH LIMITED ACT

Mr. Kerr moved second reading of Bill Pr9, An Act to revive John Madronich Limited.

Motion agreed to.

Third reading also agreed to on motion.

TOWNSHIPS OF CUMBERLAND AND GLOUCESTER ACT

Mr. Belanger moved second reading of Bill Pr10, An Act respecting the Township of Cumberland and the Township of Gloucester.

Motion agreed to.

Third reading also agreed to on motion.

CITY OF BRANTFORD ACT

Mr. Warner, on behalf of Mr. Makarchuk, moved second reading of Bill Pr11, An Act respecting the City of Brantford.

Motion agreed to.

Third reading also agreed to on motion.

GOLDEN HOPE MINES LIMITED ACT

Mr. Williams moved second reading of Bill Pr15, An Act to revive Golden Hope Mines Limited.

Motion agreed to.

Third reading also agreed to on motion.

CO-OPERATIVE HEALTH SERVICES OF ONTARIO ACT

Mr. Eaton, on behalf of Mr. McCaffrey, moved second reading of Bill Pr16, An Act respecting Co-operative Health Services of Ontario.

Motion agreed to.

Third reading also agreed to on motion.

FARGO DISPOSAL COMPANY LIMITED ACT

Mr. Philip moved second reading of Bill Pr20, An Act to revive Fargo Disposal Company Limited.

Motion agreed to.

Third reading also agreed to on motion.

CROSSROADS CHRISTIAN COMMUNICATIONS INCORPORATED ACT

Mr. Lawlor moved second reading of Bill Pr22, An Act respecting Crossroads Communications Incorporated.

Motion agreed to.

Third reading also agreed to on motion.

BOROUGH OF SCARBOROUGH ACT

Mr. Williams moved second reading of Bill Pr24, An Act respecting the Borough of Scarborough.

Mr. Isaacs: Mr. Speaker, I would like to speak to the principle of this bill on second reading.

This bill introduces a new principle that I believe is very important in terms of the development of municipal government in this province. It is for that reason that I rise today to speak on the principle of the bill.

I want to say that while I commend the borough of Scarborough for bringing this bill forward, and I commend it for its initiative in taking this particular approach to the development of the community and to the setting up of procedures for community improvement, I strongly resent, as a spokesman for this caucus on municipal affairs and as the representative of a riding that contains two municipalities and part of a third, the fact that the government is permitting this privilege to a single borough in Ontario.

The principle of the bill is that a borough can raise funds for the purpose of community improvement and can lend or expend those funds for community improvement projects either by the borough or by private individuals. I think that is a good mechanism, but it concerns me greatly that the other 800 municipalities in this province, the other 600 organized municipalities in this province, are being denied the privilege that this bill is giving to the borough of Scarborough.

I very much hope the Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs (Mr. Wells), who I note is in his seat, will take a look at the principle this bill is putting in place and will give very serious consideration to extending this par-

ticular principle to other organized municipalities, particularly those municipalities that lie within regions and are therefore well structured and well organized to take advantage of this particular principle.

I also want to suggest there are a couple of provisions contained in the 14 articles of this bill that I see as being little more than a game. I hope the minister's staff has taken a look at those very seriously and that when the minister comes forward with proposals to implement this on a province-wide basis, he will ensure that the provisions I regard as a game are not included in a province-wide application.

Those particular provisions relate to the matter of a five-year limit on the period during which the loans that are granted under this act are to be repaid, yet there is no limit at all specified in this bill on the amount of interest that the municipality is to charge on the loans it gives to individuals and to corporations. I regard it as very strange indeed that the government is allowing a bill to proceed that has such a strict control in one area and yet absolutely no control in the other area.

3:30 p.m.

Mr. Speaker: I want to remind the honourable member that the government, as he puts it, has had nothing at all to do with this bill. It went before the private bills committee, and all municipalities could ask for the same privileges through the same avenue.

Mr. Isaacs: Thank you for reminding me, Mr. Speaker. Nevertheless, there have been other bills that have come before the private bills committee and the government has made it very clear it will not allow them to proceed. Therefore, with great respect, I suggest that the fact that this bill is here today is an indication that the government is supporting the principle of the bill and—

Hon. Mr. Gregory: That is nonsense. It went through committee.

Mr. Isaacs: I am being told it is nonsense, Mr. Speaker. There are other bills that have been on the Order Paper in this session that the Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs has indicated he will not allow to proceed. Therefore, if a bill is here before us today for second reading, and is being given the support of the government in that second reading that I assume this bill is going to receive, then I have to assume the principle of this bill is supported by the government of the day.

If that is not the case, then I hope when we get to second reading the government will

indicate its intention and will rise and oppose this bill so that it does not proceed if it is not the wish of the government that it proceed. We have had requests in private bills for substantial changes to the legislation under which various municipalities operate. Those bills have been stopped in private bills committee, or at some other stage, by the government.

I am not objecting to, nor am I opposing, the principle of the bill. I am speaking to the principle of the bill because I consider it an important principle, one which should not be allowed to remain solely with the borough of Scarborough but should be extended to every other organized municipality in this province.

If it were the intention of the minister to bring forward legislation to allow this to happen in every other municipality, then I assume we would not be giving this power today to the borough of Scarborough. I assume that, instead, the minister would have introduced blanket legislation to give this power to every municipality in the province.

I am using the opportunity to speak to the principle to encourage the minister to bring forward the legislation needed to allow this provision to be used not just by the borough of Scarborough but also by the three municipalities I represent and by the other 600 or so organized municipalities across the province.

While speaking to that principle, I am urging the minister, when he brings forward that legislation, to exclude from it a couple of the strange provisions that are included in this particular bill. In my mind, they weaken the principle of the bill. I am not going to vote against it. I will be very interested to see, given the comments from the members opposite, exactly what the government members are going to do in a few minutes when we vote on this bill.

To wrap up my comments, having spoken to the matter of the five-year limit on the repayment period, the fact that the borough of Scarborough is all of a sudden in the business of setting interest rates, and can set interest rates anywhere from zero per cent to a usurious 100 per cent because it is not covered under the Small Loans Act, which does not apply to this bill, I would also like to draw the minister's attention to section 10. It puts in place a peculiar provision whereby there cannot be any funds left at the end of the year, because the amount of money spent under the bill has to match the estimates for that year that are approved by the municipal council. If there is money left at the end of the year, it is to be applied to the general

rate. In my mind, that weakens entirely the principle of the bill and means that the community improvement fund the bill is setting up is no longer really a separate fund within the borough of Scarborough, as the bill so obviously intends. It is just another way of raising money which could become part of the general operations of the borough of Scarborough if a future municipal council so decided, and it concerns me somewhat that the ability of the council to weaken the entire concept is retained in the bill when it is a bill specific to the borough of Scarborough.

My colleagues and I will be supporting this bill but, because it is a bold new principle, I thought it important to make those remarks on second reading here today.

Mr. Nixon: Mr. Speaker, I believe the member for Wentworth is entirely correct in his remarks on the section of the bill dealing with community improvement. It is a departure and it might very well have become general legislation, giving all municipalities the right to enter into this program if they choose.

Frankly, I see no reason why it cannot come into practice to begin with as private legislation. If we see how it works, it might very well be extended. But I do say that the government does have a responsibility in these bills. They should not be confused in the mind of anybody, even the Minister of Consumer and Commercial Relations (Mr. Drea), with private members' bills.

These are the municipalities which come to the Legislature for authority to do certain things that they see as appropriate, and I would say the Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs has a very high responsibility, deeply embedded in the historic traditions of this House, to come to the committee and express his views.

I have felt very strongly that we should have a minister of municipal affairs, and the fact that our minister is the Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs means that his responsibilities are so diluted and directed in so many fields—the fact that he is government House leader simply adds to this—is an indication, in my view, that he and to some extent his staff are not following up on these bills as carefully as they should.

Mr. Speaker, I know you and the other members of the House have read this section very carefully, as I have, but it really is a departure which may be a great success in Scarborough and may be copied by all other municipalities. About the time that another two or three come for similar legislation, we would expect that it would be-

come permissive legislation applying to all municipalities.

I well remember the minister's predecessor's predecessor, back about five generations, sainted Wilfrid Spooner, as Minister of Municipal Affairs, never missed a meeting of the private bills committee, and he always expressed the government's view on the applications from the various municipalities.

I would urge the present minister to pick up that tradition, because when there are a couple of officials from his ministry—who I am sure are very capable people indeed; although I find as I get older they get younger every year—and they sit at the head table perusing the bill, as some members of the committee are, for the very first time, not giving any indication at all as to where the ministry stands, that is not good enough.

I am very glad it was raised by the member for Wentworth. I thought it was an important point. I had the same feeling when the bill was presented to the committee, that in fact this was a departure that merited either support or at least comment from the ministry. I think this is something that is very properly brought to the attention of the whole House at this time.

Hon. Mr. Drea: Mr. Speaker, just before the Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs responds, certainly on the principle of this bill Scarborough should not be penalized for initiative. The borough of Scarborough gave considerable thought to this particular application for legislation before the private bills committee. The reason I know that is they came to me and I arranged for its introduction through my colleague.

Regarding a municipality having some initiative, in the past it used to be that whenever a municipality had some initiative it was always told, "Why don't you wait a couple of years and then the government will bring in general legislation?" That was before the various committees of this House considered private public bills. I am very grateful that attitude has disappeared. It is certainly a—

Mr. Conway: You are being irrelevant. Speak to the point.

3:40 p.m.

Hon. Mr. Drea: I am speaking to the point and I would appreciate it if the member would let me continue. One of the difficulties with the Liberal Party is it has very little presence in Scarborough. I can understand their concern about anything that is in a Scarborough bill. They are third-place finishers in all five ridings.

Surely a municipality, even if it is on a point of departure—and I recall such signifi-

cant points of departure as the application by the city of Toronto regarding rent control in 1975—can feel encouraged to take the initiative. I can understand some applications by the city of Hamilton. In those days these bills were handled by the justice committee on Wednesday. Quite often municipalities were deliberately inhibited.

I am very pleased to see that with the revamping of the House rules we have a great many committees handling the private public bills, and municipalities can feel encouraged to take the initiative, rather than having to sit back and wait for a consensus among the rest of the municipalities. I certainly have no qualms when there is an overwhelming consensus among the municipalities. I give the member credit for this, because he has stated some specifics in terms of the benefits this would provide for municipalities within a region which because of their structure will particularly benefit from this.

I don't want it to be left that a municipality should wait until there is a broad consensus among other municipalities and until there is an attitude by the government that this type of legislation will be favoured.

I think this bill is to the credit of the borough of Scarborough. In the past, the borough of Scarborough has put in applications for private municipal bills that have been turned down, quite frankly, for a very good reason. It was not because they were ahead of their time or because they were on a new departure but because in their structure and their contents they met neither the needs nor the requirements of the borough. There should be no confusion.

Obviously, the government members are going to support this bill. My only concern is that it has been rather traditional that the concerns of the individual private members are expressed in the committee where the municipality which is bringing forward the legislation, albeit with a member of the House to introduce it, can explain fully and change the particular wording in the legislation. That purpose surely would better be served in the committee.

Mr. M. N. Davison: Is the minister afraid of the Legislature?

Hon. Mr. Drea: Am I what? The members opposite are the ones who raised it. I am standing here four-square saying the borough of Scarborough worked hard on it. The borough of Scarborough brought it to me. I arranged for my colleague the member for Oriole (Mr. Williams) to introduce it. It went before the committee. I must say, the

reason I am speaking today is that the borough of Scarborough is going to be absolutely amazed that there was actually a debate on the bill. I want to make very plain the way that it was done and that there should not be any remarks, there should not be any inhibitions, towards a municipality that recognizes its duty towards its citizens and comes forward and introduces such a bill.

Mr. Speaker: I hope the honourable member who has just spoken has not said that anything that has been said on second reading was out of order, because there is a motion before the House. The debate that has ensued is perfectly in order.

Hon. Mr. Wells: Mr. Speaker, I would like to make a few comments on the principle of this bill and in response to some of the comments that have been made by the various members who have spoken. I certainly do not think there is anything out of order in discussing the principle of a private bill that establishes a new municipal principle.

Also, however, there is nothing out of the ordinary in establishing that principle in a private bill rather than having it brought in as an amendment to the Municipal Act. My friend the member for Wentworth is right in suggesting that perhaps the other municipalities of this province would like to have the principle and the procedures laid out in this bill. He knows, as I know, that this bill will be carefully scrutinized by the Association of Municipalities of Ontario, by the Municipal Liaison Committee and by other municipalities. Indeed, it may turn up very shortly as general legislation under the Municipal Act. Scarborough developed the idea, as my colleague from Scarborough Centre (Mr. Drea) has said, pioneered it and brought it forward to this House, as have many other municipalities brought forward ideas over the years.

My friend from Brant-Oxford-Norfolk is perfectly right in remembering that Wilf Spooner used to attend all the meetings. I guess in those days a lot of ministers and members had time to attend many more meetings than they do today. In those days, I recall, as he will recall, we had a private bills committee of this Legislature and all the private bills went there. Now the bills go to different committees, and it is even possible to have bills on at the same time perhaps in committees.

I want to assure him that the underlying principle of the government and of the government ministry responsible for municipal affairs in looking at private bills has not

changed. All the private bills that come into this government are scrutinized by our ministry and are circulated by our ministry to all other ministries in the government so that comments from the government side on those private bills can be ascertained. They are then presented at the various committees, either by staff or mainly by my parliamentary assistant whose main responsibility is in the municipal area.

In regard to this bill, we scrutinized the bill and there were no objections or comments on the bill. In other words, as far as the staff of this ministry and the minister are concerned, we are content with the provisions as laid out in this bill for the operation of this new principle in the borough of Scarborough. That does not mean that if we brought in the principle in general legislation we would not look at or make certain changes in it. But as far as this bill is concerned, it was scrutinized. If we had had any objections to it, they would have been presented, rightly I think, at the time the committee was hearing the bill and at the time when the municipal solicitors and municipal people who were putting forward the bill were there to bring their input for our benefit and our knowledge. As my friend knows, these are bills that municipalities bring forward, and we need to have the people who are sponsoring the bills present when we are discussing amendments and changes. That incidentally, is why we practise the reverse procedure to normal bills. These bills, as members of this House know, go to committee first before they come here for second reading and approval in principle.

With those few remarks, as far as this ministry is concerned, I am certainly happy to support the principle of this private bill from the borough of Scarborough.

Mr. Speaker: Does any other member wish to speak? The member for Oriole.

Mr. Williams: Mr. Speaker, as the member who had the privilege of sponsoring the bill, I want to conclude the remarks this afternoon by pointing out, as my colleague from Scarborough Centre stated, that the borough of Scarborough had certain specific needs that were identified in the legislation; the very purpose for bringing it before the committee was so that these particular needs could be dealt with at this time on their individual merits.

The matter was carefully considered before the committee. I certainly know the member for Brant-Oxford-Norfolk took the lead in questioning some of the sections of the bill and in questioning the staff from the minis-

try when it was before committee. My recollection is that the ministry staff did indicate they had given consideration to the bill and had no objection to the bill's going forward.

I do not recall that the member for Wentworth did have the opportunity to appear before the committee to raise the points he has raised today. I will not debate the merits of the objections he has raised to the bill. However, I feel the opportunity should have been taken at that time if he felt as strongly as he did about the bill, assuming he was aware it was in process before committee so that it could have been debated at that time.

3:50 p.m.

Mr. Nixon: The criticism was directed at the government. There wasn't anyone there from the government.

Mr. Williams: With respect, for the record, there were two representatives there from the ministry to answer questions.

Mr. Nixon: They said they didn't have any comment. I had the feeling they hadn't looked at it before.

Mr. Williams: In fact, the member who is now speaking directed questions specifically to the staff, who did respond.

Mr. Nixon: There was no one from the government; there was no minister there.

Mr. Williams: There is no question but that there was representation from the ministry there to answer any questions that were posed. I think the matter was fully aired in the committee. While there is no objection to debating again a private bill in the House before it receives second reading, I hope this will not establish some sort of precedent when the committee procedure and opportunity is the place where we should try to give full vent to any concerns over a private member's bill, rather than taking up further time in the Legislature to do so.

Mr. Speaker: I want to assure the honourable member that no dangerous precedent has been established this afternoon.

Mr. Warner: Mr. Speaker, I wish to speak briefly on this matter.

Mr. Speaker: The honourable member who sponsored it closed the debate. I asked if there were any other members who wished to speak to it.

Mr. Warner: And I rose in my place.

Mr. Speaker: I would have recognized you had you stood prior to the member sponsoring the bill.

Mr. Warner: I thought out of courtesy I would allow him to go first.

Mr. Speaker: That is very generous of you.

Mr. Warner: And this is the reward for my generosity?

Mr. Speaker: That is right.

Motion agreed to.

Mr. Williams moved third reading of Bill P24, An Act respecting the Borough of Scarborough.

Mr. Warner: Mr. Speaker, being courteous didn't get me anywhere; so I have to try something else. There are a couple of matters I want to raise. I would hope the member for Oriole would reconsider some of his remarks. What has occurred in the short while here this afternoon reconfirms a very important principle about the operation of this assembly; that is, committee work is very important. Committees report back to the House. At that time, there is an opportunity for all members of the House to take a look at what has gone on in committee. That is a very firm principle we have held to quite strictly in this assembly. I would not want to see that altered.

As several members have indicated, the borough of Scarborough is to be commended on the initiative it has taken and the deep commitment it has to community improvement in Scarborough. That borough, its council and community groups have expressed an interest in community improvement. The bill will assist in that.

I would also re-emphasize remarks made by my colleague from Wentworth that the principle, being a sound one, should be aired in some debate with respect to all municipalities, and certainly the organized ones in the province. If the government is not prepared to bring forward an amendment to the Municipal Act, perhaps it would bring forward a white paper or discussion paper to see whether we could get some feedback from other organized municipalities so that some change to the Municipal Act might be considered.

Having said that, I wholeheartedly give my approval to this important bill, which will assist the good council of Scarborough in attempting to improve our community in every way it can find.

Motion agreed to.

MIDLAND YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION ACT

Mr. Rotenberg, on behalf of Mr. G. E. Smith, moved second reading of Bill Pr4, An

Act respecting the Midland Young Men's Christian Association.

Motion agreed to.

Ordered for committee of the whole House.

OCCUPIERS' LIABILITY ACT

Mr. Sterling, on behalf of Hon. Mr. McMurtry, moved third reading of Bill 202, An Act respecting Occupiers' Liability.

Mr. Lawlor: Mr. Speaker, we have been through the throes of this bill. My remarks have been repeated a number of times, but I think one final quip might not do any harm to the human ear. It was taken up last week in estimates; so I can shorten my remarks today. This bill has sat acquiescent on the Order Paper for some period of time, and I had always wondered why the ministry was not more anxious to get on with it.

As I understand it, there are possibly a couple of amendments on the government's side, with respect, and they well may be very thorough-going amendments at the same time—perhaps a total deletion. Do you know what that does, Mr. Speaker? It opens the whole legislation again if it goes into committee of the whole House. We, including the parliamentary assistant, were negligent on the opening day of this House or the first full day in that it slipped through and now arrives in our demesne as a third reading on this particular occasion—not that I was anxious to rehearse the iniquities therein contained.

The legislation in question here was generated by the ministry itself, and that speaks for it in part. Sometimes good politics makes bad law. This is a case in point, although the Attorney General (Mr. McMurtry) disputes that somewhat vigorously and has absented himself today with respect to further locking of horns.

Originally in 1973, the Ontario Law Reform Commission came forward with such legislation. It has been done in many jurisdictions throughout the world but in no way in any parallel with what has been produced before us today. The law reform commission was quite diverse. I had produced a private member's bill at an earlier time, taken from some Scottish legislation in this particular regard. That should have been done in order to get good law or the advancing law which goes by inches through the courts and takes several centuries in order to crawl snail-like towards some consummation. That is what it did, but this legislation reverses a great deal of that, as I see it. It ought to have been sent back to the law reform commission for

further study in order to have them come forward, as they had done in earlier times, with draft legislation, having fed them in with all the political exigencies that went into the warp in the woof in this particular situation.

Mr. Nixon: Could you run that past us again?

Mr. Lawlor: I couldn't do it again. There are a couple of instances in the bill which I will touch on. In the course of the committee's consideration, they introduced a clause having to do with police pursuit and arrest of individuals which, I am sure, Mr. Speaker, you will stay up late tonight puzzling over, as I have had to do. It runs directly counter to legislation passed through this House a year ago with respect to the Provincial Offences Act where the basic principle was that the laws of the province must be decriminalized. We went to great lengths on this with breast-beating and numerous headlines just to add a little accolade to the whole damned thing. In the first major piece of legislation we get before us, he reverses his principle and sticks it in. I would be very interested to hear the apology pro vita sua of his life, of what it all means to him and how they manage such machinations, with their own legislation and betray their basic principle.

4 p.m.

The second area, and there are many—the whole thing is ragtag and tatters of special pleading and vested interests of all kinds, running adverse to the overall development of the law. I am a purist to that extent; to see it undermined in this particular fashion does raise hackles.

In the Middle Ages they used to have cathedrals, and not only did they have sanctuaries but they also were sanctuaries. In contemporary, commercial civilization we have shopping malls.

This legislation protects, builds a fence around, where one may worship Mammon without anybody stepping on one's toes, in perfect quietude, et cetera. I suppose that's the general philosophy around here, so Mammon will be worshipped in peace and no people will come on to the plaza to distribute their wretched, provoking and disturbing leaflets at election time or at any other time.

Those commercial centres, unlike the rest of the commercial community on the main thoroughfares of things, will be a special little preserve et cetera protected from the true facts of life and the various irritations which our flesh has grown heir to. It is dreadful legislation.

Mr. McKessock: Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to see these two bills finally coming in for third reading. As a land owner and a person who lives in the Niagara Escarpment area, where these two bills have quite an effect, I know the urban people have been becoming increasingly aware of the benefits and the beauty of the rural areas in Ontario and like to wander and trespass across many properties.

It was becoming a case where land owners also were becoming aware of the responsibility or the duties of care that might be laid upon them if somebody happened to hurt himself while picking wildflowers or what have you. They decided it was much easier to keep these people off their property than to take the risk of being liable for any accidents.

With Bill 202 relieving them of that duty of care, I am sure there will be many more land owners who now will be agreeable to let people on to their property, which they have not minded doing in the past except for the liability problems they could be faced with.

The previous trespass bill was very ineffective, because it did not provide for fines of any substantial amount; now, if somebody is trespassing against the property owner's will, he can be prosecuted and the property rights of the people are fully protected.

Mr. Warner: Mr. Speaker, for the Tory party it may be good politics in rural Ontario, but it is bad law and they know it. We know precisely why the bill was brought forward, and we attempted in the committee to present reasonable and rational arguments based on this government's own work and through the Ontario Law Reform Commission. For a while we had some assistance from a reasonable member, the member for Nipissing (Mr. Bolan), a lawyer, until it became apparent that he was making so much good sense and reason that the Liberals removed him from the committee and replaced him with another spokesman from the farm community.

I understand full well, as we pointed out in the committee, the concerns raised by the member for Grey and other members who are concerned about the farm community. I still say those concerns could be met without taking away certain protections for individuals, the most vulnerable of whom are children. They will now have less protection under the law than they have enjoyed to date.

The other irritation was watching as per usual around this building, Inco Limited come in, make its demands and walk out with what it wanted. That's normal around here. It was no surprise to me when they

were able to get what they wanted out of the Tories and Liberals.

It was a very disturbing kind of event for me. Like my good colleague the member for Lakeshore, I too am profoundly disturbed by the way in which this government has now enshrined in law the protection for the commercial cathedrals. It is very distasteful, quite frankly.

Again, the government had arguments presented to it from learned professors in the law as to how it could accommodate a more democratic operation for the shopping malls and at the same time protect the individual from being harassed.

We had model legislation—legislation, I remind the minister, from Manitoba which, while introduced by a New Democratic Party government, was maintained and protected by the Conservative government when it took over. From them there has been a report of no problems with the legislation.

As the government bows to the wishes of Inco, so it bows to the wishes of Cadillac Fairview Corporation Limited. Whatever Cadillac Fairview wants, that's fine with the government.

I have a greater interest in democracy. I will pursue the issue of how we open up the shopping malls to the public in a far more public way than we have now.

I listened very closely, and appreciatively, when the Minister of Consumer and Commercial Relations (Mr. Drea) informed us that because of this government's opposition to the Russian invasion of Afghanistan, Russian vodka was being removed from the shelves of the liquor stores. I remember a couple of months prior to that, in the committee, raising the same issue and suggesting that if we made the amendment in the bill people who were concerned about protesting the Russian invasion of Afghanistan would be allowed to bring their concerns to the notice of the public, asking them not to purchase Russian vodka. Does the minister remember that?

That was what I brought forward. The government did not see fit to add that to the bill, but the minister then stood and announced that the government had responded to the situation by removing Russian vodka from the shelves of the liquor stores. I do not understand that kind of change of heart. We are used to flip-flops from the Liberals, not from the Conservatives. However, that's their business.

All I can tell you, Mr. Speaker, is that I intend to pursue the issue of democratizing the shopping malls so that the public has a better opportunity to make its voice heard

and to attempt to persuade others in matters of conscience, whether it is the Russian invasion of Afghanistan or the Radio Shack situation that existed, or whatever the situation is.

4:10 p.m.

For example, when the Minister of Consumer and Commercial Relations made his statement on Russian vodka, I am sure many of us were wishing that at the same time he would have said something about removing Chilean wines from the liquor store shelves until a democratic government is returned to Chile.

Since he is not going to do that, would it not be an improvement in these bills if we had my suggested amendment, which would allow the public to bring their views about Chilean wines and Chilean products to the attention of the public as they are going through the commercial cathedrals?

All I can do is register my dismay at the behaviour of the government, because I understand what they were about. I understand that had they been true to the kind of course they pursued, both through the Provincial Offences Act and the Ontario Law Reform Commission, we would have seen a much different bill from the one we got. But I guess there are days when partisan political concerns rise above having good legislation.

Mr. J. Johnson: Mr. Speaker, I rise in full support of Bills 202 and 203 and I resent the remarks made by the member for Scarborough-Ellesmere. They were political posturing.

He talks about commercial cathedrals. I think that is the only thing they understand over there. He threw in the remark that Inco contributed towards these bills. These bills were presented long before Inco had any concern whatsoever about the principles.

If the member knew anything about rural Ontario, he would know that it affects it much more than it does the likes of Inco.

Mr. Warner: Inco came in and got what they wanted.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: Order. Perhaps the honourable member would address his remarks through the chair.

Mr. J. Johnson: Mr. Speaker, it is as much a waste of time to try to talk to the honourable member today as it was in committee. If he recalls, in the committee hearings only two groups opposed either Bill 202 or Bill 203. Nearly every group that presented a case was in favour of these bills. Certainly, the people who want to make use of rural Ontario are in favour of them.

Mr. Lawlor: Anybody who knew anything about law was against them.

Mr. J. Johnson: Apparently, if we do not agree with the member for Lakeshore, we know nothing about law. I find that offensive too.

Mr. Lawlor: Well, the university professors showed up and the member did not agree with them.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: Order.

Mr. J. Johnson: Mr. Speaker, it was my understanding that this Legislature tried to present legislation that was held in esteem and favoured by the majority of people whom we try to represent. This type of legislation has been requested by rural Ontario for many years. To delay it any longer is unreasonable and unnecessary. As I mentioned earlier, the member is doing it for strictly political means and he accuses us of the same thing. I hope we can soon resolve this and get on with the third reading of these two bills and have them passed into legislation.

Mr. Nixon: I congratulate you on the latitude you are permitting in this third reading debate, Mr. Speaker. I will attempt to be brief.

I have been stimulated, however, by the member for Scarborough-Ellesmere who, having been transported from some great social studies class, finds himself a reincarnation of Judge Learned Hand here in this Legislature telling us what is good law. I am used to lawyers retiring to the robing room and running their fingers over the tablets and coming out and telling us what we should be doing. We take the responsibility in this party for supporting the bill because we believe it is a good and necessary one.

They are talking about amendments. I do not know very many statutes that we have passed that have not required an occasional amendment in the future. We do not expect to be perfect every time. But if we listen to law professors from universities, we are going to make more mistakes than if we use our common sense.

Mr. Speaker, you know of the occasion that prompted the original introduction of the resolution leading to these bills by my honourable friend the member for Huron-Middlesex (Mr. Riddell). You remember the occasion where somebody, probably from Scarborough, loaded his snowmobile on a trailer, went out into the rural areas, probably with about 15 mickeys of booze along, and went zooming into some farmer's property and injured himself by running into a fence, then sued the farmer for having his

fence there and, by God, he won his case. If my friend calls that good law, then he can stick with it. I believe that these bills, which are going to give the kind of protection we need to the land owners, are not only necessary now, but also have been unduly delayed.

Frankly, I resent the fact that when interested people have inquired from certain government offices as to why they were delayed, certain people who are unmentionable—in fact, unspeakable—have indicated that it is the Liberals who have been holding this up. I want to assure you, Mr. Speaker, that is not the case. We believe this legislation is needed, and I resent this tight-halo approach by the spokesman in legal matters from Scarborough-Ellesmere, indicating that we don't know anything about what is needed in the community. I don't know about good law or bad law; he has been the critic of the Ministry of the Solicitor General for four or five weeks now, so he stands up and preaches to us.

We make the laws and we make them in respect of what we believe is right and what the community needs, and I believe these two bills qualify on both counts.

Mr. Eaton: Mr. Speaker, I rise to say it is a great day to see these bills coming forward for third reading in the House. Certainly Bill 202, which is the one before us—we have talked a lot about Bill 203 in here too, mostly about it—opens up the possibility for a much better relationship between the property owners in this province and the people who want to use their property for recreational purposes.

Those people who want to go out and use the property now know that, if they ask for and get permission, they can go on that property and use it at their own risk. The property owners know they are not taking the risk of being sued for the actions of someone carrying out recreational activities on their property. As the member for Brant-Oxford-Norfolk said, the legislation is long overdue and should have been out much sooner.

I think I should refer also to Bill 203, as everyone else has, and we will not have to discuss it again when it is moved for third reading in a minute. I think that particular bill restores some of the property rights that have been taken away from land owners in this province. It gives them an opportunity to protect their property, to protect their rights and to get restitution for things that are damaged when people come on their

property and have no regard whatsoever for it.

It is a little different from the legal matters that the NDP member for Scarborough-Ellesmere brought before the committee, letting on he is an expert. The member for Brant-Oxford-Norfolk said he could stick with his opinions; I think he can just stick his opinions.

We argued about it many times in the committee, and the way some of the supposedly expert lawyers who came before that committee would have had the law, as I pointed out to them once there, would be such that if I went snowmobiling or something on my neighbour's property, I would have been much better off under their terms because, if I happened to get hurt, I could have sued him.

With this legislation, one is responsible for one's own actions; one is responsible for himself. I just hope that a good deal of advertising will be done by the ministry to see that the information is made available to the urban people so they will know that when they go out on property in rural Ontario they are going on someone else's property and must respect those property rights, they must get permission or they are trespassing on other people's property. It is good so see this legislation carried through, and I hope it gets royal assent very quickly when we get through third reading.

Mr. Riddell: Mr. Speaker, to speak only briefly, I want to say I think we do have good legislation. I was one of the members on the committee which sat for many hours when the various presentations were being made; so I am not going to reiterate all the good things I think there are about the bill.

4:20 p.m.

However, I want to comment on the two concerns expressed by my good friend the member for Lakeshore. I am surprised that he would suggest there should not be police apprehension of a trespasser, considering that criminal acts seem to be on the increase year after year, particularly in our urban centres. We may be suspicious of a trespasser or someone who seems to be hanging around schoolyards waiting for an opportunity to conduct some kind of an act, whatever it may be. I cannot understand why the member for Lakeshore would want to stop a policeman from going out and apprehending that person and asking some questions and trying to find out what he is about and why he is loitering around schoolyards and things of that nature. If he could explain it to me, I would be prepared to listen.

The other matter of concern was the demonstrations in the shopping plazas. I can see what the NDP is up to. They would dearly like to see secondary boycotting in places like that. If people want to demonstrate, if when they run their next election they want to do some politicking, then I think it is only a matter of courtesy to go in and ask permission from the business people who have their money invested there. The NDP doesn't have any money invested in these businesses in the shopping plazas. As a matter of courtesy, they should ask the businessmen if they would mind a demonstration outside on the parking lot. If they want to distribute their material at election time, they should get that permission from the business people. What is the problem? It is just a matter of courtesy. I fail to really understand the concerns on the part of the member for Lakeshore. If he thinks it over, I think he will agree it is good legislation. If it needs amending, then in a year or two, if things aren't working, we can always amend it. But let's give it a try now and see how it works.

Mr. Laughren: Mr. Speaker, I wish I had been at the meetings when Inco made their appearance and said they were expressing fears that they might be held liable if somebody were to fall down a couple of thousand feet and all they had done wrong was to forget to put a fence around the hole. It would be a bit much to witness Inco carrying on that kind of argument.

When I read the bill I saw expressions like, "The occupier owes a duty to the person not to create a danger with the deliberate intent of doing harm or damage to the person or his property and to not act with reckless disregard of the presence of a person and his property." It probably wouldn't be Inco, quite frankly. It would probably be a smaller operation where there wouldn't be the proper follow-up on an abandoned mine site. I wonder where one draws that line as to what is "reckless disregard," what is just negligence and what is just forgetfulness. Where are we going to draw that line?

Surely in that case, the responsibility is on the property owner to put proper protection around an area that has been abandoned. I must say the member for Scarborough-Ellesmere knows his law extremely well, particularly in regard to rural properties.

Mr. Ruston: He doesn't even know what it is.

Mr. Laughren: When we have the combination of knowledge of the member for Scarborough-Ellesmere regarding farming and the

law, I say we have someone whose opinion we had better listen to.

Hon. Mr. Walker: Mr. Speaker, on a point of order: I resent the reference made by the member for Nickel Belt that the member for Scarborough-Ellesmere has any knowledge of the law.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: Order. Order.

Mr. J. Reed: Mr. Speaker, I welcome the time for the final passage of these bills, which are long overdue in this Legislature. They are an attempt to restate the value we place on the ownership of private property. One of the difficulties we experience in the riding I represent, which is on the periphery of a large metropolitan area, is the weight of sheer numbers of people who come to the country, who will trespass and use private property, perhaps either without any knowledge of the laws regarding trespass or simply ignoring the laws regarding trespass. Now that we have come this far and created a set of standards which we hope will have very positive repercussions, in the rural areas particularly, I would like to challenge the government to get the message out. I would like them to communicate with all of the citizens of Ontario so that they fully understand their rights, so that they fully understand the law and so that they fully understand their responsibilities in this matter.

I fully appreciate that ignorance of the law is no excuse in any circumstance. But when we are dealing with situations that these bills apply to on a day-to-day basis, as many of us here who live in rural areas are, the one thing that comes home to us very quickly is that the person we are dealing with very often has no knowledge of the law whatsoever, or that knowledge is not in keeping with the statutes at all. So, while I speak in support of the bill, I would like also to encourage the government to take it one step further and make it physically workable.

Mr. M. N. Davison: Mr. Speaker, one has the impression that not owning land is about the equivalent of having leprosy. Speaking on behalf of the bootless and the unhorsed, if I might, I am sorry that we so upset some members, that we so worry some members and that we so scare some members of the assembly.

The major land owners, the patricians of Ontario, have no need yet to fear us so intensely that they should shake in their boots in this House as they have done all through this entire debate.

Mr. Worton: What about your dad out there in the quiet place of Hillsburgh?

Mr. M. N. Davison: With his giant acre and a half? It is not big enough to be trespassed upon.

We really do have to have some perspective when we enter these debates in the assembly. It is as if private property had been threatened with extinction because some members of the New Democratic Party caucus spoke against some of the worst parts of these two bills. That is a little excessive. Parliaments in our system have spent a thousand years protecting the rights of property.

I think I can give my assurance anyway to members of the assembly that those among us who are wealthy land owners and property owners have no need for fear from the criticisms put forward. Private property is not threatened with extinction in Ontario. Those members don't need to be so worried.

Mr. Eakins: Mr. Speaker, I want to state briefly my support of Bills 202 and 203. I had the pleasure of serving on the committee. I know there has been a lot of concern in many parts of Ontario, especially the riding I represent. I know many people want to make their property available for recreational activities, and I believe these two bills, 202 and 203, are going to take care of most of the problem.

I don't know whether it has been mentioned or not, but during the hearings I was very impressed by one presentation which was made by the headmasters' council in regard to the problems of trespass on school property. I believe this is becoming a very serious problem. I was quite impressed with the presentation which was made, and this is one reason that these bills should receive passage and full support. It is going to give the headmasters, principals and our people in the schools greater opportunity to deal with the problems which they are facing today and which are certainly increasing. I want to go on record as fully supporting Bills 202 and 203.

4:30 p.m.

Mr. McGuigan: Mr. Speaker, I was not able to be at the committee hearings because of competing hearings; so I am pleased to rise at this time in support of both these bills.

From a philosophical point of view, I can understand why members of the third party would be against private property. But I would like to point out to them, on behalf of the consumers of this world, that since 1917 the Socialist countries have been exhorting their farmers to produce more food. Since somewhere in the 1930s in the United States,

and on the odd occasion in Canada, governments have been exhorting their farmers to produce less food. Neither has been successful. I think it is notable that under our private ownership system we are able to produce great amounts of food for the sustenance of not only our own people, but also people in other countries.

Interjection.

Mr. McGuigan: I think the member would find that even in Saskatchewan, when the farmers' union opted for social ownership of the land something like five or six years ago, that was the end of the farmers' union in Canada being an effective spokesman for farmers. Check that out. It happened in Saskatchewan.

Mr. M. N. Davison: What kind of government did they have?

Interjections.

Mr. McGuigan: But it is still under the private ownership system that we have that huge amount of production out there.

Mr. M. N. Davison: Did they abolish private ownership in Saskatchewan?

Mr. Deputy Speaker: Order.

Mr. McGuigan: One other point, Mr. Speaker. The real concern about those marketing cathedrals is the matter of secondary boycotts. I would point out that secondary boycotts are illegal in the United States; they are legal in Britain. It is partly the secondary boycott that has brought Britain to its knees in economic terms. It is the interest of that party in the secondary boycott that I think is the real reason for them railing against those cathedrals.

In labour relations, I support having pickets and having strikes—but at the first level, not at the second level. If you want to stop my production as a farmer, I support your right to picket my farm, to organize my people and to stop the production at that point. But I don't support your right—

Mr. Lawlor: What are you talking about? It has nothing to do with secondary boycotts. We are talking about Radio Shack.

Mr. Philip: Why are you defending fascism?

Mr. Deputy Speaker: Order.

Mr. McGuigan: I am talking about Canada. I support your right to stop production at my farm, but not after I have produced the product and sent it to market. That is the real issue involved in this matter of shopping malls.

I haven't anything further to add. I just wish to support the two bills.

Mr. Sterling: Mr. Speaker, I didn't realize that on third reading we were allowed to enter into so many areas of debate. We kind of expanded it a little.

I want to indicate to the members that the reason the bill was not brought forward in the past month and a half related to a decision on my part to hold it back until I had an opportunity to write to everyone who had made a previous submission to the Attorney General—more than 200 in number. I wanted to forward to them a copy of the legislation as amended by the committee.

There were a number of amendments in the committee and I thought it hardly fair to bring forward these two pieces of legislation to the third reading stage without first allowing those people to react in terms of the amendments that had been made at that time.

The other area of concern that I had, and the Attorney General had, was in relation to the advertising. It was brought up by the member for Halton-Burlington (Mr. J. Reed) and the member for Middlesex (Mr. Eaton). They felt it was necessary to try to get in place a fairly extensive advertising program to let the people know what the new Petty Trespass Act and the Occupier's Liability Act will mean to them.

Going back to my first point, we did have some reaction from some of the trail groups. I met with them and they were satisfied with the answers I provided for them. It was not necessary to amend the bill in the area they were concerned with at this time.

With regard to the other areas that have been brought forward by the members, I think they were debated at length in the committee. If one wants to review the Instant Hansards which were produced as a result of that committee, I think they will see on the record the reasons for the government's opposition to the amendments proposed by the NDP in particular.

Finally, I think these bills will answer the understanding that I believe the government has of the farming community in Ontario. A farmer, who works very hard all his life to acquire his property, lives in mortal fear of the day that someone will come upon his property and hurt himself. The farmer thereby would incur a tremendous liability for that accident that has occurred on his land.

This piece of legislation will take away that fear. It is our hope that it will achieve its intended effect; that is, to open a lot more private land to public use in Ontario. I believe that effect will carry forward as soon as we bring this legislation forward.

Motion agreed to.

TRESPASS TO PROPERTY ACT

Mr. Sterling, on behalf of Hon. Mr. McMurtry, moved third reading of Bill 203, An Act to protect against Trespass to Property.

Mr. Lawlor: This will not be a prolonged comment, Mr. Speaker; so let us rest peacefully in our various seats.

Have members seen the correspondence that came in recently from one of the major law firms in Toronto? I have it in front of me; it's a five- or six-page document. It belatedly criticizes both this and the previous legislation with respect to the onus of proof and standard of care. I wanted to mention it because it tickled my ribs.

The contention made in that document is that far from alleviating certain sectors of the community in this regard, the legislation has made matters infinitely worse. On their interpretation there has been a raising, not a lowering, of the standard of care. I suppose, if fairly astute people reading this legislation come to that conclusion, it's open to the judiciary to reach a similar conclusion. The afternoon that happens in the Supreme Court of Ontario, some members will probably jump on hot griddles.

Mr. Isaacs: Mr. Speaker, I would like to address myself briefly to this bill as well, particularly with regard to the provision concerning a police officer's power of arrest. That provision is contained in this bill but was not in the other bill.

4:40 p.m.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: Order. There has been a fair amount of latitude given on third reading. I must remind the member that at the time of third reading the purpose, if any member wishes to speak, is to give the reasons why the bill should or should not be given third reading. That is really the question before the House.

Mr. Isaacs: Yes, indeed, Mr. Speaker, and I accept your ruling. I want to suggest that this is an incredibly important section in this bill which was not in the bill at the time it was given second reading and therefore, which, has not been given an airing before in this House.

As you indicated, Mr. Speaker, you gave latitude under the previous bill to discuss this section, which was not contained in the previous bill but which is contained in the bill that is before us now. I would ask your indulgence to entertain very brief debate on the matter of a police officer's right to arrest, which is contained in this bill and which I believe should be considered very carefully

by all members of this House before the bill is given third reading.

Indeed, I would like to go further and suggest that the parliamentary assistant, who was dealing with this bill on behalf of the minister, the Attorney General (Mr. McMurry), said in committee, in regard to this matter, "I don't know whether I want to support you." And he had previously indicated his opinion that the Attorney General might not support this particular section. So it was with great concern that I found we were launched into third reading of this bill without the Attorney-General's bringing forward amendments to deal with something the committee had done which I feel to be a very negative step, because it will cause problems for our police force and for citizens in their dealings with that police force.

I would like to put to the members of this House a scenario that relates to this bill, one that I believe will come back to haunt us.

The bill now permits a police officer to pursue and arrest a person who is suspected of trespassing if that person refuses to give his or her name and address or if the police officer has reasonable and probable grounds to believe that the name and address given is false. I suggest that the owner of property, be it a city lot, a shopping mall, a rural property or an industrial property, will use this section at some time in the future to call the police to identify a person and to say to the police officer, "Arrest that person, because he has been trespassing on my property."

With that request, the police officer is faced with two alternatives. He can either say that the matter is not sufficiently important to warrant his taking time to pursue and possibly arrest the individual—and if he does that, it will breed contempt in the minds of our citizens for the police force and possibly cause those citizens to take the law into their own hands, and we have seen a very unfortunate example of that recently—or the police officer can pursue the suspected trespasser and catch up with him and the guy will respond, as anybody might, in a not particularly friendly way. He may refuse to give his name and address because he doesn't believe he has committed an offense, or in a worse situation he may even become involved in an altercation with the police officer.

I would suggest that this section was designed to deal with a problem that goes far beyond trespass. If a person is suspected of a criminal activity, if he is suspected of a drug or alcohol offence, if he is suspected of

having a firearm or of having caused any kind of damage, there are plenty of provisions in our Criminal Code to allow that person to be arrested. But to allow pursuit and possible arrest simply for trespass is going too far. I hope the parliamentary assistant or the Attorney General, who is not here, will indicate that there will be a directive going to police forces to enable them to make clear decisions rather than leaving them to the discretion of individual police officers. The latter in the long run can only cause problems for themselves or for our citizens by attempting to deal with this matter of pursuit and arrest of suspects for trespass.

I want to suggest, with respect to the member for Brant-Oxford-Norfolk, that although I share his concern about having lawyers involved deeply in the matters of drafting and reviewing legislation, while I would prefer that common sense at all times be applied to bringing laws forward, it is lawyers at present who are involved in our court system. Unless we take note of what lawyers say at the time legislation is drafted, we are at some time going to put some individual land owner or some individual trespassing suspect in the position of having to fork over hundreds of thousands of dollars to go to court to fight these smart lawyers, who take the time of our courts and the money of our citizens to try to reinterpret the legislation we pass. Unless legislation is clear, unless this House takes into account the concerns of lawyers, at least until such time as our system is changed, we are causing more and more problems for our citizens.

Having said that, I hope there will be a response from the ministry. The bill is better than nothing, but it is not perfect, and we should not assume that it is.

Mr. J. Reed: Mr. Speaker, I was not going to say a word on this bill until I heard the remarks of the member for Wentworth. One has to assume that he, unfortunately, has never had anything to do with the ownership of property or has never been confronted with any of the real situations these bills address.

For the benefit of the members, let me paint a very common situation regarding trespass. A farmer is on his farm and he confronts a trespasser carrying a rifle. He asks the trespasser to leave, and the trespasser refuses. Then the farmer says that under the powers of the act the trespasser is under arrest, and he asks him what his name is. The owner of the rifle refuses to give his name, to hand over the rifle or to submit to arrest. What is the owner to do?

The owner has no choice in the matter but to turn around, walk away and call the police. In every case, by the time an officer of the law arrives on the property, the trespasser who has committed the offence—and in some cases, it may be a serious offence—has gone. That act can be repeated time and time again, with the same confrontation and the same property owner, who is helpless to act. In terms of what the member for Wentworth would like to see, there would be no way of prosecuting in those circumstances. I wonder how the honourable member would deal with a situation like that.

Mr. Speaker, for the benefit of the honourable member, we will work with the same trespasser who is committing an offence time and time again but does not have a firearm. If there are going to be any teeth in this act whatsoever, the land-owner has to be physically protected to a certain extent and has to be able to call the police. The police have to be able to act on his behalf. Anyone with any common sense knows the practicality of having to call an officer of the law to report trespassers and expecting the trespassers still to be there committing the offence by the time the policeman arrives.

4:50 p.m.

Mr. Sterling: Mr. Speaker, I do not think the Attorney General or any other member of this Legislature thinks this act is a panacea for all of the answers related to trespass and liability in relation to urban, farm or any other kind of property. I do think, though, it is a recognition that the existing law is not satisfactory to the situation that exists in Ontario.

These acts have been given careful consideration by the Attorney General and his staff. I would like to mention the name of Stephen Fram, who is with the ministry and who has given these acts a tremendous amount of thought before bringing them forward in an attempt to reach a delicate balance between competing interests that these acts represent. But I think they have come to a final stage. We may need amendments to these acts some time in the future, but it is my opinion that they have reached a position where they can become law. The balance is a good balance that we, as a government, can be proud of.

Motion agreed to.

TERRITORIAL DIVISION AMENDMENT ACT

Mr. Sterling, on behalf of Hon. Mr. McMurtry, moved second reading of Bill 56, An Act to amend the Territorial Division Act.

Mr. Sterling: Mr. Speaker, the purpose of this bill was aptly described by the Provincial Secretary for Justice (Mr. Walker) on April 24 in his opening remarks on first reading.

The bill basically creates a new judicial district in the northern part of York county. This new area will be called the judicial district of York region. That name was chosen after lengthy consultations with municipal and regional officials.

The courthouse in Newmarket is in operation at present, and the area will become a judicial district upon the proclamation of the Lieutenant Governor. That is expected to happen very soon should this bill receive the approval of the House. The bill provides for interim measures to make the flow from the present judicial district of York to the two new judicial districts as smooth as possible.

I have a very minor amendment to move; so I would ask that the bill go to committee of the whole House after second reading.

Mrs. Campbell: Mr. Speaker, from our point of view there is no opposition to this bill. Perhaps the only criticism we have is that it is long overdue. Therefore, we do support the bill.

Mr. Warner: Similarly, Mr. Speaker, this party will be supporting the bill and would echo the comment by the learned member for St. George (Mrs. Campbell) that the bill is overdue. We appreciate its presence here today and we will support it.

Mr. Hodgson: Naturally, Mr. Speaker, I, too, support the bill. I would ask the members to deal with this bill today, to give it second reading and then to go on to third reading. If there is an amendment, we can get along and administer justice in the region of York legally. We are doing it legally now, more or less, but it is long overdue. This has been before the Attorney General's ministry for many years, as far back as 20 years ago.

I do not think the region of York, or the new York county created by Bill 84 at that time, was mature enough to have a judicial district, but today it has a population of 300,000. If we had had a courthouse at that time, it would not have been nearly as good as the one today. I ask the members to give this bill their approval as quickly as possible.

Mr. Nixon: Mr. Speaker, I want to say I am glad this bill is coming forward. For the last number of weeks we have been hearing about this darned bill and what was holding it up. I sometimes wonder what goes on with all the highly paid assistants for the various ministers and the ministries. It seems to me tougher and tougher for the government to get a legislative program together.

A very simple bill like this is long overdue. We could have dealt with it; we were anxious to deal with it. I understand the members opposite want to give it third reading right now. We say, "Fine." We are co-operative. But we just cannot get the old Tory inertia moving over there to accomplish even a very simple thing like establishing a judicial district.

Mr. Sterling: Mr. Speaker, I would like to thank all the members of the Legislature for their support for this bill. I also would indicate that any delay has not been as a result of either my intervention or the intervention by the member for York North (Mr. Hodgson).

Motion agreed to.

Ordered for committee of the whole House.

House in committee of the whole.

TERRITORIAL DIVISION AMENDMENT ACT

Consideration of Bill 56, An Act to amend the Territorial Division Act.

Section 1 agreed to.

On section 2:

Mr. Chairman: Mr. Hodgson moves that subsection 5 of section 2 of the bill be amended by inserting after "the Bail Act" in the first line, "or a lien for an agreed contribution toward the cost of legal aid under the Legal Aid Act."

Mr. Sterling: Mr. Chairman, this is just to correct an omission in the drafting of the legislation which resulted in it not being included in the original part. Including this as part of subsection 5 is expected to make the transition from the one jurisdiction to the two jurisdictions occur more smoothly.

Mrs. Campbell: We are not in opposition to that amendment.

Mr. Warner: We will support the amendment.

5 p.m.

Motion agreed to.

Section 2, as amended, agreed to.

Sections 3 and 4 agreed to.

Bill 56, as amended, reported.

On motion by Hon. Mr. Wells, the committee of the whole House reported one bill with amendment.

RETAIL SALES TAX AMENDMENT ACT

Hon. Mr. Maeck moved second reading of Bill 52, An Act to amend the Retail Sales Tax Act.

Hon. Mr. Maeck: Mr. Speaker, this bill to amend the Retail Sales Tax Act contains those amendments required to implement the budget proposals with respect to furthering energy conservation, assisting farmers in the construction of new grain facilities as well as the assistance extended to small businesses.

First, consistent with this government's commitment to energy conservation, which is already costing \$25 million per year in revenues, the budget further extends exemptions in this area to include chillers, weather-stripping and caulking materials. This bill contains those provisions necessary to effect this expansion in exemptions.

Second, in recognizing the vital role farmers play in the economic and social wellbeing in this province, much-needed relief from tax for the purchase or construction of new grain storage bins and dryers is proposed. This bill contains the necessary provisions enabling farmers to obtain tax relief from these purchases.

In addition, the Treasurer in recognition of the increased costs incurred by retailers collecting retail sales tax, which costs are becoming particularly onerous for the small business sector, has proposed in his budget (1) increasing the maximum compensation allowable in any one fiscal year by \$300 to the new maximum of \$1,000, and (2) increasing the minimum compensation allowable for those reporting less than \$400 tax per return from \$3 to \$16. Changes to the compensation will beneficially affect approximately 35,000 small businesses.

Mr. Nixon: Mr. Speaker, I understand that at the present rate of revenue from the sales tax, we take in approximately \$7 million a day; it may not be quite that much, but it is a very important source of revenue for us and, therefore, an important instrument of government policy. The Minister of Revenue simply reflects government policy. I have urged him more than once to take a stronger position with his colleagues in the cabinet and not simply be the errand boy for the Treasurer. He is capable of much more. I have often felt that he probably doesn't appreciate the respect he commands in the cabinet, and probably in this House, at least with a good many of us, and he might take a stronger position.

The bill itself is relatively insignificant. As a matter of fact, to take the sales tax off ethyl and methyl alcohol used for fuel and the engines that burn it in automobiles is a very small matter indeed. Perhaps five or 10 years from now, if the Liberal policy to encourage the production of wood and grain

alcohol becomes the policy of the government of the day, as it will be when we are elected, it will be certainly significant, but right now it is not going to cost very much. It is a small bow in the direction of moving away from petroleum-based fuels for automobile transportation.

I find it quite interesting, and I would hope that the policy of the government would become more widespread. The problems of encouraging the production of ethyl and methyl alcohol are obvious. In some of the southern states they do this in a big way. They have high-quality stuff they put out in jars which is run all over several states. The minister probably is concerned, and the last thing he wants to do is to stimulate that sort of activity here, but they tell me in some parts of eastern Ontario it is already a booming industry and growing with high-quality, home-grown material.

I should point out to any members who are not as well versed in organic chemistry as are the minister and I, that ethyl is the good stuff and methyl will make you go blind. Actually, they are both intoxicants—that means poisons—but with the one, it is possible to build up a certain tolerance, they tell me, and we have to consider these matters.

Also, manufactured gas, as designated in the statute, is going to be exempt from tax. That is very interesting, since a good many farmers are looking rather carefully at the possibility of manufacturing gaseous fuel from readily available raw materials for the fuelling of their tractors and for heat, naturally. While that is interesting, I don't think it is going to do very much to adjust the gross revenues of the tax.

I was quite interested in the reference to chillers, because it may be that they are referring to what we would normally call a heat pump; and if a heat pump is going to be tax-free, I think that is a good idea. As it is described here, it is very difficult to know what they are going to do with the heat that is saved by the operation of the chiller, which is air-conditioning. I don't know whether one can save it for the winter, or what. I would like to know whether the machine might be referred to less technically as a heat pump. I am not awfully interested in that.

We think weatherstripping and things like that should be exempt from sales tax, but they hardly constitute a real thrust by the government of this very powerful instrument of policy to encourage the kinds of conservation practices we would all favour. There are

many more important and imaginative procedures whereby the sales tax could be used to encourage the conservation of energy.

The removal of sales tax on materials used for research is obviously commendable. I think there is a small loophole open here, in that a fairly large platoon of inspectors might be needed to examine the applications that might be forthcoming from people who will claim that what they are buying is for research purposes. It may seem quite obvious and specific for us as we establish this amendment, but in the minds of businessmen many things can be associated with research.

As a matter of fact, for people who are used to avoiding provisions of tax laws—I, of course, do not refer to evasion, but to avoidance—I would think this might be a section they would look at rather carefully when they come to the point of buying materials for their manufacturing operation.

The increase of the payout to the tax collectors is something we have been talking about on this side a good deal. This is the second major increase in, I guess, the last four or five years, and I think it is a very proper one indeed. I have often felt that, with \$7 million a day coming in, the pay-back to the people who collect the taxes, whether they are running a car agency or a candy store, probably has been insufficient for a good long time. They are subject to audit and careful inspection, and I think there are many retailers who have found that by not paying careful enough attention to the nickels and dimes, if not the thousands of dollars, they collect, they run a real risk of running afoul of the minions of the minister who, I guess, are not the kinds of people one would want descending on one with some kind of a subpoena or other order to inspect the books. So I think it is very wise that we recognize the role played by the tax collectors in this situation.

I have not heard from any retailers specifically in the last number of years. When the tax was first brought in, there were many complaints that people were being forced into almost slave labour in the interests of the Treasury and the consolidated revenue fund.

The part that does interest me is the removal of sales tax on grain bins. It should never have been there in the first instance, I am sure members are aware. Anyone who has anything to do with farming knows that, very properly, the machinery and the instruments of production are exempt from sales tax. If there is any question, such as when one goes to Canadian Tire, Sears or some place like that to buy a small motor, one has to sign an affidavit that it is being used in

farm production and that it is not just being put on a pump down in the cellar or something like that. On the basis of such an affidavit and, I am sure, certain inspections on occasion, the tax is refunded.

5:10 p.m.

A grain bin is obviously a part of the business of farming and should be treated just like any other farm machinery, such as a tractor, a bale elevator or anything else. It really is unreasonable that the tax has been payable even for this long. In this instance, the revenue that will be forgone is only a bit more than \$1.5 million. I believe that is the figure mentioned in the budget. It is interesting to note that in a \$16-billion budget this was the only significant indication that the ministry was concerned about the welfare of the farm community.

There was a promise of some action to be taken in support of the farmers by way of interest which has now been announced by the government but, when we compare it with the programs that are readily available in every other province, it is obvious the priorities given to the farm communities, in spite of what is said by the members from Scarborough from time to time, is very low indeed.

While they are prepared to approve legislation having to do with trespassers' liability and so on, still the Ministry of Agriculture and Food here commands less than one per cent of the budget of \$16 billion. A good deal of that is probably spent in trundling the minister around the province so he can make these fine speeches that he makes from time to time, assuring everybody that the Tories of the province are deeply interested in the welfare of the farmers.

In many of the farming areas the farmers are not buying that stuff any more, and they believe the Conservative government is not interested in their welfare, except by way of a little window dressing from time to time.

The classic case in point, of course, was when the farmers came here to protest the lack of initiative by the government based on the resolution from my colleague the member for Grey (Mr. McKessock). That day the Premier stood up and said, "Oh, by the way, I have directed Ontario Hydro to equalize rural and urban rates." It kind of got lost in the shuffle. It was a very important statement indeed. Ever since then Ontario Hydro has been flapping around making statements ranging from "It is impossible" on the one extreme, to "There will have to be subsidies from the government" on the other extreme.

Once again, here is an instance where Ontario, with all the cheap power we have produced over these many years from Niagara Falls and other hydraulic sources, and now from our marvellous Candu reactors, still has the highest rates for people out of the urban areas of any jurisdiction in Canada west of New Brunswick. It is a very bad record.

When we look at the money the Ministry of Agriculture and Food has to spend, I say again, it is less than one per cent of the budget of the province. When we look to Quebec, which is what we are doing daily around here, we can see why the agricultural economy of that province has moved forward much more rapidly than we have here. They have taken over markets which were traditionally our own and they have moved into markets which we have shared, having a larger and larger percentage, far beyond the utilization of the products within their own jurisdiction. That is just one example.

When the government talks about a program to assist farmers by way of paying a small part of their interest, it is paying peanuts compared with our agricultural competitors in the other provinces. It is fine for the members of the Ontario Federation of Agriculture, sitting up in the gallery applauding the minister, to say: "That's fine. Now all we need is for the government of Canada to do the same thing." If this provincial government were going to give us a program half as good as the one in Quebec, we would be overjoyed. We would be delighted.

This is a very small gesture indeed, and one that doesn't become the government. It should never have been taxed in the first place. For the Treasurer to come forward in his only significant pronouncement in the budget of Ontario and say, "By the way, we are taking the sales tax off grain bins," is just a joke up our way.

Obviously, we are going to support all these things, but I don't think the bill, taken as a whole, is any kind of significant use of this tremendous engine for the extraction of tax revenues from the populace into the consolidated revenue fund. It is not an imaginative use by way of policy to improve the community.

I would say to the minister that he should start exerting himself, tell the Treasurer some of the things we need in this tax bill and stop just following his orders.

Mr. Charlton: Mr. Speaker, the member for Brant-Oxford-Norfolk in his comments made some reference to the fact that, as a result of policies this government has involved itself in, the farmers in some areas of the province

are no longer supporting the government. He implied they now are supporting the Liberal Party. I would like to suggest that part of the reason for that is that many of the farmers in this province are converting back from using chemical fertilizers as proposed by the government to using natural fertilizers. The only place in Ontario where natural fertilizers are produced in any significant quantities is the Liberal caucus.

Interjections.

Mr. Charlton: I agree with the member for Brant-Oxford-Norfolk when he says this bill is a rather insignificant bill. Unfortunately, I think the Minister of Revenue (Mr. Maeck) has unwittingly become the focus of the joke of this government's commitment to nothing very much at all in the area of conservation.

The Minister of Revenue is put in a position of coming in with a bill like this when one would seem to think, in terms of looking at Ontario and where Ontario's consumption of oil and oil petroleum products go in the transportation industry, the most significant sections of this bill should be in the sections exempting methyl and ethyl alcohol from retail sales tax and exempting the purchase of vehicles which would use those products, natural gas, electricity and other such things for transport around this province.

The member for Brant-Oxford-Norfolk mentioned what might be significant in 10 years. I would not necessarily agree with his perception that he will be part of a government within this province within 10 years—perhaps in 40. We cannot wait 10 years, even if his party is the government. The technology for the kinds of things these exemptions deal with already exists. It is the responsibility of us in this House, the government across the way and the opposition here to force the government across the way, to see that this kind of technology exists and to see that the people of Ontario can take advantage of these exemptions.

The member for Brant-Oxford-Norfolk is correct right down the line. It is going to cost this government very little, because we cannot get these products in this province right now. They should be available but they are not. It makes a joke out of the Ministry of Energy, out of the Treasurer and out of the Ministry of Industry and Tourism. I urge the Minister of Revenue, now that he has had to bring this joke into the House, to have a chat with his colleagues about doing something serious—and quickly—about seeing that these sections in this bill have some relevance within the next two or three years in this province.

We are glad to see all of the little things in this bill, such as the exemption for materials used for grain bins and dryers. But the minister well knows, and we have discussed this a number of times, that many of these things which are a part of the very nature of this province should never have been taxed in the first place. We also have the exemptions for research and development of goods and manufacturing processes. All of these little things are nice, but they are not very significant.

There is another thing that bothers me about this bill this year. This is the second or third year in a row where the government has come in with a new list of exemptions. That is all very well and good in the name of conservation or in the name of assisting farmers or in a number of other areas, but none of them is a very significant exemption in the overall sense in Ontario. We discussed this last year when I mentioned a number of areas where more significant and more economically and socially beneficial exemptions could have been allowed.

5:20 p.m.

We have raised with the minister a number of times the problem with the exemption on children's clothing, an exemption which we have no way of calculating all the people it affects. One family gets an exemption on children's clothing because its child happens to be the same age as somebody else's child but is smaller; but another child, still of tender years, who happens to be large in size and can no longer wear the sizes that the garment industry says are children's sizes—its parents have to pay retail sales tax on the clothing.

That kind of amendment in this bill this year should be there. That kind of amendment would make social and economic sense in this province, to assist people at the place where the problems are most real: for consumers in a society where prices are rising continually.

The same thing applies—and this has been raised with the minister a number of times—to the exemption on children's shoes, or shoes in general. The exemption is \$30, and it has been \$30 through a period when the price of shoes has doubled, if not more than doubled.

I have a two-and-a-half-year-old daughter, and I pay \$27 for her shoes. When her size is increased just a little bit over what it is now, her shoes will cost more than \$30. The parents of almost every child in this province who has a decent pair of shoes that are structurally sound to deal with its feet in a

medically useful way are paying more than \$30 for that child's shoes. The only thing they can buy for less than \$30 is a pair of sneakers that the kid wears at recess.

That's the kind of exemption this minister should be prepared to deal with every year in this House. People whose incomes have changed very little, even though they have gone up—their real incomes have changed very little—should be able to buy shoes for their family and buy the same shoes that they bought last year and the year before, even though the prices have gone up, and still have the same quality of shoes, sales tax exempt. But that doesn't happen from one year to the next.

These are the kinds of things the Minister of Revenue fails to get across to his colleague the Treasurer in terms of the social and economic things that are going on in this province.

We are going to support this bill, but it is very insignificant and it makes a joke out of the way this government operates. It makes a joke out of the way this government deals with energy conservation, when there are amendments like this that provide exemptions that cannot be taken advantage of by more than a mere smattering of people.

Mr. Eaton: Mr. Speaker, I want to direct a question to the honourable minister in regard to ethyl and methyl alcohol. The section seems to indicate that such alcohol will be exempt only when it is delivered by the vendor into the fuel tank. It would almost indicate we are talking about pure ethyl or methyl alcohol. I am concerned because one of the things we have been pushing for is a blended situation. We would not want to see it just when delivered, particularly when the vendor is a service station operator.

If we can get some of the things we hope to see in effect, it would be delivered to a farm, not particularly for farm purposes, but even for running one's own trucks or cars. I wonder whether this would be covered. I would hope the minister could clarify that and that it would cover that kind of situation. I think we have some potential in that field, and I would hope that we would be looking towards that. I would also compliment the minister on the exemption of grain-drying equipment, storage bins and so on. We should have done that 12 years ago, when we brought in the capital grants program. We have been after that for so long. When the capital grants program was in place, many people were putting in grain storage bins et cetera, and we asked and asked for the exemption. Finally, that has just about gone,

and we finally get it through. I am glad to see it through, but I wish they had listened to us a long time ago.

Mr. J. Reed: Mr. Speaker, I too wanted to raise the subject of the actual wording of the exemption of ethyl and methyl alcohol. The statement says, "such alcohol is delivered by the vendor thereof into the engine's fuel tank." In fairness, we need some clarification as to how that is interpreted regarding on-farm purchasing of the alcohols and on-farm use of what will initially be blends of alcohols and gasoline. It does not appear to be clear in the legislation.

As energy critic, I feel the exemptions mentioned in subsections (1) and (2) are steps in the right direction, albeit modest and albeit in recognition of the fact that to this point there has not been a concurrent effort on the part of the Ministry of Energy to bring some of these technologies on-line.

It might be interesting for the House to know that as far as we understand, for instance, in the use of natural gas for transportation vehicles, the manufacturers of carburation equipment are in the United States, and they are manufacturing flat out for domestic consumption. The opportunity at the present time to purchase hardware to convert a vehicle to natural gas is very difficult, if not impossible. A lot of this legislation will be meaningless until the nuts and bolts come into place. At the same time, we are encouraged by the thrust and by the move in that direction.

I want to point out one other thing; that is, the ad hockery of this kind of bill. Three years ago, I believe it was, the Treasurer of Ontario, at that time the Honourable Darcy McKeough, announced very proudly that sales tax would be eliminated from the retail sale of wood stoves. A list of energy-saving devices was included in those exemptions. To this day—I ask the minister to go back and, if I am wrong, to correct me—as far as I know, the tax is still on stovepipes. How the devil can you buy a wood stove, take it home, set it up and make it go without a stovepipe?

Mr. Laughren: Mr. Speaker, I will be very brief, because my colleague the member for Etobicoke (Mr. Philip) wants to speak, and he is very knowledgeable on farm matters. As a matter of fact, if the members put his knowledge together with that of the member for Scarborough-Ellesmere (Mr. Warner) on farming matters, they really have a tour de force in this chamber.

I should not joke about that. The member for Etobicoke has spent some number of years

working with the farming community and does, indeed, have some knowledge of it.

5:30 p.m.

Speaking of farmers, I have been surprised at the emphasis on the farming community during this debate so far and the claims by the member for Brant-Oxford-Norfolk. As a former resident of Caledonia, I should not be stumbling over those words.

Mr. Nixon: Caledonia is not in Norfolk.

Mr. Laughren: I know the area well. I should say to him that the farmers of Ontario have flirted with the Tories, they have had an affair with the Liberals on occasion, but they are finally bedding down with the New Democrats and agrarian socialism is going to come to Ontario.

Mr. Eaton: That's a laugh.

Mr. Laughren: That is very true, Mr. Speaker.

Mr. Eaton: Gordon Hill found out a little differently last time around.

Mr. Laughren: No, that is not true.

Mr. Acting Speaker: Does the member intend to reach the principle of the bill at some time?

Mr. Laughren: Yes, I do, Mr. Speaker.

Whenever we debate a sales tax bill in this chamber, whether it is removing a sales tax or whether it is adding one on, which this government has been known to do on occasion—

Hon. Mr. Maeck: Not too often.

Mr. Laughren: Oh yes, they have. They have increased the sales tax in our short time here. The minister knows the sales tax has been increased. It is very difficult for New Democrats, because we view any kind of sales tax as a regressive tax. Obviously, any time they remove a sales tax it is something we applaud. Even though it might not be as much as we would like, certainly any time they remove a sales tax I cannot imagine that we would oppose it because, by definition, we feel that sales taxes are regressive.

I know too that sales taxes this year are going to bring in more than \$2.5 billion. That is a lot of money. If we added on top of that other taxes, which basically are sales taxes—they can call them other names if they like—there is going to be much more than \$3 billion in revenue for the province. If we are going to talk about sales taxes and abolishing them, then we are talking about a very significant change in the whole principle of tax-

tion in the province. I do not expect the Minister of Revenue to take it upon himself to make Ontario an egalitarian place to live. Far be it for the boy from South River to take that upon himself. That has to be a decision by not only his caucus, but also his party. Of course, his caucus and his party do not stand for that kind of thing.

We are not going to oppose this bill. We are going to support it. But I think the Minister of Revenue should know that when it comes to any kind of sales tax we are opposed to it, because it bears no relationship whatsoever to the ability to pay.

I can picture people with a lot of money who virtually buy nothing. They may have reached a point in their life where they have all the worldly goods they need and they buy virtually nothing out there. Those people, despite a very high income and a very high level of accumulated wealth, are not penalized by a sales tax, whereas a struggling young family on low income pays a very high proportion, not only of their income, but also of their assets, on sales taxes.

That, surely, is fundamentally wrong. That is why we are so opposed to any kind of sales tax. It is a sneaky kind of tax. Because they take it in little bits and pieces it does not seem much, even to the people who are paying it. There is no storming of the ramparts out there because of a sales tax, even by those people who are being clobbered by it. We understand that, because it is a sneaky tax. I have deliberately used the word "sneaky." When I was thinking about what I should say I decided not to use the word "sleazy."

Hon. Mr. Maeck: Why?

Mr. Laughren: For any number of reasons. The word "sleazy" just does not apply to the boy from South River. But I want to say that the whole sales tax is a sneaky tax.

Mr. Nixon: Sneaky?

Mr. Laughren: Yes, it nickels and dimes people. That is what we find sneaky about it. It is a nickel and dime. For every dollar one spends, it is seven cents. I say nickel and dime, but that is basically what it is and that is why we are so opposed to the sales tax. Fundamentally, it is because it bears no relationship whatsoever to the bill one is paying. I guess if we were not democratic Socialists here, we would not be so opposed to having our constituents nickelled and dimed, which is what the minister is doing to them.

In inflationary times, sales tax has become ever more regressive. As prices go up, people are contributing higher amounts in abso-

lute terms to sales tax revenues to the province. If there is ever a tendency or a temptation on the part of this government to raise revenues by increasing the sales tax, I would hope the Minister of Revenue would mightily resist.

Look at the riding the Minister of Revenue represents. It is not the kind of riding that should have any more regressive taxes imposed on it.

Mr. Roy: If we could only elect the NDP as in Saskatchewan, we would do away with the sales tax.

Mr. Laughren: You say if only we could. Make no mistake about it. Not only could we, we will.

Mr. Roy: Is there a sales tax in Saskatchewan?

Mr. Laughren: Yes, there is, a small sales tax. As a matter of fact, not only is there a sales tax in Saskatchewan, there is a succession duty tax.

Mr. Swart: There is no succession duty tax there.

Mr. Laughren: I am sorry; there is no succession duty tax in Saskatchewan. I think there should be succession duty taxes in every jurisdiction, but I don't run the province of Saskatchewan.

However, in place of succession duty taxes in Saskatchewan, they have the most progressive tax system anywhere in the country. Do members know what province has the most regressive taxes anywhere? The province of Ontario. How could the Liberal Party disagree with me?

Mr. Roy: We want to kick these guys out. We agree with you, but we need your support.

Mr. Laughren: We want to kick the Tories out of office too.

Mr. Nixon: Why don't you vote with us then?

Mr. Laughren: That is an excellent idea. Why does the member not put forward the kind of amendment right now that would allow us to do that?

Mr. Eakins: Mr. Speaker, I want to make a couple of quick comments to the minister to urge that a greater exemption be placed on children's shoes. I feel that \$30 is not sufficient today. Many people who have contacted me have been very concerned about this. Especially when special shoes are required for children today, I don't think the exemption at this time is very realistic. I would ask the minister to give this consideration.

I would also like to bring to the minister's attention a letter I wrote to him some time ago. I want to reinforce it at this time in connection with Millard Carpets in Lindsay, a retail business. Mr. Millard sold some carpeting to a builder. The builder went bankrupt and Mr. Millard was left to pay the tax. It was considered, as I understand it, a real property transaction and, since the retailer was considered a consumer, he had to pay the tax. Therefore, when all of this happened it was not rebated to him.

I recall the minister saying at the time that should the principal default in paying the contractor, the latter cannot claim a rebate on the tax which he has paid, because it was paid on his own behalf as a consumer and not on behalf of the principal. The minister did mention he would be reviewing from time to time the retail section of the act and would take a look at this.

I would like to urge him again to give some consideration to who is considered the consumer. I am sure there are probably ways in which the retailer could get around this if he wanted to be dishonest about it. In this case, Mr. Millard did not want to do this. He was very honest about it but, because he supplied the carpeting and put it down himself, he was considered the consumer. Therefore, when the other gentleman went bankrupt, he still was stuck with the tax and could not get a rebate. I would like to urge the minister to give some consideration in the act to assist people in cases such as this one.

5:40 p.m.

Mr. Philip: Mr. Speaker, we welcome many of the small exemptions the minister has outlined, particularly the ones that relate to energy, innovation and action in the farm community. I noted with interest some of the comments by the Liberal members. While this may involve piecemeal, nickel-and-dime matters, it is better to have nickels and dimes from this government than the zero cents we have received from their federal cousins in Ottawa.

Mr. O'Neil: Here we go, blaming the feds again.

Mr. Philip: There would not be a chance of getting the Liberal party in here.

Mr. Conway: The member has a mortgage on two cottages, I know.

Mr. Philip: I have more than two cottages. It really is none of the member's business.

Mr. Speaker: I would like to deal with the initial statement the minister made concerning how this particular bill is of assistance

to small business. I suggest to the minister that he has shown no comprehensive approach to assisting small business through his taxation system.

I bring to him particularly the problem of the small Canadian manufacturers competing with foreign manufacturers. One specific example already mentioned is the matter I raised with the minister some time ago—indeed, he and I have had some conversations about it, and it has been mentioned earlier by some members who have spoken—namely, the problem of the exemption on shoes.

In 1974, the provincial government decided that only shoes priced at less than \$30 would escape sales tax. At that time the figure was realistic. Consumers could buy women's dress shoes for slightly less than that price and children's shoes for considerably less. However, Mr. McCunsey, the manager of the Foster's Children's Shoes store in my riding, claims many of the good-quality children's shoes now made in Ontario come in at just over the \$30 mark. That is why his store and stores throughout the province have been collecting signatures on a petition that has been sent to the Treasurer and no doubt the minister has seen.

Mr. McCunsey told me many people tend to opt for poorer-quality, foreign-made shoes that come just under the \$30 mark. The sales tax cost means they simply cannot afford the difference. He feels this is not in the best interests of the children. A number of retailers across the province have been collecting signatures.

An example brought to me was the case of a constituent who went to buy shoes for her 11-year-old daughter. She was informed that Claire happened to have wide feet but did not require a medical prescription for shoes. Unfortunately, the shoes for her daughter came in at \$33 if she wanted to buy Canadian-made or Ontario-made shoes. It was fortunate in her case that she could afford the additional amount and would pay the sales tax and, therefore, would not be influenced by that particular problem. But many people in ridings such as mine simply cannot afford the difference and are enticed and encouraged to go for foreign-made shoes.

The city of Windsor circulated to all municipalities a resolution, dated December 17, petitioning for the current ceilings on exemptions on footwear to be raised. The borough of Etobicoke referred the resolution to the Association of Municipalities of Ontario, and it was passed at a committee stage by the association.

The city of Windsor pointed out that its cost for shoes for municipal employees—that is, firemen, policemen, et cetera—had increased by more than 200 per cent since the \$30 exemption level was passed in 1974. Windsor's calculations are in line with the information I have obtained from Statistics Canada which shows that leather goods have risen 142 points in less than four years; in other words, the price of leather goods has increased by approximately 87 per cent from April 1974 to November 1978.

Pat MacLean, who is the editor of Footwear Forum, claims the \$30 level of tax exemption is creating a disadvantage for Canadian manufacturers. She points out that the cheaper shoes from the Far East, from the Soviet countries and from Brazil are in competition with the Canadian-made shoes, and these shoes made in countries with low labour costs often sell for just below the \$30 level.

Mr. Speaker: Is the honourable member talking about something that is not in the bill?

Mr. Philip: I am doing what every other honourable member has done on this bill, Mr. Speaker.

Mr. Speaker: I am sure the honourable member knows he can speak and address himself only to something that is contained in the bill. He could spend the rest of the day talking about something that is not in the bill.

Mr. Philip: Mr. Speaker, the bill deals with exemptions. I am speaking about exemptions.

Mr. Speaker: You are talking about exemptions that are not mentioned in the bill. You will have to confine your remarks to those that are in the bill.

Mr. Philip: The bill does deal with a number of exemptions to small business. I have just discussed on exemption to small business that should be in the bill. I know that the minister—

Mr. Speaker: That is out of order. That is the point I am trying to make.

Mr. Philip: You have made the point, and if I were in the chair, Mr. Speaker, I would make the same ruling. I probably would have made it at the beginning of the debate in dealing with the minister's original remarks. I respect your—

Mr. Speaker: My tardiness.

Mr. Philip: Fine. I had another exemption that I wanted to speak on. I realize the Speaker, in his wisdom, will rule me out of order, but I hope the minister will deal with

the problem of the small beverage companies that are discriminated against by his sales tax system.

Mr. Riddell: Mr. Speaker, I will try to address my remarks to matters contained in the bill.

As the member for Middlesex (Mr. Eaton) indicated, those of us who represent rural ridings have been waiting a long time for some kind of program to be implemented whereby sales tax would be eliminated or rebated to farmers in the purchase of material for the construction of grain bins and for grain-drying equipment. I brought this to the attention of ministry officials shortly after I was elected. Farmers just couldn't understand why they were paying a sales tax on something that was almost as necessary on a farm as the farm equipment. So finally we have got around to the point where we are going to rebate them that tax.

Will the day come when we will completely eliminate that sales tax—or after we get the election over with, whether it be this year or next year, or next month—the tax be put back on materials used for the construction of storage bins? Why not eliminate the tax rather than simply implement a program of rebating the tax to the farmers?

I always marvel at the way the government capitalizes on programs that are initiated by the Liberal government in Ottawa. Despite what the member for Etobicoke (Mr. Philip) says, he doesn't know. I wonder if he knows that grants were given to farmers to build storage elevators from money that was originally devoted to the old feed freight assistance program. Most of the farmers have already built their grain bins and have bought their grain-drying equipment. The government comes along now—big deal—and says it will rebate them—

Mr. Nixon: It doesn't cost them anything.

Mr. Riddell: That's right. It is probably going to cost very little. It is not that we don't welcome the good news that is contained in this bill, but the fact of the matter is, they are late and it took the federal government to come to the assistance of the farmers in order to get their grain bins built. I just had to work that in to show that these members on the left don't know what they are talking about when it comes to agriculture.

5:50 p.m.

Ms. Bryden: Mr. Speaker, this bill contains a number of new exemptions; most of them are exemptions that we welcome, although we think they perhaps don't go far

enough. Tax experts say the best retail sales tax is one that has the fewest exemptions. Their arguments are ease of administration, maximizing revenues and avoiding inequities between those who might qualify for the exemption and those who are just unable to qualify, but are very close in their circumstances.

However, exemptions from retail sales taxes have been adopted by most provinces for two main reasons. One is to make a regressive tax less regressive. That is a very important reason for exemptions. Some of the exemptions the minister is bringing in do achieve that, but to a very limited degree. We would like to see the sales tax made much less regressive by taking out children's clothing and things like that, as my colleague has mentioned.

The second reason exemptions are adopted, despite the tax experts' dislike of them, is that they can be used to encourage people to undertake certain activities. I think the minister's exemption for the energy programs are in that category. Once again, I think they are mainly designed for the small amount of revenue that may be lost rather than for the effect they will have on our energy needs. I would like to have seen the minister give more aid to things like the promotion of solar energy.

However, there is the whole question of whether our retail sales tax is still regressive. I think the evidence is that, despite the exemptions we have on the books, it is still a regressive tax. It symbolizes the thinking of the government that they prefer a regressive tax to making our tax system progressive. This is why I think we should be urging the minister in future bills, or in amendments to this bill, to bring in more exemptions that will increase the progressivity of the tax.

One particular exemption I would like to see is child-restraint devices. This would encourage safety as well as making the tax less regressive. It seems to me this is an area that he should be considering, because the two tests of a good tax are met by this; it encourages activities that are desirable and it makes it less regressive. I would urge the minister to look at the philosophy behind his retail sales tax and consider further exemptions to make it more progressive.

Mr. McGuigan: Mr. Speaker, I would like to say that we support the bill. In the few minutes left, I would ask the minister for some clarification regarding the matter of vehicles that are dual-fuel vehicles. The Pacific Natural Gas Company of California developed a system many years ago of pow-

ering vehicles with natural gas and with gasoline. The reason they kept the gasoline option was that the vehicle always has to return to home base to get a new charge of compressed gas. For that reason, they kept the dual-fuel system.

Union Gas Company of Chatham, a company I am sure the minister is familiar with, has been operating a test fleet for a number of years. I would like to ask the minister whether he has given consideration to exempting natural gas from the sales tax, or from the road tax, when it's used to power a vehicle, and to exempting from the retail sales tax the vehicle when it's purchased as long as it has that dual capacity.

As I read it, the minister has not, and I would suggest that should be changed because we have a great opportunity here in Ontario to move to natural-gas-propelled vehicles. They tell us we have gas for 150 years. We are selling it to the United States because we have such an excess. It has another great advantage in the matter of pollution. The pollution from using natural gas is a hundredth or so of using liquefied petroleum. I would ask the minister, when he responds, if he would give us some answers to those questions.

Mr. Laughren: I wonder when the minister—

Hon. Mr. Maeck: The member has already spoken.

Mr. Speaker: Has the honourable member already participated on second reading?

Mr. Laughren: Yes.

Mr. Speaker: The honourable member knows he can only speak once.

Mr. B. Newman: Mr. Speaker, I think I have to bring to the attention of the minister the position of the federal government concerning certain exemptions. I wonder whether the minister would consider adopting their exemptions, maybe selectively, as called for in the resolution originally passed by various municipalities, so that the federal and provincial exemptions would be uniform in Ontario.

The federal government, by order in council PC 1974-164, has exempted municipalities from excise tax on certain designated items. For the sake of uniformity, doesn't the minister think it would be a good idea for his ministry to follow and do exactly the same thing?

Hon. Mr. Maeck: Mr. Speaker, it won't take long to answer this, since I have only about two and a half minutes by the look of things.

Mr. Peterson: Take your time.

Hon. Mr. Maeck: It's okay; we can go beyond six.

Dealing first of all with the remarks of the member for Brant-Oxford-Norfolk—

Mr. Peterson: Deal with licence plates.

Hon. Mr. Maeck: Maybe I will talk about that a little bit and tell the members how nice it is to live in the riding of Parry Sound where you can buy licence plates for \$10.

To get down to the matter at hand, I want to give a little detail on chillers, because I think there is some confusion as to what they are. I have some notes here somewhere, because I didn't know anything about chillers either until all of this came up. To give an idea of what they do, I will use as an illustration a building with 48,000 square feet of total space, which would be occupied 10 hours a day, five days a week, and located in a climate that would range from 95 degrees Fahrenheit to zero degrees Fahrenheit. Studies of this model building revealed that a heat-reclaim chiller, which is what we are talking about here, with a storage tank, would be capable of saving 231,684 kilowatt-hours of energy each year. This amounts to about 35 per cent of the total energy bill; so it really is an energy-saving device.

For those who have not ever seen what a chiller looks like, it is not a heat pump. The member for Brant-Oxford-Norfolk mentioned—all members have mentioned—the farm storage bins and so on, and have said it is insignificant. But I don't think it's insignificant to the farmers out there. I will grant that it's perhaps a little late, but it's better late than never. Sometimes, somewhere, some way, we find some extra dollars, and this year we have found ways and means of exempting the grain bins for the farmers.

Mr. Riddell: Will you be eliminating the tax on the material?

Hon. Mr. Maeck: No, I don't think we will, because of the administration problems involved. The member has to remember that, when it comes to construction of these grain bins, the material that goes into them has to be identified. If we were to do it the other way around, who would decide which material was exempt when the purchase was being made? It would be an administrative nightmare to the suppliers of the kind of material that would be needed to build the buildings.

Mr. Speaker: Will the minister have any more remarks on this? It is six o'clock.

Hon. Mr. Maeck: Some questions were asked and I should answer them.

The House recessed at 6:01 p.m.

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No. 48

Legislature of Ontario Debates

Official Report (Hansard)

Fourth Session, 31st Parliament

Tuesday, May 13, 1980

Evening Sitting

Speaker: Honourable John E. Stokes

Clerk: Roderick Lewis, QC

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Published by the Legislature of the Province of Ontario.
Editor of Debates: Peter Brannan.

LEGISLATURE OF ONTARIO

TUESDAY, MAY 13, 1980

The House resumed at 8 p.m.

RETAIL SALES TAX AMENDMENT ACT

(continued)

Mr. Speaker: When we rose at six o'clock we were dealing with second reading of Bill 52, An Act to amend the Retail Sales Tax Act. We did not adjourn the debate on that occasion. It is my understanding that there is a different procedure for this evening.

Hon. Mr. Wells: Yes, Mr. Speaker. I would like to move the adjournment of that debate. It will continue later on this evening after we consider several other bills.

On motion by Hon. Mr. Wells, the debate was adjourned.

CITY OF TORONTO ACT

Hon. Mr. Wells moved second reading of Bill 45, An Act respecting the City of Toronto.

Hon. Mr. Wells: Mr. Speaker, I suppose on a bill of this gravity we would not normally have an opening comment, but I really think this bill has some particular significance tonight. Therefore, I would like to say a few words about it.

This House spent more than 25 hours last week with more than 80 prepared speeches in passing a resolution aimed in very simple terms at keeping Canada united and building an even better Canada. We sent along to Quebec our message that we did not believe sovereignty-association should be negotiated, that we were not for the status quo and that we believed we could build a better Canada through a number of mechanisms, one of them being a new constitution.

In this House, many people talked about the heritage of Canada, the things that Canada meant to them, and the history of this country. At least some of the speakers mentioned that very often many of the historical events of this country were not being taught in our schools and were not being remembered by people, and that the fact that these events were now being brought to light as we debated the future of our country in these very perilous times was a good thing and that

perhaps out of that would come a better appreciation of all our history. Of course, the history of this country is a political one. It is a cultural one. It is a sports one. It is a social one. It covers a whole realm of personalities, places, times, events and things.

One of the things I have been very pleased about in my own borough of Scarborough—and I know the other members for Scarborough here would share this with me—is the fact that the school board in Scarborough, besides teaching history in what I think is a very acceptable manner, also has seen fit to name the schools in Scarborough after prominent historical personages. It set only one condition.

Mr. Nixon: Is there a Thomas L. Wells school yet?

Hon. Mr. Wells: No, there is not. The member should wait for my next condition. The only condition they have on picking a name for those schools is that the famous Canadian must be dead.

Mr. T. P. Reid: We can arrange for that.

Hon. Mr. Wells: For that reason, I am pleased my name has not been suggested. I have to offer one caveat to that statement also, because in the borough of Scarborough there is a William G. Davis Junior Public School. The William G. Davis school was named by the board in Pickering, and when that area, the West Rouge area, was annexed to Scarborough, the school became part of the Scarborough public school system.

This is a very important thing the school board has done. One of the schools that has just been opened has been named the Tom Longboat Junior Public School. It remembers someone who was an important sports hero in this country.

I was looking today at a book, Canada's Sports Heroes, by none other than Douglas Fisher and S. F. Wise, and there was a picture of Tom Longboat on the cover. In an article written about Tom Longboat back in 1956 in Maclean's magazine, it mentioned that the only remembrance of him was a two-foot wooden marker over an Indian grave near Brantford, Ontario, near the home, I am sure, of my friend the member for Brant-Oxford-Norfolk (Mr. Nixon). That

was the only monument the writer of the article could find to this famous Canadian sports hero.

When one reads the story about this very interesting member of our native peoples, one understands he was in his day the kind of sports hero whom some of us know today in hockey, football and baseball, perhaps an even greater sports hero. He ran his first race in Hamilton, which no one thought he would win. Apparently in those days one could bet on races; that was back in the 1900s. People used to bet on these races and no one expected him to win. He came down in a 35-cent bathing suit and a pair of 75-cent sneakers and he ran in the race and won and set a record.

He then went to the West Toronto YMCA where he belonged. Some of the members of this House, perhaps, have belonged to the West Toronto YMCA as I did for a few years. There they encouraged him, because he was obviously an outstanding runner, to run in the Boston Marathon.

He did go down to the Boston Marathon and there was quite a send-off when he left, because he had won a few races in between and was becoming famous as one of the best runners in Canada. It is recorded here, on April 19, 1907, he went down to Boston. It was a miserable day; it was snowing, there was rain, there was slush and the course they picked was mostly uphill. He ran in that race and finished in two hours, 24 minutes and 24 seconds, a record that stood for four years after that and was broken, as history records, only after the course was made a little easier.

Four days later, Tom Longboat, who now had become a sports sensation in the United States and Canada, came back here to this city. The reason I say he was probably thought of as an even greater sports hero than some today is that he came back and crossed over at Niagara Falls, and a great group went down to meet him. He arrived at Union Station, so this story records, and thousands of people with torches were waiting at the station to lead him from there to what is now the old city hall at the top of Bay Street, where Mayor Coatsworth greeted him and the city heaped its praise upon him. As part of that praise, it was decided they would give him \$500, but for some reason, history records that \$500 never passed from the city of Toronto to Tom Longboat.

T. P. Reid: It must have been a Tory administration.

Hon. Mr. Wells: No, it was absolutely not a Tory administration.

Mr. Nixon: You cannot blame Sewell for that.

8:10 p.m.

Hon. Mr. Wells: I was going to say back in those days we wouldn't blame the mayor of Toronto. I am sure my friend will remember that back in 1906 or 1907 was the beginning of the Tory years in Ontario after the long reign of Oliver Mowat and his few successors. The Tory years were beginning. I certainly have only read about it.

I might draw to my friend's attention there are many people in the gallery tonight who are very interested. I didn't mention earlier, Mr. Speaker—I refrained particularly from mentioning—that many of these people are from Scarborough and the area where the—

Mr. Ruston: You are not supposed to do that.

Hon. Mr. Wells: No we are not supposed to do that, but many of them know where Tom Longboat Junior Public School is. So they are here tonight in order to see us conduct our business.

The point is that \$500 was pledged by the council in the city of Toronto in those days to Tom Longboat, and for some reason history records it never changed hands. He never received it. Someone has dug this up just recently and found that he was promised \$500 and it was not given to him.

The city of Toronto I think is to be commended for discovering this fact. They discovered it at very much the same time as we were opening the Tom Longboat school in Scarborough, which is I think an interesting and happy coincidence. We learned about it. It was found that the city needed some type of legislation, in order to pay that money with interest to the heirs of Tom Longboat, which the present city council of Toronto wishes to do. Normally they would do this by a private bill.

I think because of the generosity of the city, and because it does recognize a very important Canadian sports hero, we are very pleased as a government to bring this in as a government bill. The bill will allow the city of Toronto to make good on that promise that they made. They can now pass on the gift they said they would give to Tom Longboat many years ago to his heirs.

I must confess—and my friend from Brant-Oxford-Norfolk realizes this—we are not just sure who all the heirs are. We have named three of them in the bill. I am proposing we go into committee of the whole to amend the bill so that the city council and the city solicitor can settle the matter of who are the

rightful heirs to this gift. They have assured me they will do that.

I am very pleased to be able to present this bill. I think it is important that we remember all the heroes of this country, no matter what sphere they may have acted in. I think this is a noble gesture by the city council of Toronto. I am sure the members of this House will be happy to support this bill so that Toronto may carry out its good thoughts.

Mr. Nixon: Mr. Speaker, I am honoured and delighted to support the bill. I have the special honour of being the elected representative of the Six Nations Indian Reservation which is the most populous one in Canada.

I am also honoured to be an honorary Mohawk. I don't know whether that gives me any claim to the distribution of this largesse but perhaps a small amendment could be put in the bill that would reinforce that.

Tom Longboat is still very much a hero in the Indian community and throughout all of Canada. Some of his relatives still live on the reserve; some of them live in the city of Brantford, and I know they are following the deliberations of the House tonight with a great deal of interest indeed.

The minister has indicated he is going to offer an amendment to the bill which will leave the distribution of this money to the discretion of the council of the city of Toronto with the advice of their lawyers or whomever else they care to consult. I think that is a very wise approach.

I have seen the wooden marker the minister referred to. It may well be the allocation of this money and perhaps the brief debate here tonight will stimulate the Indian council and perhaps others to have a more suitable recognition on the reserve. There is recognition there already but certainly the marking of the grave would be very appropriate since he is very much a Canadian hero—a sports hero, but a real hero indeed.

The decision by the city of Toronto is to be commended. I don't want to sound picky about this, but money invested at seven per cent doubles every decade. I don't know whether seven per cent would be considered to be out of the way as far as an average amount payable goes. Presuming that the interest is not vested for compounding except once every 10 years, it would seem to me that the original \$500 would be worth somewhere in excess of \$64,000 now. I am not suggesting for a moment that the calculations by the city of Toronto have been perhaps improper, or let us say inadequate, but it is something for us to consider.

A sum of \$10,000 is what one would call an eighth or ninth prize in one of the many lotteries we have. It is not as much money as it might have been considered perhaps a few years ago when you were a conductor on the railway, Mr. Speaker, and I was farming. As I say, I don't want to sound in any way ungrateful on behalf of my constituents but, frankly, if this interest is compounded somebody needs another course in basic arithmetic.

The Longboat people are members of a well-known family in my area. I don't believe there is anything pejorative in saying the Indian community is extremely interested in athletics and proficient in them. If you were to visit the main town of Ohsweken—and you are certainly very welcome to do so, Mr. Speaker, and I would be glad to accompany you at any time—you would find they have one of the finest hockey arenas in the whole community. The community itself is well provided with all of the amenities of any modern community by way of schools, municipal offices and other services. We are very proud of their accomplishments.

There are many other people from the Indian community who have excelled in many ways, but still no one has seized the imagination of us all more than Tom Longboat. I think he was a man who had a natural gift for athletics, but still had the motivation to put himself forward in competition and contest and to be successful and win.

He was employed by the city of Toronto, I think in the collection and disposal of waste of some sort, garbage, an honourable position indeed. I understand he married and had a family in this community. I believe he moved back to the Six Nations community on retirement and, as I have already indicated, his children still live there.

It is interesting to note that as the member for the area I received a phone call from a person not listed in the bill, Mr. Reginald Longboat, generally known as Connie Longboat, who indicated to me he was a legal son of Mr. Tom Longboat Junior and wanted me to do what I could to see he was recognized in the legislation. The minister has very properly, I think, indicated it is the donor, the city of Toronto, that should have the responsibility of distributing the money. I hope our comments here tonight will be read by some of the officials, or perhaps the solicitor of the city, who will know that Mr. Reginald Longboat should be considered for his fair share in the distribution of the money.

I am very glad indeed to support the government in this special legislation and to con-

gratulate the city of Toronto in finally showing its good faith with one of its former residents and in favour of my constituents.

Mr. Warner: Mr. Speaker, I consider it a privilege to enter into—I was going to say a debate but it obviously isn't a debate—the spirit of unanimity that exists in the chamber tonight.

I wish to congratulate several people. One is the city of Toronto for having the foresight to bring forward the suggestion in the first place. Another is the member for Brant-Oxford-Norfolk who has shown some considerable interest in it and has a very clear and good understanding of the background and history of the situation. The last is the Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs who in some of his opening remarks was a touch too modest as to the input he had over quite a number of years as trustee with the Scarborough Board of Education.

8:20 p.m.

One of the very positive policies that the Scarborough board enacted a few years ago, as the minister touched on, was the naming of schools after famous Canadians, including Tom Longboat Junior Public School. There are many others. There are the John McCrae Senior Public School, where I had the privilege of teaching for some time, Pauline Johnson Junior School, which is in the minister's riding, and quite a number of others. Two that I am particularly proud of are J. S. Woodsworth Senior School, which is in my riding, and Dr. Norman Bethune Collegiate Institute, which I think is in Scarborough North, although I am not positive about that.

What happens is that after the naming of the school there is a conscious effort to research the history of the individual after whom the school is named and to involve the students as they come into that school in learning the history of the school. They learn all about John McCrae or all about J. S. Woodsworth or all about Tom Longboat, to find out what part this person had to play in the development of our very interesting and exciting history. I think it leaves an impression with the students and they carry that with them the rest of their lives. It's a very good policy, a most positive one, and one I think that many school boards should pursue.

I am going to touch on something else, Mr. Speaker. While we are passing this bill tonight and paying recognition to a very famous Canadian, one who brought pride to our country through his achievement, I think we should mention that too often as Cana-

dians and Ontarians we tend to be overly modest about our achievements and we tend to be very quiet about what we do. We don't seem to publicize our history or make it exciting and broadcast it as perhaps we should. We have a lot to be proud of in this country, and certainly in Ontario, and we need to say it more often.

We are saying it here tonight. I hope that while it's a unique occasion, it will not be the last, because I think there are times when this assembly can enter into a very interesting and lively discussion and pay tribute to a Canadian or an Ontarian of whom we are rightly proud. This happens to be one of those occasions.

In conclusion, I welcome the bill. My party is pleased and proud to support it and I commend both the city of Toronto and the Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs for bringing it forward.

Mr. G. Taylor: Mr. Speaker, I also rise in support of this piece of legislation. I, like the member for Brant-Oxford-Norfolk, am an honorary chief of an Indian band in my particular area. Maybe that's one reason we don't have great success around this Legislature. We might have too many chiefs and not enough Indians. I do not know whether I also am entitled to a portion or a pro rata share of the Longboat bequest.

I put this as just a possibility to those heirs: Because the sum is not large and possibly when the municipality tracks down the heirs, the number of heirs who may receive some portion of that \$10,000 or whatever the figure might be, will be large, I would suggest to them that sum of money could be used by them for some form of scholarship in recognition of Tom Longboat so that his memory would be preserved much longer, rather than spending those few dollars distributed to them.

I would hope that possibly, if they read this legislative debate, they would see my words in that respect and they would take that upon themselves. That would be far more fitting to the memory of Tom Longboat than what those few dollars might buy at present. I know, Mr. Speaker, as we mentioned last week in the debate on Canadian unity, there are many things that make us as well as Canadians, but nothing more than our endeavours and our athletic achievements when we go about this world and about this nation and about this province. They are recognized far more in our society than any of our other achievements which are no less great. It is those in sports that we seem to take greatest pride in.

I think a worthy memorial to Tom Longboat would be this scholarship in athletics, whatever form it may take. Maybe it should have the condition that it assist our native peoples or someone in the Brantford area to which he was so closely attached. I put that forward as an opportunity for these people to excel in recognition of that great and honoured athlete.

Mr. B. Newman: Mr. Speaker, I too rise to support Bill 45, An Act respecting the City of Toronto, and first commend the city of Toronto, the minister and previous speakers for their thoughtfulness in introducing the bill concerning the late Mr. Longboat.

I am probably the only member in this Legislature who has actually had any association, not necessarily with Tom Longboat, but presenting a Tom Longboat award. At one time in my earlier days I happen to have been the chairman for gymnastics in southwestern Ontario and also the national chairman for Canada for approximately five years. It was my pleasant task at that time to go to the Muncey Indian Reservation and to present the Tom Longboat award to the most outstanding Indian athlete of the day and of the year.

I can recall going into the basement room of a school on the reserve that day and seeing all of the happy faces because one of their own had been selected as the most outstanding Indian athlete in all of Canada.

It is all right to make a presentation such as this to Mr. Longboat. However, as the previous speaker, the member for Simcoe Centre mentioned, we too frequently forget about our amateur athletes, those who have trained and developed without the dollar bill in front of their eyes. Tom Longboat was one such individual. There are many others in our schools today who are dedicating themselves to excel in athletic endeavours and yet we don't recognize them to the extent we could.

I know Ontario does have an annual dinner in which the outstanding athletes of the province are recognized. But I think something better than that should be implemented. I would like to endorse the comments of the member for Simcoe Centre. We recognize Ontario scholars for their academic excellence. I think the government should likewise recognize athletes in our school systems for their athletic excellence and academic excellence because I think an individual is a good athlete if he is also a good student. The two go hand in hand generally.

I am pleased to join with the previous speakers in paying tribute to the city of

Toronto and to a former outstanding Canadian athlete, Tom Longboat.

Mr. Kennedy: Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to comment briefly on this bill and to endorse the comments which have been made in recognizing this outstanding athlete. We in Mississauga feel we have a certain affinity to the Brantford area in that some six or eight years ago the former Toronto Township obtained town status and by an overwhelming vote it was decided to call our town Mississauga. This was subsequently upgraded to city status. The native peoples from the Brantford area came and shared in our celebration. There has been an exchange of visits and a great affinity has developed.

8:30 p.m.

Part of the reason I speak tonight is in respect to this affinity. Certainly, in the past the town of Streetsville, which is now part of Mississauga, had a lacrosse team. We know many residents of that area who participated and exported very fine athletes to Streetsville and to other teams and made the league what it was.

I too would like to commend the city of Toronto and those who brought this forward so that tonight it comes to fruition. When we are in committee, though, I would bring forward a couple of amendments with respect to the name on the bill.

Mrs. Campbell: Mr. Speaker, it is important that those of us from the city of Toronto might engage briefly in the discussion here. I am very proud the city of Toronto has pressed for this and very proud the government of this province has brought forward this bill.

Although I may be wrong in my history, I think the reason for the nonpayment way back was because Mr. Longboat became an employee of the city. There was a problem at that time, as I understand it, because of that relationship. I am delighted the matter has been sorted out.

I was one of those in discussing the whole question of the unity of this country who raised the issue as to the way in which our history is taught. I said then I felt that one of our real faults was the fact that our history is taught largely as political or constitutional history. We do not pay sufficient tribute to the heroes and the heroines of this country to give the kind of vitality to our history that our little people anyway can understand. Tonight marks a stepping stone in this House in the recognition of a great Canadian.

Hon. Mr. Wells: Mr. Speaker, in concluding the debate on this bill, I would like to say a few things.

I am afraid my two friends who are honorary chiefs will not be eligible because my research shows me that Tom Longboat was a full-blooded Onondaga, not a Mohawk and not an Ojibway. He was from one of the six tribes that make up the Iroquois confederacy. I guess that leaves the members out in the cold.

I would like to thank all the members who made contributions on this debate. Although this bill, in terms of the moneys spent and the events that can transpire from it, is probably of very small significance compared to many we do in this House, it has highlighted a very important principle of recognizing our past heroes.

I would like to thank my friend the member for Scarborough-Ellesmere for his comments. As I sat there listening to them, I thought for a minute that I was listening to a speech from the Premier (Mr. Davis). I heard him say we have a lot—

Mr. T. P. Reid: This is as low a statement as I have heard in this House.

Hon. Mr. Wells: No. I heard him say we have a lot to be proud of here in Ontario. That is what we say, and what the Premier says every time he gets a chance.

I mentioned in my opening remarks, and my friend from Scarborough-Ellesmere again highlighted it, the naming of schools in Scarborough after famous historic Canadians. I was happy to be on the school board at the very beginning of that process. I'm sure it wouldn't take any great crystal-ball gazing to know which was the school I was instrumental in getting named when I was on the board.

Mr. Warner: J. S. Woodsworth Senior Public School.

Hon. Mr. Wells: No, it wasn't the J. S. Woodsworth school. It was the Sir John A. Macdonald Collegiate Institute.

However, I must tell the honourable member I didn't do it in isolation. I felt it should be the Sir John A. Macdonald Collegiate Institute but, at the same time, we should have a Sir Wilfrid Laurier Collegiate Institute, which we do in Scarborough. Both of them have become very proud, good and historic schools in Scarborough.

I think my friend the member for Windsor-Walkerville also stressed a very important point—the whole idea of amateur sport, taking part in sports competition for the love of the sport and the fact that one could

excel, and not just for monetary gain. Today, monetary gain in athletics is a common thing. I suppose anyone would feel that someone who had the athletic ability and didn't get the big sums of money most of our professional athletes get would not be taking advantage of all those things that were available to him.

Here we have, I suspect, one of the first people of real principle, Tom Longboat, because I'm sure, although we can't absolutely prove it, that the fact he never got that \$500 was that he didn't want to interfere with his amateur status. Taking that \$500 back in 1907 would have made him not an amateur. That is what he didn't want and that is what those around him didn't want. We must pay tribute to him for that.

I am pleased that all members of this House have seen fit to support this bill if we can move into committee, we can make a few amendments to it and it will then be in an acceptable state.

Motion agreed to.

Ordered for committee of the whole House.

~~House in committee of the whole.~~

CITY OF TORONTO ACT

Consideration of Bill 45, An Act respecting the City of Toronto.

Mr. Chairman: Mr. Kennedy moves that the long title of the bill be struck out and the following substituted therefor: "An Act respecting Tom Longboat and the City of Toronto."

Mr. Kennedy: As indicated, this merely gives some identification to the bill more precisely than is currently contained in it.

Motion agreed to.

On section 1:

Mr. Chairman: Hon. Mr. Wells moves that section 1 of the bill be struck out and the following substituted therefor:

"1. The corporation of the city of Toronto may make a grant in the amount of \$10,000 to Thomas C. Longboat Junior, Phyllis Winnie, Theodore J. Longboat and such other children of Tom Longboat as the council of the corporation may by bylaw designate to be divided as equally as possible among them."

8:40 p.m.

Mr. Nixon: Mr. Chairman, I brought to the honourable minister's attention that another man by the name of Longboat has contacted me. Is there any process whereby the minister may undertake to pass that in-

formation on? I understand a certain amount of investigation has taken place. Would he like me to do it?

Hon. Mr. Wells: No, I can assure my friend that I have passed that information on to the solicitor for the city of Toronto and they are looking into that. It would have been nice to have been able to add that name to it here but the solicitor was not ready to give me the go-ahead to do that at this point. I think by doing it the way we have done, we leave it open to them. If, in their good judgement, this is a person who should be included they can do it.

Motion agreed to.

Section 1, as amended, agreed to.

Section 2 agreed to.

On section 3:

Mr. Chairman: Mr. Kennedy moves that section 3 be struck out and the following substituted therefor: "The short title of this act is the Tom Longboat Act, 1980."

Mr. Kennedy: Mr. Chairman, this again further emphasizes and acknowledges a great Canadian.

Motion agreed to.

Section 3, as amended, agreed to.

Bill 45, as amended, reported.

On motion by Hon. Mr. Wells, the committee of the whole House reported one bill with certain amendments.

LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY AMENDMENT ACT

Hon. Mr. Wells moved second reading of Bill 42, An Act to amend the Legislative Assembly Act.

Mr. Speaker: I am sure the honourable minister has an opening comment.

Hon. Mr. Wells: Mr. Speaker, this is an amendment to the Legislative Assembly Act. The principle of this bill is to change the remuneration for the members of the Legislature—in other words, to change the annual indemnity and to change the additional allowance paid to certain other members of the Legislature who have certain responsibilities.

As members are aware, a short while ago this House passed an amendment to the Legislative Assembly Act which came into force on April 1, 1979. That amendment provided; "That the Commission on Election Contributions and Expenses should carry out a particular function on behalf of this House every year."

The function, as spelled out in the Legislative Assembly Act is this: "The commis-

sion shall each year review and make such recommendations as it considers proper in respect of the indemnities and allowances of the members of the assembly under this act, and the commission shall report its recommendations to the Speaker and the Speaker shall cause the report to be laid before the assembly if it is in session or, if not, at the next ensuing session."

This procedure has produced three reports from the Commission on Election Contributions and Expenses. The first report, which came in on June 14, 1979, provided for certain adjustments in remuneration. Another report indicated the committee would be looking at this particular matter for this year. Then there is this third report which we now have before us, dated March 26, 1980, which recommends certain changes in remuneration for the members of this House, effective April 1, 1980.

For the benefit of the members of this House and to refresh their memory, the commission on election expenses is chaired by Arthur Wishart, a former Attorney General, who is known to many in this House. It is made up of representatives appointed by the various parties in the province: two from the government party, two from the Liberal Party and two from the New Democratic Party. It also has on it the Clerk of the House, Mr. Roderick Lewis. That is the group of people that through a subcommittee reviewed the remuneration of the members of this House and came forward with its recommendations in this report, which you yourself, Mr. Speaker, tabled in the House as you were instructed.

It provides for a basic increase in the remuneration of the members of this House in the amount of \$2,500 for this next fiscal year plus, as I said, certain other changes in additional indemnity for people who hold special functions, such as Speaker, cabinet ministers, parliamentary assistants, whips, House leaders, et cetera.

The bills we have before us today, the Legislative Assembly Act and the Executive Council Act which will follow, follow exactly the recommendations of this commission. In other words, we asked what one might call an impartial body, made up of all political persuasions, to look at the matter of change in remuneration for the members of this House. That body has presented us with a report. The government must bring in legislation, as a government must do, but that legislation has not in any way changed anything that was recommended in the majority report of that commission.

We have before us this bill and the companion bill which will follow. I would recommend their approval to this House.

Mr. T. P. Reid: Mr. Speaker, I rise to speak on this legislation with two paramount feelings: one somewhat of embarrassment and the second of trepidation. The first feeling results from the fact that when anybody stands, particularly in a democratic Legislature, to speak on a bill that will give him an increase in pay it is always somewhat demeaning and somewhat embarrassing to have anything to say about it other than "Ready, aye ready," or "Agreed" or "I am in favour."

The trepidation exists from the fact that the press, as is its usual wont in matters of this kind, tomorrow will no doubt pillory us, particularly this particular speaker, for the comments I am about to make, and not suggest but say we are probably, as members of this House, overpaid, underworked and not worth what we are already receiving.

I must say, having said that, that despite the comments of the honourable minister I am very disappointed in the report of the election finances commission. I have been here now for 13 years. I have been told by the leaders of my party, by members opposite, and by almost everybody just to wait and be patient and my reward will come to me. They tell me I will be paid for the hours I put in, for the work I do and for the responsibilities that I carry.

8:50 p.m.

That has not happened. I don't think it will ever happen. There is something wrong in our democratic society where the press particularly, but also to a large extent the members of the public, feel their democratically elected representatives are earning too much and in fact should be paid, as we heard from Hickling-Johnston Limited a few years ago, less than a truck driver or a second-year law student or a third-year accountancy student.

I realize when I stand here tonight that my remarks will be used against me by members of the Conservative Party, members of the NDP, perhaps even by somebody who will run against me for the nomination for the Liberal-Labour Party, to say nothing of the Liberal Party itself, but I feel after 13 years that I must say something about this issue.

I had lunch with a gentleman who was in private industry just the other day. He asked me how much I made as a member of the Legislature.

Mr. Nixon: A rather uncouth person.

Mr. T. P. Reid: Yes. I said, "Dad. . ." No, it was not my father. This gentleman said to me, "How much do you make?" I said, "My salary is \$22,000 and I have an \$8,000 expense account." The gentleman was horrified. I said, "I realize in this day and age that is not very much." He made the comment, and this is why I am standing here tonight saying what I am saying, "It's your own fault because you have not educated people," which is a function of all members of this assembly as part of our responsibilities, "as to what in fact you do, the hours you put in, the responsibilities you have and the trauma and the sacrifices you and your family have to go through."

It is with that feeling in mind I speak tonight. I speak not for myself, although I will refer primarily to my own experience in this Legislature, but I also speak for those people who have been elected by their community to come here and represent it and who have suffered not only what all of us suffer as members on occasion—the lack of privacy, the lack of home life, the hours away from home and family—but also those people who have come here to make a contribution to the life of the province of Ontario and who have taken a financial, for want of a better word, beating or loss, as a result of being elected.

The Ontario Commission on the Legislature, the Camp commission, in May 1973, following a report of the 1970 New Zealand royal commission on parliamentary salaries and allowances, set out four areas in regard to members. They said, "a. The occupation of a member of parliament should be regarded as virtually full-time and professional in nature."

Since 1967, I have been a full-time member of parliament. I have had to give up other business interests because, my riding being 1,200 miles away, I was not able to look after those interests on my behalf and continue here as a member. The Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs spoke about Tom Longboat being an amateur; I consider myself, and I would hope most members here consider themselves, professional. I think we are professionals. We have standards. We have probably the toughest entrance exams to get into this occupation of anybody in the world.

Section (b) of the report says, "It should be assumed that a member of parliament has no other income." For the majority of members that has to be true. I know in my case, and for many of my colleagues, there is no time to do anything else. Perhaps a lawyer

might be able to practise on occasion; perhaps an auctioneer might squeeze in the odd thing on a weekend.

Mr. Riddell: I had to give that up.

Mr. T. P. Reid: My friend tells me he had to give that up. The point is that not only does the Legislature sit seven, eight, nine, on occasion 10 months a year, but also when we are not here we are in our constituencies or we are serving on select committees or standing committees, so it is a full-time job.

Section (c) says: "It should be accepted that members are married, with family commitments." Very few are single, although we hear about the Minister of Community and Social Services (Mr. Norton) and my colleague for Renfrew North (Mr. Conway). My friend the member for Wentworth North (Mr. Cunningham), following my great example and seeing how happy and broke I was, has decided he will take the plunge in a couple of weeks. When it says "it should be accepted that members are married, with family commitments," this is a matter that probably is not appreciated, certainly by one's constituents, often by one's own political organization, that most of us are married, most of us have children, and yet politics is a very onerous job.

Studies here and in the United States have indicated the average member works 50, 60 or, on occasion, 70 hours a week. If one has a northern riding, as the Speaker of this House has, it often comes to even more than that because of the vast travel involved. As you know, Mr. Speaker, my riding is 1,200 miles from Toronto. I have to cover approximately 20,000 miles in total; on a weekend, sometimes driving a good portion of 2,000 or 3,000 miles at a time, and try to be back here on Monday morning.

For those people from Scarborough who are in the gallery still, I would like to relate a little story because it may be a little foreign to their own experience. Two weeks ago, I took Air Canada to Thunder Bay. I transferred from the jet to norOntair airline, which I am happy with, because for seven years I had to drive 220 miles to get to where I lived from there. I flew on norOntair, in a small Twin Otter airplane, and arrived in Fort Frances. An hour and a half later, I got in my car and drove 40 miles to meet some farmers. I drove another 40 miles to meet with some Indian people and some Metis. I drove another 40 miles to be in Rainy River for a Canadian National Railway retirement party.

9 p.m.

I left that particular do a little after 10 o'clock in the evening, having left Toronto at 7:40 a.m. on the airplane, and on the way home I saw a number of deer on the road. I slowed down and I was watching a particular deer on the right side. Unfortunately I wasn't watching the left side and a deer jumped in front of me. I hit it with my car and unfortunately killed it. It did about \$2,000 damage to my car. The OPP were very nice, I must say. It is one of the hazards that don't usually happen in Scarborough.

Hon. Mr. Grossman: Did the deer have insurance?

Mr. T. P. Reid: Yes.

Mr. Laughren: The deer blew one point too.

Mr. T. P. Reid: Under section (c), it should be accepted that members are married with family commitments.

That reminds me of a former member here; I shall not name him but he was a friend of mine and I think he made a contribution to the political life of the province while he was here; he was a Metro member. Some organization in his riding had asked him if he could come to a certain event Friday night. He said no; he was sorry but he had other responsibilities and couldn't be there. His other responsibilities were that Friday nights he set aside for his wife and children and they usually did nothing more glamorous than go out and have a hamburger and go to a movie. This they did on this particular Friday night.

They were in a little shopping plaza and they were just coming out of the movie. He had his wife and two children with him when the constituent came up to him who had asked him to come to the meeting Friday night. He said—I will change the name—"Harry, what are you doing here? You said you were busy Friday night."

That's a story that sticks in my mind. In fact he was busy; he was taking a night off with his wife and family and it wasn't recognized or appreciated.

Section (d) under the Ontario commission and the New Zealand royal commission says, "Regard should be had to the sacrifices the member and his wife or husband have to make in respect of their enjoyment of leisure and family life." I think I have covered that. In my 13 years here, I have been single for 12 years, and perhaps my commitments weren't the same. But my leisure life and my spare time were none the less constrained because of the responsibilities of my riding and politics.

Because I am trying to do what that gentleman said to me at lunch the other day—to educate people as to what we do here—I would like to put on the record what we do here. But I would also like to quote from a book I have been reading recently—unfortunately it's an American book but the sentiments are the same in regard to politics. According to former Governor Robert Bradford of Massachusetts, "To survive in the toughest game known to man, a politician needs the hide of a rhinoceros, the memory of an elephant, the energy of a draft horse, the persistence of a beaver, the friendliness of a mongrel pup, the tenaciousness of a bulldog, the health of a sea turtle, the stomach of an ostrich, the heart and courage of a lion, the speed of an antelope, the kindness of a St. Bernard dog, the nervous system of a mountain goat and the humour of a crow." I am not sure how that gets in there. And, said this gentleman, "All of these things combined are not enough unless, when it comes to a matter of principle, a man also has the ornery stubbornness of an army mule."

I could add a few descriptive adjectives to that. I have been in my time—and it has been a very interesting time being a member of parliament—everything from a marriage counsellor to a credit manager trying to get a company a \$20-million loan.

One of the interesting things that I recall in my very early days as a member was that shortly after I was elected—I was single at the time—I got a call from somebody I knew well in my riding and he said, "Pat, my wife and I have to come over and see you." I said, "What's it about, John?" He said, "Never mind, I'll tell you when we get there." Although you have turned very grey since 1967, Mr. Speaker, when you and I came in together, I was just a young pup of 24 then.

Mr. Nixon: Too young.

Mr. T. P. Reid: Yes, too young. These people came in to see me and started telling me their marital problems. It wasn't the member for Victoria-Haliburton (Mr. Eakins), by the way.

I said, "Look, not only am I just 24, I am not even married. Why would you be telling me these kinds of problems?" They said, "Because you are so young and single, we think you're pretty smart, so you have to help us."

One of my NDP friends came up with one even I have not had in 13 years. Somebody phoned him at two o'clock in the morning with a dead dog he wanted to dispose of. I could suggest that perhaps disposing of dead

dogs falls into the purview of that party and of its leader upon occasion, but I won't do it. All I am saying is that the requests we have are many and varied.

One of our jobs is to respond to people and help them believe that the government isn't that remote and isn't that isolated, and that they can call their member of the Legislature and we, representing the government, as on occasion unfortunately we all do whether we like it or not, can help them, whether it falls under our purview or not.

There is that, and while perhaps for some of us that is a minor function, to many people it is a major function. Obviously, our other functions are as legislators and law-makers. In fact, through our deliberations in the passage of bills here in this House, we give form and direction to what we consider the collective will as to how the community will govern itself and live in relative harmony. That in itself is a full-time and very important job. To my mind, there is perhaps only one other profession, if I may put it that way, that is more important, that is, the ministry, for those who will go up there, although on occasion there are those here who tell us where to go. That is our prime function and a very important function that is not always recognized.

We have some other responsibilities, such as passing bills and the budget, raising money, taxing people and spending that money through the estimates procedure, again a function that I believe is not always well carried out in this Legislature, but one we are responsible for and which we are accountable for every time an election comes up, that could lead me into some irrelevancies about accountability and responsibility in our system of government.

The other function is to be an ombudsman to our constituents. We all represent anywhere from 40,000 to 100,000 people. We are the interface and the ombudsmen for those people who come to us who have not received, or feel they have not received a fair and judicious hearing or a fair judgement from the civil servants or on occasion cabinet ministers as to their particular problems.

9:10 p.m.

We have many other functions, some of which are educational. We speak, we go here and there, we appear, we have a ritual function of appearing as the person who represents all the people in the community or in the constituency. We have to go to this banquet and that banquet and appear at this convention and that convention. Those ritual

things sometimes take an inordinate amount of time. We have to do them; both so people will know they can see us and so they can talk to us. In fact, it shows them the government is palpable and reachable. We combine all of these functions, some of which I have not touched upon. As a housewife would say, we do all these functions and yet we get paid very little for any of them.

One of the things that concerns me is the fact, and I am quite willing to say it, that members of the Legislature are grossly underpaid. I don't suppose in my time here it will ever change. I say we are grossly underpaid in terms of what others in the private sector are getting, and what those members of the public sector across the way are getting. Of course, for those on the government side, although there are only six, as I understand it, who are not getting extra indemnity, it has to be a burden as well.

I am concerned. I must put it as honestly as I can. I have been here since 1967. I have been through the Camp commission, I have been through Hickling-Johnston and I have now been through the election finances commission. None of those three groups has said that members are underpaid, that they are entitled to more, or that they don't recommend that we get it. It would be nice if somebody would recognize that we are somewhat underpaid.

It is interesting, and I don't mean to offend anybody, that some of the people on the election finances commission are making \$59,000, have chauffeur-driven cars and yet suggest that the rest of us should realize we are making a sacrifice to be here representing people. Most of us make that sacrifice in terms of time, in terms of the energy we use, in terms of health and a lot of other respects.

I must say what bothers me, Mr. Speaker, as chairman of public accounts, is I have civil servants coming before my committee week after week, and in being chairman of that committee for almost four years I have yet to have a public servant come before my committee—perhaps the high-priced help under the benches could keep it down because I am getting to them right now.

In that time, I have yet to have a civil servant come before me who has been making less than \$5,000 or \$10,000 more than I am. I have been concerned about accountability and responsibility in our system of government as one of the hobby horses we all ride on occasion. In our democratic system in our civil service, I see damned little of it. I can tell you, and I would remind you, Mr. Speaker, although you need no reminding

with the majority you have, that our accountability and responsibility comes up every three or four years. On occasion it is sometimes even every 18 months, such as the last time.

Mr. Ruston: When the Premier (Mr. Davis) decides to call it.

Mr. T. P. Reid: Yes. I must say it bothers me on occasion that my accountability and my responsibility are there on the line for the community to decide on, when a lot of—and I don't say they are necessarily high-priced help because I suppose if you compared them with the private sector, they are not doing all that well—theirs isn't.

The federal auditor-general has suggested that senior deputy ministers and senior management in the government be paid equivalent to those in private industry, and I agree with that. I also believe the second half of that equation got lost after the Glassco commission, that they should also be responsible and accountable for the managing job they do, and, if they do not do it, they should be turfed out. I feel, quite frankly, and I know I am digressing a little, that if I were a cabinet minister and I found somebody fouling up and making me look bad, he would not last long. But, in fact, they do.

I suggest, Mr. Speaker, if you look at volume three, Details of Expenditure of the public accounts of Ontario, you will be amazed at the people making over \$25,000 listed in this book.

This is from 1977-78, a year out of date. In the Management Board of Cabinet, which is supposed to be overseeing expenditures, approximately 120 people are making over \$25,000, and the majority of those over \$30,000. They are not in much danger of losing their jobs. They are not doing what we, as members, are supposed to do here. Yet it goes on. I could read out, as well, the figures relating to the Ombudsman's staff. They are amazing.

Not too long ago, as chairman of public accounts I got a letter from the Treasurer (Mr. F. S. Miller), who is responsible for the tabling of the public accounts in Ontario, saying that we are going to change the system of putting in the people who are making over \$25,000 in the Ontario public service because there are too many of them. We are now going to put in only those who are making over \$30,000. That is amazing.

I would like to read, if I may, a list of what some civil servants are getting. This is for 1978-79, by the way: chairman, Civil Service Commission, \$56,100; executive assistant to the Premier, \$52,850; appointments

secretary in the Office of the Premier, \$26,775; director of communication, Ministry of the Attorney General, \$35,075; counsel crown law office, civil, Ministry of the Attorney General, \$37,075; director, research and evaluation branch, Ministry of Education, \$40,870; chief, health manpower planning, Department of Health, \$44,675.

I could go on and on and on. It occurred to me at one point that perhaps I should just take volume three of the public accounts and read all the salaries and the people who are receiving them.

Hansard cannot record this, but if you look at the Ministry of the Solicitor General—a ministry that, one would gather in this Legislature, does very little, or certainly from which we get little information out—there is a page and a quarter of salaries over \$25,000 in 1978-79.

I suppose it does not make much difference. Those people who run will run. Paying members a reasonable salary, or a salary comparable to what they can get outside, the same quality of people will run. That is the argument presumably for not paying any more.

9:20 p.m.

It is interesting that in my riding the NDP approached a school teacher to run who happens to be a friend of mine. He told me his answer to them was: "You have to be nuts. I make more money as a school teacher. I have July and August off. I know what Pat Reid has to do to earn that kind of money so you are barking up the wrong tree."

Fortunately, the Conservatives have had the same problem. But what we seem to be about in Ontario, having worked so hard through the Election Finances Act and a few other things, is now to have made the Legislature attractive for only two kinds of people—the very poor or the very rich. This Conservative Party, built on the middle class, is doing everything it can to discourage people in the middle-class area of the economic spectrum from running.

An article in the Toronto Star of Tuesday, May 13, 1980, by coincidence, has to do with the North York councillors' raise in pay up to 20 per cent. It says, "If you are a member of the Metro executive you get \$39,000 a year, one third of which is tax free." I have another clipping here that says, "Sewell, Godfrey To Get Same Pay: \$54,980."

If you are a Toronto alderman and a member of the Metro executive committee you will be making \$46,000 a year. If you are the fourth alderman on the Toronto executive committee you will be making

\$40,761 a year. There seems to be something out of whack somewhere.

We had before us somebody from, I believe, the Ministry of Community and Social Services. I believe it was the deputy minister. He was responding to questions and articles that had been in the Globe and Mail. It was about a gentleman whose name I have repeated often enough so that I do not have to do it any more. He held the position of hospital administrator One.

On July 5, 1971, his starting salary was \$17,884. Then he started getting something called annual merit. The annual merit, for those who don't know, is for performing one's job satisfactorily—it is not an economic raise. Here there was a revision, annual merit, revision, annual merit, promotion, reclassified position, revision, annual merit, revision, adjustment, revision, annual merit, revision, annual merit, revision. All of this took this gentleman from July 5, 1971, to April 1979, when he quit because he felt that he was not doing anything. When he quit he was earning \$45,825.

The election finances commission feels a \$2,500 increase is just what the members need. I suppose if one is able to sit back and make those kinds of judgements, one can certainly say that those people, whoever they are, don't deserve anything else. But it bothers me because of my own experience. I have already related the fact that both opposition parties are having problems finding somebody to run against me. Most of them in my riding are obviously smarter than I am. They wouldn't do this job for this price.

I can tell the House from my experience as the president of the Ontario Liberal Party that when I approached those people at that time to run as members, the first question they asked was: "How do I look after my family? What does it pay?" When I told them, they said, "I am sorry, I can't afford it."

I also have friends in all parties in this Legislature, and colleagues, who are too proud to make the kind of speech I am making, and I am not making it on my own behalf. They have to go out and find other jobs and other means of supporting their wives or husbands and family, because we in Ontario feel we cannot tell the people what we do, what the burdens of the job are, and that the members are making a tremendous sacrifice. If we were getting \$60,000 or \$70,000, it would still be a tremendous sacrifice for many people here.

It wasn't that much of a sacrifice for me when I was young and feisty and single, but for many people to come here—the majority,

99 per cent of them—it is a sacrifice, and the money alone is not going to make up for that sacrifice.

There are those, perhaps, who will say, "Oh yes, but look at your pensions." I would invite anybody who feels that way to look at the statistics. I have been here since 1967. There are 124 members in this Legislature, only 20 of whom have been here longer than me. The majority came in 1971 or in 1975. There is a turnover of 30 or 40 per cent every election. The 1977 election was an aberration. If we look at the statistics, whether here or Ottawa or anywhere else, we will find that the average stay is 8.4 to 8.8 years, here or in any other democratically elected Legislature.

Some won't be here for more than one term. We have colleagues in this party, and every party has them, who have won once and then the voters have decided, in their wisdom, that was enough, whether it was for party or personal reasons or whatever. I have always been amazed, as an aside, at some of the people who have been defeated, but that is neither here nor there. The fact remains that they were defeated after one term of four years or, in some cases, 18 months, and they weren't here very long and were not eligible for a pension. If they had stayed here as long as I have, or as long as some, it wouldn't really keep them going.

Mr. Acting Speaker: I wonder if I might just interrupt the member for Rainy River for one moment to draw the attention of the House to the Speaker's gallery where the Speaker is sitting with the Honourable Dean Brown, Minister of Industrial Affairs for Southern Australia. He is here as a guest of our Minister of Labour (Mr. Elgie). I am sure the members will wish to extend their welcome, as well as the welcome of the Speaker to our honoured guest. I hope he is learning a little this evening that may be helpful when he returns to his own legislature.

Mr. T. P. Reid: Perhaps I could prevail upon the honourable minister to invite me to Australia, where I have some good friends, and perhaps I can do something for him. I can't do much here, I can tell the House.

9:30 p.m.

Mr. Speaker, I have gone on, obviously, too long, but I just want to re-emphasize the fact that many of us have had friends and colleagues who have come to this House prepared to serve the people who have sent them here and to serve their whole province. Some of us have lost those friends and colleagues through elections, through death, through frustration and through disappoint-

ment. They have left. Perhaps there are more traumatic and frustrating businesses in the world than politics. I have been involved in a number of them myself. I haven't found too many that I must say compare with this.

I asked a friend of mine who is sitting there to my left last week why he would stay in this business. He said very simply, and I am sure he was truthful, "It keeps the adrenalin running." That is probably as good an explanation as any as to why some of us come here and pound our heads, sometimes in futility and sometimes in frustration, though sometimes we break down those walls and have a small victory, such as over the public opinion polls.

When the former leader of the New Democratic Party, for whom I think everyone had a great admiration, respect and affection, retired from this House part-way through his last term he stood in his place, almost being forced to do that by those who knew he was going to quit that afternoon, and said one sentence that summed up for me the essence of that particular individual and I hope for all of us. "Politics," said Mr. Lewis, "is ennobling." I hope for some of my friends and colleagues that it doesn't have to continue to be impoverishing.

Mr. Warner: Mr. Speaker, I wish at the outset to commend the member for Rainy River for his remarks. He knows full well, as all of us do, when a member stands here to speak about his pay it can be seen first to be self-serving only and that it can be easily viewed by the media as if the members are being somewhat greedy since, because the members have the ability to set their own wages, they will abuse that privilege. The member for Rainy River certainly showed some courage in putting forward what I think, unless I am totally wrong, is a fairly commonly held view among many of the members, if not the majority of the members of this assembly.

For my part, I am very disappointed with the report that came forward, for a very basic reason. I think that commission was given sufficient information that it knew full well there should be a very sizeable increase in salaries, though sizeable is a relative term, but not necessarily to be gained in one jump. Yet for reasons which I do not understand, the commission failed to put that into words in its report and failed to put a figure to it.

I cannot help but believe they knew that from everything they had been told, and not just from the members of this assembly and not just from the comparative statistics which they collected. There was one member of the

commission who dared to set down in figures what she thought was a reasonable sum of money for the members of this assembly to receive, and I applaud her for having done that.

Of course it is awkward for members to stand and talk about their pay. When I first ran in 1975 one of the items that I carried forward as part of the debate was that members of the assembly should have their salaries looked at with an independent view annually, so that we weren't getting these giant increases every four years. I called for a regular annual review of the salaries and an independent view.

I can't help but wonder what happened at the commission stage to some of the arguments the member for Rainy River has put forward and which other members put forward. One of the studies compared salaries with those of other professions—police constable, first-class mechanic, long-haul truck driver and so on.

I think they also realized that there were other expenses involved. I can't speak for members from outside Metro Toronto, but my riding is in Metro Toronto. My job here is full-time. The 70 hours a week on average that I put in prevents me from having an active role in any repair work around the home, the kinds of general maintenance items that are involved with a home.

Mr. Swart: That might be a blessing in disguise.

Mr. Warner: That may be a blessing in disguise, but none the less it means that we have to contract someone to make the necessary repairs and so on. I recall one report that brought that forward—that \$4,000 to \$5,000 a year would be spent on average by members in order to carry out the kinds of maintenance, et cetera, that members would not have the time to take care of.

This is my only source of income. I am quite proud of the position I have. I do try to serve my constituents, both the constituents in my riding and those throughout the province. I take every opportunity to travel with either committees of my caucus or committees of the assembly to various parts of this province, to get a better understanding of places outside of Metro Toronto. When we have bills in the House that deal on a broad scale, I would hope all members of the assembly would have some knowledge of different parts of Ontario.

I know some members have chuckled about my interest in the rural communities of Ontario, but I have some views about rural Ontario, and I have taken the time and

trouble to try to understand rural Ontario. Similarly, I have tried to understand the forest regions and the steel-making process and so on. It is a part of our responsibility, as individual members.

The member for Rainy River mentioned that he doesn't have a family right now. I have two young children and, quite frankly, I do set aside some time each week. Sunday is our day that we spend as a family, but that doesn't always go uninterrupted. There will be demands put upon me from time to time on a Sunday, and I do my best to comply with that.

9:40 p.m.

I guess what really bothers me is that none of us complains about that. That's part of our job. We did not have to run for public office. No one forced us to run for office. We decided, for whatever reasons, that we would stand for public office. What bothers me is that having made that decision and having taken our responsibilities seriously, the commission knowing full well what those responsibilities are and how seriously the members attempt to fulfil them, I do not understand why they did not have the courage to say so in terms of our salaries.

They could have done that. I stress they did not have to give us a report that said, "You should get a \$10,000 increase this year, or whatever it is." But they could at least have set out a goal that after two or three years, whatever it is going to be, there is a certain level at which salaries should be, some kind of recognition of the professional attitudes, the sacrifices and the responsibilities the members have.

I stress to you, Mr. Speaker, all of us accept the responsibilities and I think for the most part we enjoy them. I do not begrudge the 2 a.m. phone calls. I do not begrudge it when some person phones me out of desperation because he has been arrested by the police and has no legal representation and wants to know how he can get that. That is my job, and I try to do it the best I can. Every other member in here does the same thing. When a single-parent mother phones, desperate for housing, and she has a couple of children and has been abandoned by the husband and does not know where to turn and has no source of income, every one of us does the best we can to help her.

The message from many of the members of the assembly—I would not presume to speak for all back-benchers—is that when we have an independent commission, as we now have, charged with the responsibility of looking at

salaries, it should in clear conscience give us that report.

I understand one of the reasons they did not bring forward that report, or the report they knew should be forwarded, was that they felt it would not be politically acceptable. With respect, the political decision rests here. I would like that commission to make an independent judgement and leave the political decision to the politicians. If we, in our wisdom, decide to accept the report, then we live with the consequences.

If that commission brings in a report that recommends a sizeable increase over a certain period of time and the public does not like it, it is not going to vote against the commission. Those people do not stand for elected office. The public is going to vote against us and that is our responsibility. If my constituents are not sure what I do or how I represent them, that is my fault. I have a responsibility to make sure my constituents understand what I am doing and I respond to their needs as best I can.

In conclusion, we will support the bill. I would hope at some point the commission can address itself to the long-term problem. I do not think they have in this report, and I look forward to a far more positive report in the future.

Mr. McCaffrey: Mr. Speaker, I had not planned to make any comments when I came in but I was impressed with the candour of the member for Rainy River speaking to what is clearly a difficult and sensitive topic for everyone. I want to make what I hope will be a new contribution to the topic.

In this period of extraordinary inflation, I find the topic of job comparison frankly most unsatisfactory. I respect the fact that it is a useful tool to compare various professional group incomes but I find that a difficult task.

On the broader question of remuneration of MPPs specifically and how much of an obstacle it is to get people to serve, I wanted to comment because I think there is a far greater obstacle for people going into public service and that is the obstacle of job security. I am not thinking of those people who might own small businesses, and there are some in this chamber. I am not saying it is easy for them, but it may be easier for someone who owns a small or family business to be able to get another member of the family to look after the affairs of that business while he or she goes into public service.

Rather, I am thinking of a broader group, people who are otherwise employed in the business community. That is one of those catch-all phrases but it will have to do for

the moment. Those are the people for whom the question of remuneration doesn't even come up. They don't get to that point because for the vast majority of men and women working in Ontario the obstacle is to get a reasonable and fair leave of absence from his or her firm where there would be some reasonable expectation of job security during the short or long term the person is in this chamber. I think that is by far the greatest obstacle in getting people into public service.

I had the opportunity to teach school for a few years after leaving university and was a member of the teachers' federation. That was in the early 1960s and if my memory serves me well, I believe the federation had guidelines that were very clear. If a member of the federation was elected to whatever level of government, his job would be protected, as I recall, to some extent. I recall there were annual increments available upon returning to the classroom that would reflect the years he or she spent in public service, which would clearly round them out a bit better.

I take my hat off to most unions, which I think have similar provisions for allowing members to get into public service. In that sense, they might even encourage them to do so. I publicly compliment union leadership for taking that step. This leaves us with this large group of people, the so-called business community for whom that is the single biggest obstacle.

Overshadowing by far the question of how much money one makes while in public service is the more burning question of what happens when one either quits or is defeated. I know people who have run in the past and, frankly, whose jobs were on the line and whose employers told them that if they got elected they would be promised nothing in the way of pension protection or any other kind of job security.

The member for Rainy River mentioned that we had some educating to do, educating the public about some of the day-to-day problems and work loads of members. I agree with that. I do think we have another educational challenge and that is to inform people, particularly the owners and senior and middle management of various firms who often go around mouthing the fact they want to see more people in the business community get into public life. We have all heard it. Yet, damn it, not enough of these people have attempted to remove those very real obstacles to permit their people to do so.

9:50 p.m.

Frankly, I think all of us could do something to educate these people to tell them they can't have it both ways, that if they want people in public life, they have to make it easier even if it means simply protection of pension guarantees or whatever it is to give people a feeling of job security, a feeling that they had a place to go back to when they quit or left. I think quite honestly that is a much more serious consideration than the matter of annual remuneration at this time and one we would all be well advised to encourage people to think more about.

We are getting to a dangerous point in our society where only a very select group can consider actively running for public office and that group is reduced somewhat when its members get down to the nitty-gritty of determining whether or not they can afford it. Those are private decisions when they do get to that first stage, but for the vast majority of people it is not even a consideration because they know in most instances they would not likely get the kind of reasonable job protection, job guarantee or pension protection from their employer when they left.

I have read examples, and I think everybody must have seen them, of people who ran for the New Democratic Party, the Liberal Party and this Conservative Party who have had their jobs in jeopardy. The biggest risk they faced was election. I think that is something that is deplorable. I don't think government has a role to play in that. If there is one, it eludes me how a government could legislate a fair mindedness among business leaders.

I go back to the educational responsibility we all have to encourage this. For the next generation, it will be much more important to pave the way and make it easier for regular people who are not independently wealthy and who are not prepared to take these sacrifices in terms of remuneration and job security, but who should get in and make their contribution in this chamber.

Mr. Roy: Mr. Speaker, I want to support the comments made by some of my colleagues in the House. The member for Rainy River went into great depth and was fully justified in saying the things he said. He said what he had to say and showed a certain amount of courage and a certain amount of guts.

Everyone speaking on this type of legislation feels somewhat apprehensive, which I think is normal. I would have hoped after all this while that somehow we would have found a mechanism whereby we would not be involved in the process of setting remuneration

for members, that we could have found the mechanics of a system whereby remuneration would not be something that would be discussed and that we would not be deciding ourselves.

For that reason, I have great admiration for what the member for Rainy River and the member for Scarborough-Ellesmere said and for the contribution just made by my colleague the member for Armourdale. These are all different points of view that clearly point out that there are serious deficiencies. I am afraid these deficiencies will continue unless somebody is prepared to give this matter the importance it deserves. I don't think we will be able to do it ourselves. It has to be removed somehow from the process that has already been initiated.

I think the member for Rainy River has said this, but it was very unfortunate—and I say this very sincerely and I don't want to be overly partisan in saying it—when the Premier (Mr. Davis) back in 1973-74 decided to make a statement freezing the remuneration of members. What has happened is that it was mostly a freeze put on remuneration that especially affected the members of the opposition, because, as my colleague has pointed out, most of the members of the government party had a place in government or had some other remuneration as a parliamentary assistant or Minister without Portfolio or on various boards and commissions. That left very few members who were not making extra remuneration elsewhere.

During that time, other forums—and I am talking about the federal government and the National Assembly in Quebec—have proceeded with their increases to a point where today, unfortunately, the disproportion between those assemblies and the Legislature of Ontario is such that it has no basis, it has no logic, it does not make sense. I do not see why we in Ontario continue to treat this place as though it is a second-class type of government.

In some areas, as my colleague has said, it may even be third rate, because members of municipal governments and councils are now receiving more remuneration. Not only are they in a better position to receive more remuneration, but also they can carry on other occupations at the same time as they serve on municipal councils.

I have been around here since 1971 and I am speaking for all members when I say I have great admiration for the sacrifices made by so very many members. As my colleague has said, if something is not done, basically the only people who will be able to serve

here are people who are very wealthy or who have some other type of financial security, people who are single or retired, or people who have some other type of occupation that will allow them to serve as members of the Legislature. In other words, they will have to be, basically, on a part-time basis.

Mr. Speaker, I have mentioned that I do not see why the National Assembly in Quebec or the federal government should have television—you know the quality of electronic recording going on in those places—and we should not have it here. We had occasion to experience it last week and I think it is well-deserved when I see moneys spent in other areas of government services.

These are all things that have a tendency to degrade, to put this place on a lower level than other assemblies. That is of concern to me.

I have never made any secret in my case that my remuneration is supplemented by a law practice, just as the remuneration of many other members is supplemented by other types of business or profession. Given a choice, I would much prefer to be able to do this job on a full-time basis. I enjoy what I am doing here much more than what goes on in the law practice.

I do not want to degrade the law practice at all, but that is a fact. I wish I could do it, but I cannot, considering that I am the sole breadwinner, married with a family of two children. I had a thriving law practice before getting into this business and, at times, have neglected it for the demands of this job. Back in 1975-76, to all intents and purposes, I practised very little law.

I must be careful of the kibitzing that goes on in this place when I appear or disappear, one of the two. I take a lot of ribbing. Last weekend, one of the Ottawa papers decided to take a full broadside at the fact that Roy was a part-time MLA. I have never hidden that fact. It is fair ball. I am in the public domain, and people can write what they want. My colleagues on all sides can make comments, and that is fine. We are into this business and if we do not like it, we can get out, I suppose.

The fact is that, given this opportunity, I feel it is important that my performance not be judged exclusively, as the article has done, on the number of hours I spend in this place. The reporter said, for instance, that the House sits on Mondays, Tuesdays, Thursdays and Fridays, but mostly I was here on Tuesdays and Thursdays. He did not mention that on Mondays we sit for four hours and on

Fridays we sit for three hours. I felt that approach was unfair.

10 p.m.

There was no mention, for instance, that I felt I must supplement my income because I am working 70 or 80 hours a week. That is week in and week out, but there was no mention that we are putting in those hours. I think very few of my colleagues are working 40 hours a week in this job.

Mr. Martel: They don't get me elected to work 40 hours a week.

Mr. Roy: I agree with my colleague. I think those who think they can work on that sort of basis will not get re-elected. In other words, the role of a member of the Legislature is to be available when he is needed.

I should respond to the article to some degree. It made it appear that the worth of a member of the Legislature is based on how many hours he happens to sit in this House. I think that was very unfair and, in my opinion, very biased. If some reporter or some newspaper wants to play up the fact that a member is supplementing his income, I would hope that it would be done in the proper context.

Some of my colleagues do not supplement their income in any way, but many members do. It should be put in that context and not made to appear that because some member does not spend the same amount of hours as somebody else his contribution is not the same and, therefore, he is cheating the taxpayers of the province.

I would also hope, in closing, that in the whole process we are discussing here this evening—which makes everybody so uncomfortable every time we do it—somehow we would find a process to get out of this and let somebody else do it. Then we would not be facing a situation where we are sort of blowing our own horn. We keep talking about a conflict of interest. If ever there was a conflict of interest, it is this situation here where we are talking about increases in our own remuneration. I would hope we would find some way of getting out of that process.

Some of my colleagues have mentioned remuneration in other fields. I have a cousin who just graduated from the University of Toronto as a bachelor of commerce. The first job he got was with the Bank of Nova Scotia at a salary of \$24,000 a year. It is some indication of how we, as members of the Legislature, are remunerated. We are supposed to be the second most important level of government. We are in the largest and most important province in Canada.

To keep the level of remuneration at this level is not fair to the members. There must be some mechanism whereby the remuneration for members of the Legislature will fit their responsibility and will give this place and the members themselves, in my opinion, the status they deserve.

Mr. Swart: Mr. Speaker, I rise just to make three points and, perhaps, to concur with what other members have said. I guess this is something of a nonpartisan debate, something like the one we had in this House last week. This is one subject on which we can agree to a greater extent than we normally do in the debates in this House.

The first point I want to make is the very real difficulty there is in setting our own remuneration. As members of this House know, I spent some 21 years on municipal council. If anything, I think it is even more difficult for them to set their remuneration because they do it more in the glare of the public than we do even here. For many years the opposition could always criticize the government if it brought in a bill to raise other remuneration, although that was not usually done to any great extent because the members were the beneficiaries of that themselves.

But I found that in municipal life, and I am sure others in municipal life have found the same thing particularly a number of years ago, there were great variations in the remuneration that was paid between one council and another, even though the municipalities may have been approximately the same size. It depended on the composition of the councils, the amount of money they needed and their various approaches to it.

I know there are many rural municipalities that didn't pay any remuneration to the members of council. For numbers of years, that was the practice. Other councils paid fairly substantial remuneration. Sometimes one would get people on council who would take the attitude, "Well, I am going to lose votes if I raise the pay and I want to make the people believe I am doing this as a public service and don't want any remuneration for it."

The fact is that for people in public positions such as councils, such as we are here, or at the federal level of government, it is very difficult to assess the matter of remuneration objectively. I concur with my colleague from Scarborough-Ellesmere, and I suppose most of the rest of the House will say, that although the final decision has to be made by a political body such as this, we certainly need the commission, or some independent body removed from it, that can look at the service being given and the re-

sponsibilities the legislators have, and set an appropriate remuneration. I think that has to be the case.

I think there has to be some equality of remuneration, whether it is between councils or from one Legislature to another, and that the situation does exist where there has to be a commission which does a very thorough examination and makes long-term recommendations for remuneration.

The second point I want to make, or perhaps concur in, is that money perhaps is not a major consideration when people decide whether to run for office. Perhaps it should not be a major consideration when people decide whether to run for this Legislature or municipal council. There are many factors which enter into their decision, but certainly there should be adequate remuneration so people don't suffer, at least excessively, when they do take public office.

The member for Armourdale (Mr. McCaffrey) mentioned there may not be any way we can resolve this problem of people losing jobs and losing their future. There may well be a legislative way we can resolve that. I presume there are quite a number of people in the same situation as I was when I was elected to this Legislature. The policy of the company where I was employed was that one gets one term of office in this Legislature. If one runs a second time, while one may not get elected, one is no longer an employee of that company.

I had been in this House some 20 months when I ran for re-election. I received a notice as soon as I was officially nominated that my service with the company was terminated. Fortunately, I was re-elected. The company is a good company in most ways, but in that respect it was not. It was not anything special against me, because there had been a Liberal member employed by that company who was elected to the federal Legislature who served one term and he had no job to return to because he ran a second time.

Many people who have a business of their own, particularly if it is a small business, are perhaps in an even worse situation than that, if it is possible to be in a worse situation than that. There cannot be any security for this job, but at least there should be some minimum legislation to provide that people do not suffer excessively because of running for public office.

Having said that, I think it is generally true to say that those people who are able to secure a nomination from their own party and are able to get elected to the Legislature, they have the competence, if they are defeated, to go out and get themselves

another job, even if they are getting into their 60s.

10:10 p.m.

The third point I want to make is that we should be sure we do not overpay ourselves. I might even go so far as to say we perhaps should not pay ourselves in line with the responsibilities we have in this Legislature, or for the number of hours we put in. If we are going to do our job, we must continue to have the respect of the people of this province. If they consider that the members of the Legislature receive excessive remuneration, not only do they rather resent it, but also they feel they are out of touch with the realities of most of the other people within their ridings. Therefore, if we are going to err on the amount of remuneration being paid to the members here, I would rather err a bit on the side of underpayment than I would on overpayment. As members serving the public, we not only must be primarily interested in serving our constituents, but also we must have that perceived as our main motive as well.

I support this bill. I must say I feel we are getting just about the amount of remuneration that should be paid to the members of this Legislature.

Mr. Laughren: Mr. Speaker, my colleague has provoked me into speaking on the bill. I think there is a different perception among members, depending upon their age, their family responsibilities and whether they have something to go back to if they are defeated or wish to get out in order to preserve their sanity.

For example, I have a federal colleague who was defeated in the last federal election and who to this day is unemployed. It is the same situation provincially.

Mr. Nixon: Like a million Canadians.

Mr. Laughren: Yes, he just joined the other million. I am in the same position myself. There are members from northern Ontario, with whom I have some kind of affinity, who have spent part of their lives in a community getting roots into that community. When they resign or are defeated, the opportunities for employment, regardless of whether or not they win the nomination and got elected here, are very slim in a lot of communities in northern Ontario.

I do not know of anything in Atikokan that could challenge the capacities of the member for Rainy River (Mr. T. P. Reid). There are a couple of things, but we won't talk about them tonight. There are situations that are unfair. The member for Armourdale

put it very well when he said the private sector often talks about the abuses of the public sector but, at the same time, it is not prepared to ensure that people who do go into the public sector are people whom it would like to see there and who would be willing to take the risks to their career and so forth that are necessary, the private sector has failed in doing that.

I am not making a personal plea, but I know if I were to leave this chamber I would have no employment to go back to. I would have to live off my wits, as I do now. I cannot even collect unemployment insurance. The welfare officer is mad at me in Sudbury. I can see where it would be a very difficult time. I think it is time the commission looked at the whole question of politics as a career and what it sees for politicians when their career has ended either voluntarily or involuntarily.

Hon. Mr. Wells: Mr. Speaker, I would like to conclude the debate on this particular bill by saying I think it has been a very interesting discussion. Members have put forward their very sincerely felt views in a very forthright way.

I do not view piloting this bill through in the same way as I would a normal piece of government legislation. This bill is being done because of my responsibilities as government House leader on behalf of all the members of the House. I think all of us feel very much in favour of many of the arguments that have been put forward. It is a subject that is very hard to come to any hard and fast numbers on. There are those who feel we are paid too much; there are those who feel we are not paid enough.

The essence of what we have been looking for is to try to find an impartial body to review our salaries each year and then make a report. We can then say that this body has looked at the matter. The question before us is, have we the right body now? We have taken a tripartite commission, which has on it representatives of all the parties, and we have asked it, as an impartial body, to review this matter and bring a report back to us. To our credit, we have taken the report, and we have not adjusted it in one small part. I suppose what we should now do is give back to that commission the Hansard of this debate so they can read what we have said.

Mr. T. P. Reid: They have heard those arguments all before. They did what was politically comfortable.

Hon. Mr. Wells: The point is that they do not have to worry about what is politically comfortable to themselves, because they do

not have to get elected to anything. We in this Legislature are the ones who have to get elected and who have to make the political judgement. We judged that it would be better if we had a group like this make its determination, bring in its report, and then we adopted it through a piece of legislation. We felt, I assume in our wisdom, that this would be a better way to do it than trying to decide on our own what we should be paid, which is a process that has not met with particular public appeal over the years.

Mr. T. P. Reid: Tell us what your parliamentary House leader's assistant gets.

Hon. Mr. Wells: I do not think that is relevant. My friend has quoted the figures of the public servants of this province and what they make. The public servants of this province are a very dedicated group of men and women. I do not think he would feel they should be deprived of legitimate salaries for the positions they hold.

Mr. T. P. Reid: I would just like to get something comparable.

Hon. Mr. Wells: I do not think that is the argument—trying to get something comparable. I have to live with the fact that I make less money than does my deputy minister—

Mr. T. P. Reid: That is ridiculous.

Hon. Mr. Wells: —and most of the ministers in this government make less money than do their deputy ministers.

Mr. Martel: Then there is something wrong with the government.

Hon. Mr. Wells: That is the situation we are faced with now.

Mr. T. P. Reid: You haven't got the guts to do anything about it.

Hon. Mr. Wells: I would also remind my friend that the members of the government who are ministers have to adhere to conflict-of-interest regulations that are the toughest in Canada. They apply not only to ourselves, but also to our spouses; and we cannot go and work like some of the other members of the Legislature.

I do not want to get into an argument with the members of this House about this matter—

Mr. T. P. Reid: That's what this House is supposed to be about.

Hon. Mr. Wells: —because I am probably closer in spirit to the kinds of thoughts that have been put forward by the members of this House. I think this is a very honourable profession: to represent one's fellow citizens in this House. It is a full-time job now, and

it should be paid accordingly. We all have to work towards that end to make sure that kind of process occurs in the future and that we work towards those kinds of salaries. But at the minute we have a process to handle the salaries—

Mr. T. P. Reid: We have heard the exact same argument for 13 years.

Mr. Martel: I wasn't going to speak, but I have been provoked.

Mr. Speaker: Order.

10:20 p.m.

Hon. Mr. Wells: I just want to tell the honourable members something, because even my friend from Sudbury sometimes claims we do not sit enough days around this House. I was just reading a publication which I am sure you are well familiar with, Mr. Speaker, the Canadian Regional Review of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association. In that periodical I saw something I hadn't realized before. In 1979, the Legislature of Ontario met the most number of days of any legislative body in Canada, including the House of Commons. We met for 119 days. The House of Commons met for only 94 days; of course, they had an election. The National Assembly of the province of Quebec met for only 93 days—

An hon. member: What do they get?

Hon. Mr. Wells: What do they get? As I am sure my friend knows, they get an indemnity of \$31,236, plus a \$7,500 expense allowance; and they met for 93 days.

I might also say, and I think this is something that will have to be looked at as we progress to find the best method for arriving at our remuneration, that there are only four legislative jurisdictions in this country—Ontario, Newfoundland, Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island—which do not have automatically indexed indemnity expense allowance provisions for the members of their Legislature. In other words, the federal House and all other provinces but those four have a procedure that means a bill like this doesn't come into the House every year, and the remuneration adjustments occur based on an agreed to formula, linked to average weekly wages, the cost of living and a whole variety of mechanisms. This occurs automatically and a bill never comes to the House.

Probably that is the system we should look at in this province. All parties should look at that at some time in the future, because we seem to be the only major jurisdiction—I should not say major jurisdiction—one of the

larger legislative bodies that have not arrived at that kind of procedure.

Interjection.

Hon. Mr. Wells: Certainly, Prince Edward Island is a major jurisdiction; it goes without saying.

I do not have any further comments except to say I think the comments that have been made here should be passed on to the Commission on Election Contributions and Expenses. I am sure if the members of this House, all of us, feel we should be looking for something different, we will somehow find a way to convey that feeling to some group so we can make changes if necessary. In the interval, I would suggest that we pass this bill.

Motion agreed to.

Ordered for third reading.

EXECUTIVE COUNCIL AMENDMENT ACT

Hon. Mr. Wells moved second reading of Bill 43, An Act to amend the Executive Council Act.

Mr. T. P. Reid: Mr. Speaker, once again the minister has provoked me on this particular topic. I can tell him that between myself and the member for Sudbury East, we probably will not pass this bill tonight.

Mr. Martel: I am provoked.

Mr. T. P. Reid: I am concerned about what the minister said, because I believe the minister came in here in either 1967 or 1963.

Hon. Mr. Wells: In 1963.

Mr. T. P. Reid: The minister obviously is a cabinet minister, and the principle of this bill is to increase his salary, amongst others, to \$21,000. I intend to ask that this bill go to the committee of the whole House for an amendment that I would like to place at that time. I have considered putting a hoist motion on this bill but, if I might, I will try to amend it in committee.

I probably have spoken too long on the previous bill. I did not know Bill 42 and Bill 43 were coming up tonight, and I was not as prepared with my arguments as I wanted to be. The fact remains that by the terms of Bill 43 cabinet ministers will be receiving \$21,000 more than private members of this chamber, including six of the members over there who receive no additional indemnity. Besides the \$21,000, they have the perquisites of office, a chauffeur-driven limousine, credit cards, executive assistants.

I say, not at all personally, that the minister carrying these bills tonight has an executive

assistant, not just for his ministry, but also to assist him as House leader. That assistant makes more money than do the private members of this Legislature. If there is nothing wrong with that, then there is something wrong with my head. With all due respect to the particular individual who carries that responsibility as the member's House executive assistant, he does not have to go through an election, he does not have to go through that process, and he has as much security as anybody else here; in fact, probably more.

For 13 years that I know of, the cabinet ministers have done very well, but they have not done that well in relation to civil servants. The minister himself said in reference to the other bill that he has to live with the burden of his deputy minister making more money than himself. I think that is asinine, stupid, ridiculous. How do we put up with it? How does the minister put up with it? How does the Premier have people on his staff, one of whom I believe makes more money than does the Premier? The Premier is underpaid, the cabinet is underpaid and quite frankly, the deputy ministers are underpaid. But if the government were defeated tomorrow, deputy ministers would still be here. They would have all the perquisites and all the fringe benefits.

Mr. Nixon: For a couple of weeks.

Mr. T. P. Reid: Of course, if the government changed, there might be the odd change. But it is absolutely ridiculous. Pensions for cabinet ministers are based not only on their salaries as private members, but also on their cabinet salaries. That is not available to the rest of us as private members; nor is it available to those people who are unfortunate enough to sit on the back benches or to be foot soldiers in the Tory party across the way. They do not have that opportunity either.

I listened to the nice, pablum-like statements the minister just made in regard to Bill 42 about things some time being better. They never will be better for cabinet ministers or private members until we decide to deal with these bills in a realistic way.

I want to leave a couple of minutes for my friend, Mr. Speaker, but I want this bill to go to committee and I intend to move an amendment which would leave the salary of a cabinet minister at \$19,656 rather than increase it to \$21,000. I am serious and some of my colleagues are serious. Some of your own colleagues, one of whom spoke today, and others on the back benches of the Tory party, are serious. They are upset and they want something done about it. I do not want, and I do not think they want, any more

of that "something-will-happen-in-the-future" stuff. We want something done.

On a very personal basis, for myself, I am quite willing that whatever is done be done after the next election. But, for God's sake, let us make it reasonable, let us make it ennobling, let us make it so that people can see their way to entering public service in Ontario without having to demean themselves, as I feel I and some of my colleagues have done tonight, by standing and saying the things we have and, in the meanness of my own spirit—which we all have—having to speak to civil servants every day on an ongoing basis who are making more money than we are and who have less responsibility and less accountability. Put us on some kind of reasonable economic basis so that in some cases we might have at least that kind of basic respect from some of those people because, if nothing else, at least we are earning the same kind of salary.

On motion by Mr. Martel, the debate was adjourned.

10:30 p.m.

Mr. Speaker: Under standing order 28, the member for Essex South has expressed his dissatisfaction with the answer to a question by the Ministry of Industry and Tourism. I will listen to the honourable member for up to five minutes.

AUTO INDUSTRY LAYOFFS

Mr. Mancini: Mr. Speaker, today I found myself forced to use standing order 28 to put my case before the Legislature and to try to obtain some more comprehensive information from the Minister of Industry and Tourism concerning something that has occurred in my riding.

Mr. Speaker, you may or may not be aware that through the Employment Development Fund of the Minister of Industry and Tourism he has actually created unemployment in my riding. That is why I rose in the Legislature today and asked the minister to use his influence with Chrysler Corporation, because of the fact he was giving that corporation \$10 million to build a research study centre in Windsor, to have it possibly built in the area of Kingsville-Leamington where he and his ministry have caused this unemployment. If that cannot be done, surely he can use his influence and the weight of that \$10 million possibly to have a feeder plant built in that particular area.

I want the minister to pay very close attention, because I want to outline to him in chronological order how this has happened and I want him to know that the people of Kingsville are very concerned. He has the

weight of government on his side, he has the weight of his ministry and he has the weight of a \$17-billion budget and a \$200-million Employment Development Fund at his disposal. He has used that weight and authority and has caused the unemployment of nearly 200 people in my riding because of the way he has used his authority.

I place this before him and before the Legislature, not because it is a nice thing to talk about or that the members wish to stay here in this Legislature after 10:30 in the evening, but because 200 lives have been affected; 200 people who supported their families can no longer support their families. Their aspirations have been trampled upon and their futures are in jeopardy.

I want the minister to take some action and some measure. He has the authority and the monetary power to help Freedland Industries Limited, the corporation of which I am talking about in Kingsville, to get back on its feet and to help employ those people he has put out of work through the Employment Development Fund and through his ministry.

I wish to quote this evening from some information I have received from the ministry. It was not given voluntarily; I had to ask for this information. I had to put questions on the Order Paper to get this information. First of all, in the information that has been provided to me by the Minister of Industry and Tourism, we see that Freedland Industries, which has a plant in Kingsville, received a \$250,000 loan in 1970. In 1977, however, that loan was forgiven; the ministry says it was forgiven because the company had met all of the requirements it was asked to meet.

However, in 1979 the Minister of Industry and Tourism, through the Employment Development Fund gave a \$170,000 grant to a company in Windsor that was bidding on the only work that Freedland Industries of Kingsville was doing. That company used the \$170,000, along with its own money, to upgrade its facilities and was able to go to Lansing, Michigan, to Motor Wheel Corporation, and tell them it now was able to do the work that previously had been done by Freedland Industries.

As early as 1977, a \$250,000 loan to the original company, Freedland, was forgiven because it had met its requirements. I ask the minister why the loan would be forgiven in 1977 when this company was meeting all of its requirements and doing the work properly? The minister then turned around in 1979 and gave this other company a grant which helped it take away the only work the com-

pany was doing. Surely that is not a way for the Employment Development Fund to be used. That is not a way for the ministry to use its authority, weight and monetary power.

I would like to close by saying that I read in the *Globe and Mail* some comments that were made by one of the staff officials of the Ministry of Industry and Tourism. When he was questioned by one of the members of the press gallery, David Girvin of the ministry said: "One of the great stories of our time, eh? Things sure must be slow today." That is no way for anybody to respond after his ministry has been responsible for putting these people out of work.

I am sorry for taking up the time of the House, Mr. Speaker, but this must be put on the record.

Hon. Mr. Grossman: Mr. Speaker, as the honourable member knows, the information always has been made available to him. I do rather take some objection to the suggestion that it was not given voluntarily. I wrote him on March 26, giving him all the information he had requested. Subsequently, he put a question on the Order Paper. I always have presumed that was no indication that the information was not being given voluntarily. We answered it promptly and on time.

The answer was tabled three days after the question was asked in the assembly. At that time, all the information was given to the member, and it has always been available to him upon request.

I must say, as I said earlier today, that I have some hesitancy in getting into all the details of the situation. Any remarks I might make about the company he's concerned about, Freedland Industries, obviously are going to be adverse to the best interests of the company. In an effort to protect the company as much as possible, this ministry was supportive of the company and gave it, as the member has indicated, more financial support in 1971—\$250,000. Think of that in 1971 dollars. Then it gave Rustshield Plating Limited \$170,000 in 1979. The company did meet all its commitments and, therefore, this ministry met all its commitments and made the loan forgivable a couple of years ago, as has been indicated.

What happened with this company was that it was a single source to a huge American customer. I think it is interesting for the member and the member's leader to note that Freedland Industries is an American-owned company as well. The American customer was a large company which decided to do what many companies do; that is, to stop single-sourcing, because it's not always a good policy to single-source.

As a result, they invited other people to bid on the product, which was now going to be double-sourced. Four American firms bid to become the second source, as well as Rustshield in the fine city of Windsor. Rustshield was deemed eligible by the supplier and won over the United States competitors for the second-sourcing business. Freedland was not able to bid to become a second source to its own main sourcing.

Therefore, Rustshield approached the Employment Development Fund to get some assistance to meet this very important contract. They were successful in doing that and the Employment Development Fund supported them.

What happened subsequently was that because General Motors, which was the final recipient of the goods being assembled in the United States, implemented more stringent quality control, the main sourcer, Freedland, lost the business. It is that simple. Freedland was unable to meet the higher, more stringent quality control standards that General Motors was then demanding.

If Freedland were in a position then or now to get a contract from General Motors, and if General Motors was satisfied that Freedland's quality control and price were sufficient to award them the contract, then Freedland equally would be in a position to approach the Employment Development Fund saying they had a customer for their product who was willing and able to provide the contract. The Employment Development Fund obviously would take an application from Freedland once again as this ministry had through the Ontario Development Corporation in 1971.

With respect, the situation is as clear as that. The company involved, Freedland, did not lose any business whatsoever because of the existence of the Employment Development Fund. They lost the business simply because General Motors, the ultimate customer, found their quality control insufficient. Five companies originally bid as a secondary source. Rustshield won over four American companies. I know the member would support that, because it meant important new employment for the city of Windsor. I repeat most emphatically that in no way did this cause Freedland to lose the business. Freedland's own activities cost them the business, which they had for some time.

Mr. Mancini: It's easy to say that now.

Hon. Mr. Grossman: I said it then.

Mr. Speaker: The allocated time for this matter has expired.

The House adjourned at 10:41 p.m.

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Campbell, M. (St. George L)
 Edighoffer, H.; Chairman (Perth L)
 Grossman, Hon. L.; Minister of Industry and Tourism (St. Andrew-St. Patrick PC)
 Kennedy, R. D. (Mississauga South PC)
 Laughren, F. (Nickel Belt NDP)
 MacBeth, J. P.; Acting Speaker (Humber PC)
 Mancini, R. (Essex South L)
 Martel, E. W. (Sudbury East NDP)
 McCaffrey, B. (Armourdale PC)
 Newman, B. (Windsor-Walkerville L)
 Nixon, R. F. (Brant-Oxford-Norfolk L)
 Reid, T. P. (Rainy River L)
 Riddell, J. K. (Huron-Middlesex L)
 Roy, A. J. (Ottawa East L)
 Ruston, R. F. (Essex North L)
 Stokes, Hon. J. E.; Speaker (Lake Nipigon NDP)
 Swart, M. (Welland-Thorold NDP)
 Taylor, G. (Simcoe Centre PC)
 Warner, D. (Scarborough-Ellesmere NDP)
 Wells, Hon. T. L.; Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs (Scarborough North PC)



Legislature of Ontario Debates

Official Report (Hansard)

Fourth Session, 31st Parliament

Thursday, May 15, 1980

Afternoon Sitting

Speaker: Honourable John E. Stokes

Clerk: Roderick Lewis, QC



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Published by the Legislature of the Province of Ontario.

Editor of Debates: Peter Brannan.

LEGISLATURE OF ONTARIO

THURSDAY, MAY 15, 1980

The House met at 2:04 p.m.

Prayers.

COMMISSION ON ELECTION CONTRIBUTIONS AND EXPENSES

Mr. Speaker: I would like the indulgence of the House to read an order in council which reads as follows:

"Upon the recommendation of the Honourable the Premier and president of the council, the committee of council advise that pursuant to the provisions of the Election Finances Reform Act, 1975, Arthur Allison Wishart, QC, Toronto, be reappointed chairman of the Commission on Election Contributions and Expenses for a period of two years, effective May 8, 1980, to May 7, 1982.

"The committee further advise that Ronald E. Sobier, QC, Don Mills, be reappointed to the Commission on Election Contributions and Expenses, on the recommendation of the leader of the Ontario Progressive Conservative Party, for a period of five years, effective May 8, 1980, to May 7, 1985.

"The committee further advise that H. Donald Guthrie, QC, Toronto, be appointed to the Commission on Election Contributions and Expenses, on the recommendation of the leader of the Ontario Progressive Party, for a period of five years, effective from May 8, 1980, to May 7, 1985.

"The committee further advise that Waldemar Zimmerman, Hamilton, be appointed to the Commission on Election Contributions and Expenses, on the recommendation of the leader of the Liberal Party in Ontario, for a period of five years, effective from May 8, 1980, to May 7, 1985.

"The committee further advise that Barbara Sullivan, Toronto, be reappointed to the Commission on Election Contributions and Expenses, on the recommendation of the leader of the Liberal Party in Ontario, for a period of five years, effective from May 8, 1980, to May 7, 1985.

"The committee further advise that Bernard Eastman, Toronto, and William F. Scandlan, Hamilton, be reappointed to the Commission on Election Contributions and Expenses, on the recommendation of the leader of the New Democratic Party for

Ontario, for a period of five years, effective from May 8, 1980, to May 7, 1985."

It is certified by the deputy clerk of the executive council and we are tabling that now as an order in council.

STATEMENTS BY THE MINISTRY

MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS

Hon. Mr. Wells: Mr. Speaker, today I will be introducing to the House for first reading a bill that amends the Municipal Elections Act, 1977. Since the experience with the new legislation during the last municipal elections, we have been reviewing the procedures and have been fortunate to have the continued assistance of the municipal associations.

The clerk's committee of the Association of Municipal Clerks and Treasurers of Ontario prepared a report recommending a variety of procedural amendments. The report was endorsed by the Association of Municipalities of Ontario and the Municipal Liaison Committee. The committee's work has been most useful in the preparation of the amendments to be presented today.

I know this bill is of particular interest to many, and I would like to highlight some of the proposals. One of the principal features of the bill is to improve the procedures for nominating candidates and for revising the preliminary list of electors. The effect of these proposals is to shorten the nomination period and move the revision period up two days. It was suggested to us that the present week-long nomination period was not utilized by candidates and was administratively awkward for election staff. We are proposing to reduce it to four days immediately preceding nomination day.

At the same time, it is proposed to move the revision period to start before nominations so people will have an opportunity to examine the preliminary list for the purpose of nominations. By closing the revision two days earlier, election staff will have additional working days to conduct revision hearings and prepare the final list of electors for the mandatory advance polls the next week.

We are proposing in this bill several other useful amendments that also relate to the nomination process. One will make it easier for candidates to file their nomination papers and their oath of entitlement by permitting them to use agents. This amendment is in keeping with other entitlements to use agents, and would also accommodate candidates who might otherwise be inconvenienced by the reduced nomination period. The legislation has also been clarified by providing that certified nomination papers are to be open for public inspection.

More related to the actual process of electing candidates is an amendment designed to ensure that all offices will be filled. The act now provides that supplementary nominations can be received if no candidates have filed on nomination day to try to avoid new elections on the heel of the regular elections. With the same intent we are now proposing that if no nominations for an office are received during the regular or supplementary nomination periods, a resulting vacancy may be filled through appointment by the new council if there is a quorum of the council. This is in keeping with the right of councils to fill other kinds of vacancies by either election or appointment.

2:10 p.m.

Of particular interest may be an amendment that provides that if a candidate for the office of head of council dies before the close of polling, the election will be void and a new election will have to be conducted. The exception would be that if a candidate died at some point during the nomination period before the end of nomination day, the office would be opened for supplementary nominations instead of requiring the new election. It is hoped this amendment would ensure the electorate would not, by accident of fate, be denied a meaningful choice.

I indicated in my recent statement regarding Metropolitan Toronto that we would be requiring that ballots must indicate that election to certain offices of the council of a lower-tier municipality carries with it also automatic election to the upper-tier council, where such is the case. This bill provides that this amendment shall apply to Metropolitan Toronto, the regions, the district of Muskoka and the county of Oxford.

The bill also contains an amendment that provides an alternative method of sending notices to electors informing them where to vote. At present, municipalities with more than 5,000 electors are required to send such

a notice to each elector in the municipality. The amendment would permit the council of a municipality by bylaw to send one notice bearing the names of all the electors to each single address.

Finally, among the remaining technical amendments in the bill are several recurring minor amendments to standardize the procedures for recording various certificates and declarations that are taken or presented at the polling place. In particular, the procedure whereby election staff receive a certificate to entitle them to vote at the poll where they are working has been simplified and brought more into line with the other types of certificates.

I would like to express appreciation to the clerks' committee for its report on the Municipal Elections Act and for its assistance throughout our deliberations, which culminated in the amendments now being presented to the Legislature today. I am confident the bill reflects our joint aim to further clarify and refine the important municipal election process.

REPORT IN TORONTO STAR

Hon. Mr. Norton: Mr. Speaker, I rise on a matter of privilege arising out of an article in the Toronto Daily Star today with the headline, "Children's Aid in Budget Crunch," under the byline of one John Spears. In the article there were a number of specific gross errors.

For example, there is a statement that the Metro Toronto Children's Aid Society's budget is \$14 million, while in fact their budget is more than double that. In fact, the request this year is for almost \$31 million.

It goes on to suggest that the expenditure of the government on children's services in this province which is approved by the members of this House is roughly \$100 million. I suggest the figure is so rough that it is \$370 million—almost \$371 million.

The article also says \$30 million is transferred to children's aid societies. That is also a rough figure. In fact the transfers to the children's aid societies—our portion of the societies' budgets, not taking into consideration the 20 per cent from the municipalities—this year is in excess of \$116 million.

I don't know how these kinds of gross errors can be communicated to the public, but I suggest it is offence to the privileges of the members of this House who participate in budget approvals that this kind of nonsense is passed on to the public as fact. I would like to have that noted in the record.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO PC (ONTARIO) FUND

Mr. MacDonald: Mr. Speaker, my privileges as a member of this Legislature and as a citizen have been grossly offended, and not for the first time. I am in receipt of a letter from one William N. Kelly, who apparently is—

Hon. Mr. Grossman: Or for the last.

Mr. MacDonald: Apparently he was driven out of Ireland by the famine and has recently arrived here and he has some association with a charitable organization that goes under the name of the PC (Ontario) Fund. Clearly, it is in dire need of some assistance.

I am rather puzzled as to what its associations are with the government. The letter starts out by quoting from the budget of the provincial Treasurer (Mr. F. S. Miller), "There will be no tax increases in Ontario this year." It goes on, presumably arguing that since I was not dunned by the government, I should make a contribution to this charitable organization.

Apparently it has some association with the Premier—and I am sorry he is not here—because it says: "The PC party must be ready to swing into full momentum at a moment's notice. With this in mind, Premier Davis has asked me to ensure that the party's finances are in order and that we are ready to run a winning campaign."

I don't know who this joker Kelly is, and I don't know anything about this organization, but I think that innocent citizens like myself should be protected from dunning by this phoney charitable organization.

Mr. S. Smith: On a point of privilege, Mr. Speaker: Is it that unreasonable, I ask the member for York South, that since that organization already had his vote, it should now want his dollar?

Mr. T. P. Reid: Mr. Speaker, on the same point of privilege, as my colleague said, the member for York South could respond that he already gave at the office.

However, there is something more fearsome about that letter. I think it is in the nature of intimidation. The PC party is reminding the NDP that if it does not have the NDP's support there will be an election in Ontario. I do not think the NDP deserves to be intimidated that way.

Hon. Mr. Davis: Mr. Speaker, in rising to thank the member for York South for his annual support to the great party of this province, with which he is not completely familiar, and listening to the member for

wherever echoing his comments, I want to say to the member for York South, he should feel—

Mr. MacDonald: Is the Premier out of breath?

Mr. Martel: Did he run to get here?

Hon. Mr. Davis: I am out of breath. I heard the members opposite as I came down the Don Valley Parkway. I ran the rest of the way.

Mr. Kerrio: The Premier is not ready for an election.

Hon. Mr. Davis: Listen, somebody just gave me a quarter. When I read what the Leader of the Opposition said yesterday in Port Credit, I am ready for an election. The Liberals in that audience were so insulted they will never vote for that party again. I should tell the members opposite that.

Mr. Speaker: I think the point of privilege had something to do with the letter.

Hon. Mr. Davis: Mr. Speaker, I wanted to thank as well—because all parties work in strange and wonderful ways—another Donald Macdonald for a letter I received for contributions to the Smith leadership heritage, whatever it is, fund. The only problem is, they did not send a self-addressed envelope, or the party did not know where to return the money. As a result, the moneys have never been sent.

Mr. S. Smith: If the Premier gave to Trudeau, why should he not give to me?

Hon. Mr. Davis: However, Mr. Speaker, I do recognize the important point of personal privilege the member for York South has made. We appreciate his contribution. We will use it wisely, intelligently, maybe even to defeat him in his riding, whenever that eventually takes place.

Mr. S. Smith: The Premier actually ran and got out of breath just to tell that joke.

Hon. Mr. Davis: The person who got the letter asking for that contribution did, in fact, think it was a joke.

2:20 p.m.

ORAL QUESTIONS

WAGE-PRICE SPIRAL

Mr. S. Smith: Mr. Speaker, I would like to ask a question of the Premier regarding a speech he made to the Ontario Chamber of Commerce in which he may have recommended wage and price controls or he may have only hinted at them or he may be in favour of them. In any event, may I ask

the Premier why he said most Canadians have come to expect their incomes will always rise by at least as much as the rise in the consumer price index and he believes there is a wage-price spiral in effect?

Could I ask him how he could say that when the average wage increases of Canadians have fallen behind the rate of inflation for the past two years? Is the Premier not aware of the fact that Canadian workers are falling behind the rate of inflation? If he wants to talk about the causes of inflation, why is he blaming them? Why doesn't he mention and recognize the fact, or did he not know, that the workers of this country have not had wage increases that kept up with inflation for the last two years?

Hon. Mr. Davis: Mr. Speaker, I read the very carefully considered comments by the member for Hamilton West to the remarks I made, I guess, Tuesday noon, which clearly indicated he hadn't read the speech, which is not unique or unusual, nor did it surprise me.

I would answer the question very simply by asking him to read page 16. This is in answer to his preamble to the question in which he indicated he was unsure whether I did or did not support wage and price controls. If he will read it—it's very simple so even he can understand it—it says "price and income restraint." The word "control" isn't mentioned; wages were not singled out. It was an attempt on my part to raise my concerns about inflation, which I repeated today in a speech I made to the Urban Development Institute that the member will have an opportunity to read.

It's quite obvious, with his opposition to what we are trying to do for senior citizens with our tax credit and the callous disregard the Liberal Party has for our senior citizens, that he is not interested in inflation. We are, and we will continue to talk about it. He may not like it, he may not agree with it, but I have this concern about inflation and I will continue to express it publicly.

Mr. S. Smith: By way of supplementary: Since, in addition to a paragraph stating there have to be new norms of reasonable and responsible behaviour, there is no recognition at all that wages have already fallen behind the rate of inflation for the last two years, does the Premier not understand that very fact? Why is it there are suggestions about how workers ought to restrain their demands for wages and not a word in the entire speech about how prices can be dealt with, not a word about the

behaviour of oil companies or banks and certainly not a word about prices within the control of the Premier, such as the price of electricity from Ontario Hydro, which increased 16.4 per cent this year?

Hon. Mr. Davis: Mr. Speaker, I am enjoying this discussion; the Leader of the Opposition is once again demonstrating his total lack of understanding about Ontario Hydro. If he wants to argue that we should have a general tax levy to subsidize the cost of electricity, why doesn't he say so? I say to him not to come into this House and say this government is responsible for electrical rates. The Liberal Party should have some awareness. Even the Socialists understand how Ontario Hydro functions. Let him not try to draw that red herring into this kind of debate.

I would say to the Leader of the Opposition he should read my speech very carefully. We recognize the concern about prices. We talk about the credibility of large public and private institutions in this whole question of inflation. We talk about the disadvantaged. We talk about the poor. We talk about the middle class. He may not see all of those things but let him read it very carefully. If he is not worried about inflation, so be it; I am, and I will continue to be.

Mr. Laughren: Mr. Speaker, I have read the Premier's speech very carefully. I have never heard him urge a frank and public discussion on something he disagreed with. I think he should know he is giving people the impression he is in favour of returning to wage and price controls in this country.

I wonder if the Premier really believes that wage costs are a major factor in inflation. If so, how can he square that with the document *The Profit Centre*, put out by his Minister of Industry and Tourism (Mr. Grossman), in which the minister makes a pitch to attract more foreign investment here in Toronto because wages in Ontario are more competitive than in other industrialized countries? In fact, he says that in 1978 our average hourly pay in industry was 37 cents an hour less than the United States average.

How can the Premier on the one hand blame Ontario workers as a major component in the inflationary spiral and on the other hand make a pitch to foreign investors to come here and put their money in Ontario because wage costs are so low?

Hon. Mr. Davis: Mr. Speaker, I do believe the honourable member when he says he has read the speech. If he finds some place in the speech where I say wages are too high or

workers in this province are getting wages in excess of competing jurisdictions, let him show it to me because I didn't say it.

Mr. Laughren: It is a clear message.

Hon. Mr. Davis: It is not.

Mr. S. Smith: By way of supplementary: Since I have read the speech very carefully, Mr. Speaker, and since the paragraph in question is lifted entirely, word for word, from a speech the Premier made to the Rotary Club on March 7, and since after the paragraph that says there is a wage-price spiral it says, "Yet most Canadians have come to expect their incomes will always rise by at least as much as the rise in the consumer price index"—that is what the Premier said; he clearly implied that was a real cause of inflation—why does the Premier not publicly recognize that—

Hon. Mr. Pope: It's a misrepresentation by the reader.

Mr. S. Smith: Have I suddenly roused the cage over here? What is the trouble? Have I rattled the bars? Mr. Speaker, I seem to have aroused the herd over there.

Mr. Speaker, I would say nowhere in this speech is there a statement recognizing that working Canadians have been taking less by way of wage increases than inflation and that Canadians are not keeping up with inflation. When the Premier of Ontario gives the implication that he doesn't even realize his citizens are failing to keep pace with inflation and continues to blame them for causing inflation, does the Premier not agree that he is asking for labour unrest and for difficulty in this province when what he should be doing is commending the citizens for putting up with the difficulties they are facing day by day?

Hon. Mr. Davis: Mr. Speaker, it is interesting to see the member for Hamilton West taking an interest in the workers. That has never been really too prevalent here in the past.

I can't account for how the Leader of the Opposition wishes to interpret what I may say in a speech. If he wants to read into it what he wants to for his political purposes, that is entirely up to him. I know what the speech says. I know what I mean and I state it very simply even if the member doesn't understand the relationship between prices and wages. Nothing in this speech says the Ontario workers have been getting too much, nothing in this speech says we have not done relatively well in respect to other jurisdictions.

If the Leader of the Opposition is not concerned about an 18 per cent figure in the United States and nine per cent here, and with what is happening to the American economy, what may happen to our dollar,

what may happen when interest rates come down related to the level of inflation here, then I have to tell him I was right when I answered his first question: The Liberal Party is callous when it comes to dealing with inflation. It has no interest, it has no concern.

Mr. Martel: Is the Premier prepared to look at some of the factors that lead to inflation, such as the imports we have from countries where the rates of wages are much higher, and deal with those types of problems, rather than give a semblance in his speech, which I too have read, that leaves the impression it is the working class of this society that is causing the high rate of inflation?

Hon. Mr. Davis: With great respect, the member has not, then, read the speech. If he would look at the speech, it also refers to interest rate policy. There is no question. The members opposite can't have it both ways. They can't say there isn't a problem with inflation when the speech makes it very clear that if something isn't done about inflation, governments do have to intervene. I am not talking about controls, but if they don't think an interest rate subsidy to the farm community is a form of government intervention related to inflation, then they are kidding themselves. This is what I am saying to the people of this province.

I wish the Leader of the Opposition would try to understand it. I repeat once again, if they are not concerned about inflation, fine, I understand that; I sympathize because it is not the only significant issue they wish to ignore. If the member wants to read something into my speech that is not there, all I can say is I feel sorry for him.

2:30 p.m.

POST-SECONDARY EDUCATION EMPLOYMENT

Mr. S. Smith: Mr. Speaker, I would like to direct a question to the Minister of Colleges and Universities. The minister said on Tuesday—I will read what the minister said at page 1823 of Hansard: He has suggested there are thousands of graduates of the college system and the university system looking for employment. "That is not true." Then she went on to say: "There are not thousands of graduates of those institutions looking for employment."

Is the minister not aware of the fact that in the figures of unemployment for the month of April 1980 in Ontario, there are 9,000 with some post-secondary education, 7,000 graduates with a certificate or diploma at the

community college level and approximately 1,000 with a university degree; that means 8,000 graduates. There are thousands of young people with degrees, diplomas and certificates who are unemployed in the province; how come she did not know about it?

Hon. Miss Stephenson: Mr. Speaker, the Leader of the Opposition was trying to leave an impression, it seemed to me, and I can only do what he has been doing with other people's remarks; that is, interpret the intent of his remarks.

The number of young people who have achieved post-secondary education and who are employed is very significantly higher than the employment rate for those who have not achieved that purpose. For the past 18 months I have been trying to disabuse the general public of the perception that post-secondary education is of little value in terms of the life career choices and the activities and employment of young people.

Post-secondary education is a very valuable tool for young people, a very important activity in terms of the progress of our society, and I would not like our young people to believe that there is no value in achieving or attempting to achieve a post-secondary degree.

If the Leader of the Opposition wants me to apologize for saying there are not thousands, then I will apologize at this point, but the number is significantly lower than the Leader of the Opposition was trying to leave the impression it was.

Mr. S. Smith: I thank the minister for the apology. What I do not understand is the preamble to the apology. Since no one was ever suggesting that post-secondary education is without value, how could it be that the minister did not know that there were about 8,000 graduates of our post-secondary institutions without work in Ontario, and a further 9,000 people who have had some post-secondary education without work in Ontario? How can the minister do her job without knowing that?

What kind of government is it when the Premier (Mr. Davis) does not know that wages have fallen behind inflation and when the Minister of Colleges and Universities does not know that there are thousands of graduates of her institutions without work today in the province?

Hon. Miss Stephenson: Sometimes I worry about the Leader of the Opposition, because there are times when I wonder whether the deck he is playing with is full.

However, I have to inform him that at this point I have not seen the documentation of unemployment detail for the period of time to which he is referring. There are times when I do get behind with the scope of all the reading in which I should be involved, but I can honestly tell the Leader of the Opposition that I believe firmly in the capacity of our post-secondary institutions to help our young people to become useful, employed citizens within this province.

I am aware that frequently there is a lag of one to four or five months between graduation from institutions, the acquisition of a diploma and the full employment of a young person, and I believe those lags must be taken into account, but I shall explore the statistics that the Leader of the Opposition was delighted in putting before this House and find out the details for this House.

Mr. Cooke: Supplementary, Mr. Speaker: There are some courses and some degrees, as well as certificates and diplomas at the college level, that are producing students who are not needed in the work force, and these are courses where the education is directly related to the work market. Then there are other areas where the Council of Ontario Universities and other groups indicate to us there is going to be a dramatic shortage, as well as in the skilled tradesmen area. I would ask the minister, is it not about time the educational system in this province was more closely linked with the economic needs and the so-called economic strategy this government should be developing, so that we have an overall philosophy and direction in our educational system?

Hon. Miss Stephenson: Mr. Speaker, the community colleges of this province do relate directly to the industrial and business needs of the area they are designed to serve. That is an ongoing and integral function of the colleges of applied arts and technology. The philosophy of tying societal needs rather closely to the function of the community college was one of the basic principles in the establishment of those institutions.

The universities of this province, however, have always had the kind of autonomy that permits them to function in terms of their examination of the requirements of society, not only for today, but for many years in the future. It is my belief that most of those institutions are pursuing that degree of social responsibility.

I should hate to see in this province a totally directed form of post-secondary education in which most young persons were not given the opportunity to make appro-

appropriate choices for their selection of careers their own talents, their own capabilities and their personal interests. I would hope we would be able to supply them with adequate labour market information—I am not saying precise information, because I am not sure that can ever happen—which would give them some indication of the employment possibilities of the courses they choose.

There are many young people who do not go to university to develop some job-related capacity. They go there to expand their intellectual horizons, and I think we are all the better for that.

Mr. Roy: Supplementary, Mr. Speaker: How can the Minister of Colleges and Universities be so smug about her educational policy and make the statement that she did on Tuesday? How can she justify 8,000 young people out of work on the one hand when, on the other hand, there are in Ottawa 800 job openings in high technology areas?

I ask her to look at the statement, for instance, of the president of Algonquin College in Ottawa who said provincial funding for the type of opening required in Ottawa is not adequate. When the minister is talking about a full deck or about people not having a full deck, maybe she should look around her, because the jokers in the deck are on that side.

Hon. Miss Stephenson: Mr. Speaker, I do not ever have to look behind me; all I have to do is look across the House.

The member for Ottawa East (Mr. Roy) should be aware the Community Industrial Training Council in Ottawa has been very actively pursuing the high technology needs in that area. It has established a research program to ensure the needs and the resources will be defined appropriately. The Ministry of Colleges and Universities is funding that research program for the CITC to identify the needs and resources, and we are now having discussions with Algonquin College in terms of providing the appropriate number of places to meet whatever is defined as the necessary program for the high technology industry in Ottawa.

2:40 p.m.

IRON ORE PELLETS

Mr. Martel: I have a question for the Provincial Secretary for Resources Development. Can the minister indicate why last week the Premier (Mr. Davis), in his response to a question involving the 500,000 tons of unsold iron ore pellets belonging to Inco, said they were not saleable because the particular type of ore is not marketable?

Officials of Inco tell me the only place this particular pellet is not suitable is in the cold-rolled steel for cars, but it is suitable for all other purposes, including stainless steel—because part of the mix of that iron ore is nickel. Why are we hiding behind this façade, when this is one of the most saleable iron ore pellets in the province?

Hon. Mr. Brunelle: Mr. Speaker, I would be glad to extend a detailed reply to the honourable member. I have two pages of notes here that I have just been given. I will be happy to send them to him.

Mr. Martel: Supplementary, Mr. Speaker: Since the Premier promised a reply last week, which we're still waiting for at this time, will the minister now confirm that 45 per cent of the feed used by Dofasco, Algoma and Stelco is imported from the United States and is on long-term contracts by those firms to mining developments in the United States? Given the millions of dollars this government very generously poured into Nanticoke on behalf of Stelco, does the minister not think it is time he started to use that as a bit of a clout to force companies to buy their feed here, rather than having a company such as Inco dump 500,000 tons of a nonrenewable resource on a slag heap every year?

Hon. Mr. Brunelle: Mr. Speaker, I agree with the honourable member that everything should be done to encourage development here. I will be pleased to include that in the reply.

Mr. Germa: Mr. Speaker, a supplementary question: Since it has been estimated that during the 1980s each of the steel companies will require an extra five million tons of iron ore, has the minister ever asked himself where this iron ore will be coming from? When is the minister going to put into place an industrial strategy that will guarantee the source of supply will be Ontario?

Hon. Mr. Brunelle: Mr. Speaker, that also will be considered.

SAFETY OF MINERS

Mr. Martel: Mr. Speaker, I have a question to the Deputy Premier regarding the uranium miners.

Is the Deputy Premier aware that the existing legislation between the federal authorities and the Saskatchewan government, with respect to the health and safety of miners out there, is not working? Is the Deputy Premier further aware that under that existing agreement, the federal authorities retain the right to do the prosecution?

Is he further aware that it took over a year for the federal authorities to determine there was not enough information about the first fatality for them to lay charges? Is Ontario prepared to allow the authority for the prosecution to remain with the federal authorities, rather than with the province, so that we can prosecute expeditiously, so as not to tie up the union, the company, and the Ontario government in a year's hassle, only to find out we haven't enough information with which to proceed?

Hon. Mr. Welch: Mr. Speaker, that was a four-part question. My response to the first three parts is no. Those particular matters have not been drawn to my attention recently.

In so far as the fourth part of the question is concerned, with respect to what our attitude would be concerning an attempt to expedite the laying of charges and the following up of prosecutions, I will have to get more information with respect to that jurisdictional matter. I will be very happy to do that after consultation with the Minister of Labour (Mr. Elgie) and/or the Attorney General (Mr. McMurtry).

Mr. Martel: In view of the fact that federal authorities maintain the refusal to work in unsafe conditions is similar in the Canada Labour Code to what it is in Bill 70, and the federal code reads that a worker cannot refuse to do work in an unsafe work place that has existed for some time because, and I am quoting the document now, "if the condition has been known for some time and has not changed it would not be considered imminently dangerous," could the Deputy Premier ask the Minister of Labour whether he agrees with the assertion that the right to refuse is the same under the two laws? Since I'm sure he does not, is he now willing to make public the position of this government with respect to the deplorable piece of federal legislation that is coming forth, we think in the next couple of weeks?

Hon. Mr. Welch: Mr. Speaker, I will be very pleased to draw the honourable member's concerns to the attention of my colleague the Minister of Labour, from whom he can expect to have a response before too long.

Mr. Martel: Since the regulations under the federal scheme do not allow the workers to tour with the inspectors in uranium mines as they are allowed to in all other mines, should we not be taking a tough stance that says Ontario is not prepared to go along with that? Should we not say that unless

the workers are given the right to inspect along with the mining inspectors, Ontario will not support the federal order in council that is coming down?

Hon. Mr. Welch: Mr. Speaker, I will include that question in my conversation with the Minister of Labour.

RURAL ELECTRICAL RATES

Mr. Riddell: Mr. Speaker, I have a question for the Minister of Energy. If I may beg the indulgence of the Premier, I am going to read this question. He does not seem to like my reading questions.

Ontario Hydro has submitted a proposal to the minister for rate increases of 9.4 per cent in its 1981 bulk power costs. The bulk power rates resulting from this proposal are also to apply to rural retail customers. Since the Premier stated on April 10 that he wanted proposals from Ontario Hydro designed to reduce the differential between rates paid by rural and urban residents, will the minister assure us that those proposed revised rates will be part of the terms of reference to be reviewed by the Ontario Energy Board at the public hearings this summer so that the rural rate differential, which now is some 29 per cent higher, will be eliminated by January 1, 1981?

Hon. Mr. Welch: Mr. Speaker, the honourable member will appreciate that we have a two-part approach here. The Minister of Energy has referred the proposal of Ontario Hydro to the Ontario Energy Board for its review. I do not have it here, but the member should obtain a copy of the statement of the Premier in which he directed the Ministry of Energy and Ontario Hydro to address the question of the differential, which is a separate matter. There would be nothing to preclude us, once we have some advice as a result of that study and those observations on that basis, to apply that to whatever may be the final rate and the final differential once the Ontario Energy Board has determined that.

Ms. Gigantes: Mr. Speaker, the Ontario Energy Board went through something like a three-year study to review the price structure of Ontario Hydro rates and came in last December with a report that produced nothing of a reformed nature and nothing that would satisfy the public demand for some substantial change in that rate structure. I would like to ask the minister, what is the use of referring this question back to an ineffective board? Why does the government not take this matter in hand?

Hon. Mr. Welch: Mr. Speaker, with the greatest respect, I do not know if that is supplementary to the question that was posed to me by the member. The matter that has been referred to the Ontario Energy Board is the proposal for the rate increases. We now have the report to which the honourable member makes reference and are analysing it to see what our response ultimately will be when I have the advice of Hydro.

Mr. S. Smith: Mr. Speaker, the Premier said he was instructing the minister to find ways to get rid of the differential between rural and urban hydro rates. Of what conceivable value was that statement, other than possible political value, when Hydro turns around now and proposes new rates which increase both the rural and the urban rates equally, leaving the differential precisely where it was before? If he made a statement, why does the minister not take it seriously?

2:50 p.m.

Hon. Mr. Welch: Mr. Speaker, any statement made by the Premier is quite creditable.

The honourable member knows very well that it is one thing to be examining the present proposal with respect to rates, and another matter to impose on whatever that decision may be the commitment of the government to reduce the differential. They are two separate matters.

SECURITY IN ONTARIO HOUSING CORPORATION BUILDINGS

Mr. R. F. Johnston: Mr. Speaker, my question is of the Minister of Housing. It is with regard to the brutal attack on Mr. Amir Din, a Canadian of East Indian origin in Etobicoke. Will the minister indicate what specific security measures he intends to recommend for that particular building, a matter raised with him by the member for Etobicoke (Mr. Philip) during the past several years?

Will the minister table in this House detailed information on the security systems employed in the various Ontario Housing Corporation developments in Metropolitan Toronto and on their ability to deal with random, vicious, racial assault?

Hon. Mr. Bennett: Mr. Speaker, my ministry and the Ontario Housing Corporation obviously are concerned with the action that took place at one of our high-rise buildings on Monday evening last.

The particular building where the act took place is one that has been without some security for a period of time. About two and a half years ago, as a result of a review of the situation along with our security forces,

Community Guardian Company Limited, it was determined that there would not appear to be the necessity of retaining any full-time security operations at this particular building.

To put it into its proper perspective, the Ontario Housing Corporation spent \$4,143,000 for security services in the current year in the Metropolitan Toronto housing portfolio. For the balance of the province, which actually consists of only three other communities in which we have a security force—Ottawa, Sudbury and Hamilton—we spent a total of \$231,000 for the three of them.

We realize some of the problems we have had here, and through Community Guardian Company Limited which I think is a very well-trained group, we have tried to respond to the problems, whatever origin they happen to be, at the Ontario Housing Corporation's portfolio throughout this part of the province.

I also want to emphasize that the Ontario Housing Corporation is a full-paying taxpayer in this community, paying some \$21 million in real estate property taxes. We expect and receive the consideration and the support of the municipal police force. With their support and that of Community Guardian Company Limited, we think we have been able to control the vandalism and the other problems that we have within OHC.

In my discussions with the Attorney General (Mr. McMurtry), and in some other questions regarding the incident of Monday night, we agreed that we would look at the security services in this building once again and see whether there is a reason for more security. I want to emphasize that, if there is a reason, we will start reintroducing selective security services in all buildings. I also want to emphasize that the cost has to be taken into some consideration.

Mr. R. F. Johnston: I was hoping the minister would understand that there is a very important preventive role for OHC to be playing. What role does the minister see for the community relations worker in OHC developments in defusing racial tensions and in promoting a support of community environment? Does he agree that their numbers should be increased, not decreased; that special training in the inter-racial community development techniques should be provided them; and that they should be given responsibility, with specific guidelines, for interaction with community police officers and building security staff? Will he continue to see them as subordinate to project managers and not as the vital cog in the whole security system, as they should be?

Hon. Mr. Bennett: Very clearly, the community workers employed by the Ontario Housing Corporation are not there just to deal with the racial problems, of which undoubtedly there are some. They are there to deal with the problems of OHC in a very general way, whether they happen to be the problems of an individual who does not have enough income, who has some marital problems, and so on. They do not selectively treat just one problem; they deal with the whole scope of problems that the Ontario Housing Corporation has the responsibility of trying to look after.

Community Guardian Company Limited, which is retained to provide security guard service and works singularly for the OHC, has more than 100 officers. We do not consider them as policemen or guards; we consider them, to some degree, as community workers. They try to resolve problems without going to the police with them. I say very clearly in this House, that particular guard service has been received with open arms and is respected by the vast majority of the tenants of OHC throughout the Metropolitan Toronto area.

We have continued to increase our efforts with the guardian service. They have had discussions with OHC. I have had the opportunity of meeting with them and reviewing some of the problems they have to contend with. We have tried to reallocate the services of the community workers over the past number of years to work more specifically in the areas where we do see problems in greater volume than in the past.

Mr. Di Santo: Mr. Speaker, I do not understand why the minister tries to minimize the problem, which is becoming explosive. Does he realize there are very serious problems because the projects are so huge that in many cases they do require security? Does he realize that some of the buildings and projects that he gives out for management to private companies are deprived of security services in order to maximize the profits of the company in many instances? Does he not realize it is time the ministry intervened, because we will be faced with very serious problems otherwise?

Hon. Mr. Bennett: Mr. Speaker, in no way, shape or form do I wish to imply to this House that OHC is trying to minimize the problems. We realize what the problems are within the portfolio that we have the responsibility of managing in this community and throughout Ontario. That is making it very clear.

When we spend taxpayers' dollars—\$4,143,000 in the current year—and put community work service in place in this portfolio in the Toronto area, I think it speaks extremely well of the fact that government recognizes there are some social tensions in those public housing developments.

I will not apologize to this House. I realize some of the developments are huge. It is easy to sit back 20 years later and criticize our predecessors for having developed those particular units. When I was sitting on Ottawa city council and in various other places, I listened to the fact that OHC was not producing enough units. They tried to respond to the needs at that time. With hindsight, it might have been better to have scattered units, which we are attempting to do now through the nonprofit housing corporations by taking only a portion of the units for public housing.

We are not minimizing it. We are going to look at the security services. But I want this House to keep very clearly in mind that there is a limitation on the number of dollars this government should be committed to in putting guard services to work.

ESSEX EXPLOSION

Mr. Ruston: Mr. Speaker, I have a question for the Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs. The minister refused to designate the town of Trenton as a disaster area. Now in his letter of May 12 to the member for Quinte (Mr. O'Neil), he states that Ontario Development Corporation is going to supply loans at six per cent interest to businessmen to restore their businesses to the pre-flooding state. Is the minister prepared to make a decision with regard to the town of Essex and its \$5-million explosion of February and allow businessmen to rebuild their businesses back to the pre-explosion state, after using their own insurance, and help from there on?

Hon. Mr. Wells: Mr. Speaker, I have answered this question several times. My colleague the Minister of Industry and Tourism (Mr. Grossman), under whose jurisdiction the ODC comes, is looking after this particular matter in so far as ODC is going to talk to the people down there.

Talks are still going on and we want to see if there is some way we can help those businessmen. The ODC ruled that the kind of loans that would have been available perhaps were not the right vehicle. But talks are still going on and there may be some way that help can be provided.

3 p.m.

Mr. Ruston: Mr. Speaker, I realize the Minister of Industry and Tourism is involved in this, but the letter of the Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs on May 12 states in the last paragraph that loans will be available at six per cent interest. Can he not force the Minister of Industry and Tourism to give us a decision so we can avoid the long delay in getting these businesses back in operation?

Hon. Mr. Wells: The answer on the provision of six per cent loans down there was no; they decided that was not the vehicle that would be available there. That was available in the Port Hope and surrounding areas because the disaster in that area and in those counties was a natural disaster, a flood. The disaster in the Essex area was caused by negligence on the part of a person, and presumably much more insurance is involved. We do not see the two situations as exactly the same, and therefore different criteria have to be applied.

BELL CANADA RATES

Mr. Swart: Mr. Speaker, my question is to the Minister of Transportation and Communications, who has just come in. It concerns Bell Canada's application for increases of 23 to 25 per cent.

I would like to ask the minister whether he is monitoring the public meetings and securing access to all the letters of objection being sent to Bell so he will know fully the public view. More especially, has he obtained witnesses and professionals to assess the Bell application and to appear at the hearings of the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission so as to fully protect the Ontario public from being wronged by Bell?

Now that the minister has had three months to do an in-depth examination, can he tell this House what increase in rates, if any, he thinks Bell should be allowed?

Hon. Mr. Snow: Mr. Speaker, I can say yes to the first two or three questions. I can say no to the last question. I am not in position, and I don't intend to be, to tell the CRTC what increase Bell should be allowed.

Mr. Swart: Does the minister not think he has some responsibility to investigate the amount of increase and to fight for a lower increase? Is he not aware that the telephone rates in Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta, where the systems are publicly owned, are 25 per cent lower than those in Ontario for communities of comparable size? Does he

not think it is time that his Conservative government did the same thing here as the Tories did in Manitoba 70 years ago, and bring the telephone system under provincial ownership so we can put a halt to these continuous and unreasonable rate hikes?

Hon. Mr. Snow: I realize the honourable member may have to make the headlines again tomorrow. I would suggest, though, he is liable to give himself a heart attack because of the enthusiasm with which he asked that question.

No, I have no intention of considering the nationalization of Bell Canada.

TOWNSEND SITE DEVELOPMENT

Mr. G. I. Miller: Mr. Speaker, I have a question of the Minister of Housing. Can the minister indicate to this House how the tenders are going to be let for the housing in the Townsend town site and who will be building the houses? Also, in conjunction with the costs of holding these houses, who will be responsible for the interest rates?

Hon. Mr. Bennett: Mr. Speaker, we have already indicated, through the press, the availability of more than 300 lots in the first phase of the Townsend development. Fourteen lots have been taken up at this point, and 152 are under consideration at the moment.

In addition, there is a proposal being put forward to erect 20 model homes on the Townsend site. They will be developed by the private sector and not by the government. In the development of these model homes, financing will be done through the Ontario Land Corporation, but the commitment and discharge of mortgage will be entirely the responsibility of the private sector. We hope the units will be in place within the next several months so that they will have a possibility of capturing some of the market that will be available to us by the end of this year.

Mr. G. I. Miller: In regard to the study made on marketing in the area, will that be made public and available to this House?

Hon. Mr. Bennett: I believe that question was asked of me last week by the member for Brant-Oxford-Norfolk (Mr. Nixon). He asked whether the study we have been doing, the research reports and the economic factors would be made available to this House. I said very clearly that we considered ourselves in the same position as the private market. It was a report which assisted us in the development, expansion and sale of

our units, and we did not believe it was a public document.

Mr. Makarchuk: Mr. Speaker, in view of the fact that at Townsend the minister has an opportunity for once in Ontario to put housing on the market at a price the consumer can afford, why does he not do it?

Hon. Mr. Bennett: Mr. Speaker, the member is very vocal about the situation. As we have said—and I trust he has read some of the press remarks in the past—we have put limitations on the resale factors. The member can sit and shake his head; he just wants to watch it doesn't roll off. We said very clearly that we would put the units on the market, that they would be in various phases and that they would try to be applicable to the various parts of the market. Obviously, we do not need all units in one price range.

We have indicated to the developers that will be participating in the Townsend project that we will have units in the price range of \$40,000, that there will be some in the price range of \$48,000 and that there will be others of a higher market value that will be located there for people who wish to buy a home of a greater value.

Mr. Epp: Mr. Speaker, does the minister not think that the public has a right to the information he has gathered through that survey when the public is paying for that information, and that through his stubbornness he is denying the public the right to that information?

Hon. Mr. Bennett: Mr. Speaker, it is an interesting challenge to be the Minister of Housing and go before an estimates committee to be told he should operate the Ontario Land Corporation as a private developer. No advantage is given to us. We meet the competition. We go into the marketplace and we sink or fall with the market.

Today we are trying to make the Ontario Land Corporation a responsible agency in this government and to this province in developing the new community of Townsend. We do market surveys and studies to indicate clearly what is the potential for the type of unit in that community in relation to Stelco and others that will have some employment opportunities in the community we are trying to serve. We do that on the same basis as Cadillac Fairview or anybody else who goes out and does a market survey. It is to give us some indication of where we are going in the field of selling homes. That information is what guides us against our competition, whatever that competition might be.

To put that report out into public circulation is like saying to the others, "We will do all the surveys for you so you can become our main target for the marketing of your product, Mr. Private Enterprise, whoever you might be." That report was done for OLC. It is to guide the direction and development of Townsend, which I trust the local members are concerned about being successful. What I hope this report will enable us to do is to be very successful in that community.

URANIUM CONTRACTS

Ms. Gigantes: Mr. Speaker, I have a question for the Minister of Energy. Now that the predictable and the predicted has happened and Ontario Hydro is going to be paying between US \$40 and US \$41 per pound for uranium delivered by Denison Mines in 1980, while the international spot market price now is US \$32 per pound, will the minister refer the Ontario Hydro uranium contracts to the public accounts committee for review and recommendation?

Hon. Mr. Welch: No, Mr. Speaker, I see no need to do that at this time.

Ms. Gigantes: Is the minister not concerned that by 1994 Ontario Hydro will be receiving 50 per cent too much uranium under these contracts for Ontario Hydro purposes and that the entry of Saskatchewan and Australian uranium, which costs about US \$10 a pound to produce, will make the Ontario Hydro contracts an even worse deal for Ontario Hydro ratepayers?

Hon. Mr. Welch: Without taking up all the time of the House, Mr. Holt of Ontario Hydro during the estimates of the Ministry of Energy went into this matter in some considerable detail, I thought, to the satisfaction of the members of the committee. However, this is the type of question the honourable member might want to put on the Order Paper, or to give me some specific questions to which she wants some answers in order that we might get the accurate information from Hydro. But I do remind the House that during the course of the consideration of my estimates this matter was discussed, I felt, in some detail.

3:10 p.m.

FRENCH-LANGUAGE POST-SECONDARY EDUCATION

Mr. Roy: Mr. Speaker, I would like to ask a question of the Minister of Colleges and Universities. Has the minister taken cognizance of a report by the Council of Ontario Universities, the very special report from

its committee on French studies? What is she going to do about one of the recommendations, which is that there be increased pressure for provincial funding of French-language courses and programs, including the ones for persons whose first language is not French? The great concern of the committee is that the demand for French studies is far exceeding the capacity of the universities to give it and that they need very special funding.

What is she going to do about the comment of recent date by the rector of the University of Ottawa that the funds received from the province are not adequate for that university to carry on its bilingual vocation?

Hon. Miss Stephenson: Mr. Speaker, I had a conversation very recently with the rector, at which time he expressed the need for additional funding for expansion of the programs which he has in place at present. There will be some expansion, I understand, this year. There was further expansion which he is desirous of completing in the future, and obviously we will be discussing this with him. The position that he has taken has been presented to the Ontario Council on University Affairs for their advice related to funding mechanisms.

Mr. Roy: The minister dealt only with the latter part of the question as I understand her answer. Has she taken cognizance of this special committee report of the Council of Ontario Universities, and are steps being taken to satisfy the monetary requirements of the universities that are experiencing greatly increased demands for French studies? For instance, in discussions, Dean Soberman of Queen's University in Kingston states that they are not able to meet the demands. One of the reasons for this report is to ask the ministry and the government for additional funding. Is the minister going to respond to that?

Hon. Miss Stephenson: The policy in the past, as recommended initially by COU and supported by OCUA, was the direction of additional funding in support of French-language programs at two universities in the province. We have persisted in doing that at the request of and the recommendation of OCUA.

Until there are further recommendations from OCUA about diversification of French-language funding—and I should include in that as well the funding for Glendon College at York University—until OCUA has had an opportunity to analyse carefully the report which COU has made about this matter and

has given me its advice, I cannot make any public response.

ACCESSIBILITY TO POST-SECONDARY EDUCATION

Mr. Cooke: Mr. Speaker, I have a new question for the Minister of Colleges and Universities. Has the minister read her report, *Is the Die Cast?* Is she aware of the statistics that indicate only two in 10 persons from low socio-economic groups ever enrol in university, that six in 10 individuals from the highest socio-economic group attend universities, and that 74 per cent of Toronto young people obtain post-secondary education whereas only 53 per cent of those from small towns attend university? Those are statistics from her own report.

Now that these statistics back up what we in the New Democratic Party have been saying for years, when can we expect a strategy to be announced by this government to increase accessibility to individuals from all socio-economic backgrounds?

Hon. Miss Stephenson: Mr. Speaker, we have already begun the activity of attempting to make students, at much earlier ages, aware of the existence of assistance programs to provide them with some help in achieving post-secondary education.

We are also launching a stratification study which will be province-wide rather than simply in one or two areas of the province.

We hope to have further information, as a result of the Anisef studies and others which will examine the many factors involved in the decision-making process young people are engaged in when they decide whether they will proceed to post-secondary education. I am aware that the number of factors is multiple, and we would like to be able to clearly define those that seem to have the most significance in that decision-making process. We are about to do that.

Mr. Sweeney: Mr. Speaker, given the results of the Anisef study and, on top of that, the results of studies at Carleton, McMaster and Western, is the minister prepared, on behalf of the government, to admit that there are social segments of our population who do not have the same opportunity to get a post-secondary education as other segments?

Hon. Miss Stephenson: Mr. Speaker, I am not sure that I would be prepared to admit they do not have equal opportunity. The fact that they do not take advantage of opportunity, I will admit. I would like to know why that happens, and I believe Paul Anisef and others have defined at least certain of the reasons that play a part in that.

That is the information we need to develop before we can anticipate any broader participation in post-secondary education. But we do know that at present we are serving a significantly larger number of those from what could be called the lower socio-economic strata than has been served in recent history in this province or in other provinces in Canada.

Mr. Bounsall: Mr. Speaker, is the minister aware that in the *Is the Die Cast?* study there was a survey started in 1973 when the students were in grade 12 which followed them through their continuing education and subsequent employment? That study showed that women university graduates earn 20 per cent less than men do and that women high school graduates earn 30 per cent less than men. What will the minister do to ensure that my private member's bill on equal pay for work of equal value is passed into legislation to end this blatant discrimination in pay on the basis of sex?

Hon. Miss Stephenson: Mr. Speaker, there has been a great deal of activity in the area of equal pay for equal work. A piece of legislation has been in existence in this province for at least the past 20 years. I am convinced that the activities going on in the area of equal opportunity, affirmative action and other strategies will achieve many of the purposes for which the honourable member has some concern and for which I have concern as well.

RACIAL ATTACKS

Mrs. Campbell: Mr. Speaker, my question is to the Solicitor General. In view of the previous questions in this House and recognizing that this minister does understand that racial attacks are a blight on the entire community, and to enable him to explain to the Minister of Housing (Mr. Bennett), who sees the cost only in dollars and cents, would the minister be prepared to increase the funding to municipalities so they might engage in the policing that the Minister of Housing feels should be their obligation?

Hon. Mr. McMurtry: The Minister of Housing certainly does not require me to respond on his behalf, Mr. Speaker, but in fairness I think he was clearly indicating the fact that the Ontario Housing Corporation already involves itself in considerable expense with respect to matters relating to security. His response indicated to me that the Ministry of Housing gives the matter of security in relation to its buildings a very high priority.

Further, I think the Minister of Housing made it very clear that he is very much aware of racial tensions within the housing units. I have discussed this matter with the Minister of Housing, and there is no question that he shares all of our concerns. We are all very troubled by the reports of the savage attack that apparently took place at the beginning of the week.

3:20 p.m.

The member for St. George knows that police costs are quite high in this province. I think all municipalities, as well as the provincial government, give the police budgets high priority in their communities, and I know the member for St. George appreciates that.

It is my view that police forces throughout the province are sensitive to this problem and do give a very high priority in relation to any allegations of assault that have the possibility of a racial motivation in particular, quite apart from the concern about assaults generally.

I am not in a position to give an undertaking that I am going to be able to fund municipal police forces for any specific crime deterrence, but I think the member appreciates how seriously I take this matter and I understand her concern.

NOTICE OF DISSATISFACTION

Mr. Speaker: Under standing order 28, the member for Essex North (Mr. Ruston) has expressed his dissatisfaction with the answer to a question directed to the Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs (Mr. Wells) concerning assistance for businessmen in the town of Essex. This matter will be debated at 10:30 this evening.

REPORTS

STANDING COMMITTEE ON SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

Mr. Gaunt from the standing committee on social development reported the following resolution:

That supply in the following amounts to defray the expenses of the Ministry of Education be granted to Her Majesty for the fiscal year ending March 31, 1981:

Ministry administration program, \$33,880,000; education program, \$2,262,023,000; services to education program, \$111,375,000.

STANDING PROCEDURAL AFFAIRS COMMITTEE

Mr. Breaugh from the standing procedural affairs committee presented the following report and moved its adoption:

Your committee has considered the terms of reference given it by order of the House on June 28, 1977. This order limits the committee to reviewing only those agencies for which annual reports are tabled in the House. It is the committee's view that this is an artificial and needlessly restrictive limitation.

Therefore, in order to perform more effectively its task of reviewing agencies for possible overlapping and redundancy, the committee recommends that:

The committee's order of reference of June 28, 1977, be amended by striking out the words "particular boards, agencies and commissions, for which annual reports have been tabled in the House and referred to it, and the committee may review the operation of these bodies as it selects," and substituting therefor the following words: "all boards, agencies and commissions to which the Lieutenant Governor in Council makes some or all of the appointments and all corporations in which the crown in right of Ontario is a majority shareholder. Such reviews shall be made."

Mr. Breaugh: Mr. Speaker, this report clarifies a situation that has existed since the beginning of the committee. We feel it has the consent of all parties in the committee, and it is my understanding that it has been agreed to by the House leaders for all parties.

On motion by Mr. Breaugh, the debate was adjourned.

MOTION

HOUSE SITTINGS

Hon. Mr. Wells moved that when the House adjourns on Friday, May 16, it stand adjourned until 2 o'clock, Tuesday, May 20.

Motion agreed to.

INTRODUCTION OF BILLS

MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS AMENDMENT ACT

Hon. Mr. Wells moved first reading of Bill 71, An Act to amend the Municipal Elections Act.

Motion agreed to.

DANGEROUS PLANTS ACT

Mr. Cunningham moved first reading of Bill 72, An Act respecting the Sale of Dangerous Plants in Ontario.

Motion agreed to.

ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS ON NOTICE PAPER AND RESPONSE TO PETITION

Hon. Mr. Wells: Mr. Speaker, before the orders of the day I wish to table the answers to questions 139, 149, 150 and 153 standing on the Notice Paper and the response to a petition presented to the Legislature, sessional paper 85. (See appendix, page 1923.)

ORDERS OF THE DAY

PRIVATE MEMBERS' PUBLIC BUSINESS

AGROLOGY

Mr. Watson moved resolution 15:

That in the opinion of this House, the government of Ontario consider that where a person represents himself to be an agrologist or practises or offers advice in the field of agrology, as defined in the Ontario Professional Agrologists Act, 1960, for a fee or compensation of any kind that such person may not represent himself as an agrologist or practise or offer advice in the field of agrology unless such person is a member in good standing of the Ontario Institute of Professional Agrologists as constituted and governed under the Ontario Professional Agrologists Act, 1960.

Mr. Watson: Mr. Speaker, in putting forward this resolution, I have both a public and personal concern regarding its implications. I feel that in the interests of the public or the consumers of any service or advice rendered by anyone who represents himself as a professional in agriculture that person should be a professional. My personal concern is that I am a professional agrologist, a member of the Ontario Institute of Professional Agrologists. As a member of that profession, I am interested in ensuring that high professional standards will continue to be maintained and that the credibility of those in professional agriculture, which has been built up over the years, will not be punished or discredited by any impostors.

In order to set the stage for this debate, I would like to review some of the events of history which have led up to the present status of the Ontario Institute of Professional Agrologists. An organization now known as the Agricultural Institute of Canada had its beginnings in 1919 at the alumni reunion of a

few graduates of one of Canada's agricultural colleges, Macdonald College in McGill University.

These young men were concerned that without an association through which they could speak authoritatively for Canada's professional agriculturalists they would fail to make a maximum contribution to agriculture and that their profession would not receive the recognition it deserved. An organizing convention was held in Ottawa in June 1920, at which 120 delegates were present from across Canada. They chose for their association the name of the Canadian Society of Technical Agriculturalists, which was used until the present name of the Agricultural Institute of Canada was adopted in 1945.

From the beginning, the association was a national body with individual members who were all university graduates engaged in various forms of agricultural research, teaching, extension and administration, as well as practical farming and other professional pursuits related to agriculture.

3:30 p.m.

The CSTA was legally incorporated under the Companies Act in 1928. During the lean years of the 1930s, the philosophy of the association of necessity underwent basic change. Professional agriculturalists needed a more decentralized and stronger organization. They wanted an act in each province which would confer upon them, the professional agriculturalists, the power to establish administrative standards for those who practised the profession and to discipline those who contravened such authority.

It is interesting to note the word "profession" was originally reserved to describe only divinity, law and medicine. These are still referred to as learned professions. These three professions played a basic role in higher learning at the earliest universities when they were founded to prepare students to practise in these areas.

As the natural and social sciences evolved through the gradual addition of other courses, it became possible to distinguish a number of other learned occupational groups that possessed essentially the same characteristics as the three original professions. Consequently, many other groups now are legitimately placed in the professional category, such as engineers, pharmacists, veterinarians, accountants, physicians and agrologists, which are a few examples.

The term "agrologist" is of Canadian origin. It was coined in Saskatchewan in 1946, the year that the Agrologists Act was passed in that province. La Corporation des

Agronomes du Quebec had used the term "agronomes" to designate professional agriculturalists when their act was passed in 1942. Apparently it did not have quite the same meaning in English, and the term "agrologist" was coined.

Agrologist is formed from two Greek words, "agros" meaning land or farming, and "logist" meaning scientist. The profession of agrology embraces those who are qualified to practise the science and art of agriculture, to advise, teach, conduct scientific experimentation and to serve the agricultural industry in a specific or general professional capacity.

In general, professions have their authorities sanctioned by an act. This takes place when the state or province in which a group of professionals live and work persuades the government to legally grant certain powers and privileges to the professional group. Involved, of course, are such things as who may or may not practise and this, in turn, results in the establishment of well-defined educational qualifications, examination procedures, annual fee structures and the handling of suspension or expulsion of members. In return, the profession commits itself to conduct its affairs in the public interest.

I mentioned earlier that the Agricultural Institute of Canada as a national organization had no power to gain professional status. In Ontario, in the late 1950s, members of the Agricultural Institute of Canada living in Ontario approached the government of Ontario and, as a result, An Act to incorporate the Ontario Institute of Professional Agrologists received royal assent on April 12, 1960.

I think it is a special interest that the bill went forward at that time as Bill Pr10, a private bill, and it was moved by none other than the member for Elgin (Mr. McNeil). It is also interesting to note that one of the delegates to the government requesting this bill was the present member for Kent-Elgin (Mr. McGuigan).

It is very interesting to note that the original bill, Pr10, as introduced back in 1960, had 15 sections. After being discussed by the committee on private bills, the bill ended up with 14 sections. The only substantial change was the omission of section 13 from the original bill as proposed. For the record, I would like to quote that section:

"13(1) Every member of the institute has the right to use the designation 'registered professional agrologist' and may use the title RPAg indicating that he is a registered Professional Agrologist.

"(2) Any person in Ontario who, not being a registered member of the institute, takes or uses the designation 'registered Professional Agrologist' or the initials RPAG, or any name, title or description implying or which may lead to the belief that he is a registered member of the institute, is guilty of an offence and on summary conviction is liable to a fine of not more than \$50 for each offence.

"(3) All fines recovered under subsection 2 shall be paid over forthwith by the convicting magistrates to the institute."

The resolution I have placed before the Legislature this afternoon is not any different from the original contents of subsection 13(2) as it was put forward back in 1960. It was undoubtedly debated at that point as we are debating it here today, and no doubt it will be debated within the Ontario Institute of Professional Agrologists in the future.

In 1960, one of the reasons there were no mandatory provisions in this act, versus what we might term voluntary provisions, was that there was no Ontario Institute of Professional Agrologists, but simply Agricultural Institute of Canada members who happened to live in Ontario. I can appreciate, as I am sure other members can, the reluctance of legislators at that time to give authority to an organization that did not exist.

One of the reasons I am introducing this resolution at this time is that I very much believe that in the 20 years which have gone by, the Ontario Institute of Professional Agrologists has established its credibility as a professional organization and therefore has earned, by its performance, the right to be the spokesman for the profession of agrology.

The Ontario Institute of Professional Agrologists has established itself with high ethical standards, and many of its policy statements have been widely quoted by all parties in this Legislature as sound and reasoned assessments of situations which were worthy of consideration. The dynamic leadership provided by the presidents and executive of the Ontario Institute of Professional Agrologists over the past 20 years has seen the organization grow to more than 1,250 members, who are dedicated to the high standards of the profession of agrology.

I further want to point out that this organization has grown and, because it has established itself as a recognized profession in the province, now is worthy of some protection for its members. The present legislation does not do this. It is entirely possible for an impostor to represent himself as an

agrologist. There is no legal way in which such an impostor can be prohibited from operating as a professional in this province. I believe this situation is a disservice to the public and to the Ontario Institute of Professional Agrologists.

I am not bringing forward this resolution at the present time to point the finger at any one person or any one organization. Those of us in government are often accused of reacting, rather than acting, in situations. I believe the government should consider changing this legislation. In doing so, they would be acting to protect the public, rather than waiting for a situation or a scandal to arise in rural Ontario to which the government would have to react.

I worded the resolution in such a way to attempt to cover those in the profession of agrology who are actually in the business of charging for their services. In the agricultural industry we have many agrologists who perform their professional activities on a daily basis as employees of a government or other agency. The public does have a degree of protection in these cases, because the organization to which those professionals belong does have some responsibility for its employees and for their actions.

However, it would be a very sad situation for an individual to make what the public perceives to be a professional judgement, which might later turn out to be very wrong, where there are no professional standards behind that person. I am not suggesting professionals never make mistakes. However, I do believe when one is a member of any profession the code of ethics governing that profession are such that mistakes are much less likely to occur than if the situation is allowed to go on where there are no professional standards or code of ethics involved.

Another reason it is time to look at this situation is that agriculture, like many other things, is becoming more and more complex and more scientific. In the field of chemicals alone, I believe it is in the public interest to have individuals who are making recommendations for the use of chemicals to have a professional standard.

There is no doubt that all the chemical companies employ staff members with educational requirements well beyond the basic standards for entrance to the Ontario Institute of Professional Agrologists. The same is true for many other agricultural industries and government organizations. It is my considered opinion that such groups would welcome a tightening of standards in order to ensure that their products or services are

not dispensed to the public, whether they be basic farmers or related agricultural industries, by someone who is not qualified to provide the service he claims to be expert in.

3:40 p.m.

Some argue that there are those who are not eligible to be members of the Ontario Institute of Professional Agrologists who have the general knowledge and experience that would make them as well qualified in certain areas as some who are qualified for membership in the institute. This is an ongoing argument with all professions. It is certainly one that cannot be ignored in a profession that deals with such wide-ranging subjects as there are in the field of agriculture. But I do not feel such arguments should unbalance or prevail over those that support the professional standards set by any professional groups.

I hope the members of this Legislature will enter into the debate concerning the merits and disadvantages of this resolution. Proposals of a similar nature have been discussed within the Ontario Institute of Professional Agrologists and have generally met with favour, but opinion has not been entirely conclusive within that group.

I am putting forward this resolution as an individual member of the Legislature rather than at the request of the Ontario Institute of Professional Agrologists. As a member of the Legislature, I view this slightly differently from the way I did when I was practising the profession of agrology. I now feel I have more cause to protect the public—to ensure that anyone who has any relation to the agricultural industry or need of the services of a professional in agriculture has some assurance that there are standards behind the advice they are paying for.

I am sincere in my belief that the institute over the past 20 years has matured to the stage where it could well accept the responsibilities that the end result of such a resolution could achieve if it were put into some type of amendment to the act.

I sincerely seek the opinions of the members of this Legislature, and I am sure the opinions expressed will be very useful to those involved in the profession of agrology.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: There are four minutes remaining in the member's time. Does he wish to reserve the four minutes?

Mr. Watson: Yes, Mr. Speaker.

Mr. Riddell: Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to have an opportunity to participate in the debate on this resolution. I too speak from

both a personal concern and a public concern. I am a graduate of the Ontario Agricultural College with a degree. I am also a former member of the Ontario Institute of Professional Agrologists, but I am afraid I let my membership lapse owing to the fact that I was moving around quite a bit in my earlier days. I went out to Saskatchewan and worked with the agricultural department out there for a period of time. I went back to the farm and when I was farming I found I did not have time to get out to the meetings and therefore I was not paying as much attention to that organization as I should have.

I can understand the intent of the member in introducing this bill, but it does have some far-reaching implications which do bother me almost to the point where I am not sure I can render support to the bill as it is written.

If the member had deleted that part which reads "or practise or offer advice in the field of agrology," I think I could support it. I think that to be able to put the letters RPAG behind one's name one must be a member in good standing of the Ontario Institute of Professional Agrologists. In order to be a member one has to have a degree from the Ontario Agricultural College or an equivalent institution, or be allowed to be a member provided one meets the requirements as specified by the council of the institute.

I think that is all laid out in the original act, which was passed in 1960. That act to incorporate the institute I believe was passed at the request of certain professional agrologists. I believe part of their reason was that in the postwar years, jobs held in the agricultural industry by degree graduates of OAC or other institutions were not considered very prestigious. For more recognition of the professional services rendered by these people, I believe some of the degree graduates submitted a petition to the government asking that this group of people be incorporated under the name Ontario Institute of Professional Agrologists.

Special legislation was passed for the purpose of establishing the institute and carrying out the object of the institute, and of the government, in discipline of its members. The act defined agrology, it spelled out the membership qualifications, but it said nothing about the practice of agrology. The member has indicated that this might have been included in section 13 which was deleted when the bill went through committee back in 1960.

As I indicated, I agree with the first part of the resolution. The second part of the reso-

lution would prevent persons who had acquired a high degree of expertise, through training and experience, from giving advice in the field of agrology for compensation, unless that person was a graduate of the OAC or some other equivalent institution, with a degree in agriculture, or satisfied the council of the Ontario Institute of Professional Agrologists that he possessed qualifications equivalent to those of an OAC degree graduate.

As an aside, I believe the original act should be amended, because the University of Toronto no longer grants the BSA degree; and I do not know of any amendments that have come in, but the OAC now is part of the University of Guelph. The section of the act which reads "if he holds a degree in agriculture from the OAC granted by the University of Toronto" now is redundant, and perhaps some of us will see fit to introduce a bill making that amendment.

However, getting back to the principle of the resolution, people like the member for Middlesex (Mr. Eaton), the member for Halton-Burlington (Mr. J. Reed), and the member for Huron-Bruce (Mr. Gaunt) could not offer advice in matters pertaining to agrology for a fee or compensation of any kind. They are diploma graduates, and I too am a diploma graduate. I graduated in 1952 from the OAC before I went on to take a degree. I received an excellent training in agrology at the OAC, taking the two-year course. It was training that well qualified a young person to go back and do a good job of farming or to get into agribusiness and to offer advice, but this resolution would prevent that person from giving that kind of advice if that person were going to charge a fee.

If the member for Middlesex decided to give up politics, go home, set up a consulting business, hang out his shingle, soliciting business from farmers by way of providing information and what have you, he would be prevented from doing that if this resolution passed.

Take the former Deputy Minister of Agriculture and Food, Ev Biggs. Ev is a graduate from OAC. He does have a degree. I am not too sure that he is a member of the institute of agrologists—he may well be—but he did set up a consulting firm, and I am sure he is advising farmers. I know he was hired by the Ministry of Transportation and Communications to conduct a study on farm-related trucking. If Mr. Biggs was not a member of the Ontario Institute of Professional Agrologists, he could not have taken on this work and he could not be advising farmers.

Gordon Hill, former president of the Ontario Federation of Agriculture, with the vast experience this man has had in agriculture, would not be permitted to offer advice for a fee to the farmers who solicited such advice, as Gordon does not hold a degree in agriculture and therefore cannot be considered to be an agrologist. I admit I do not think Gordon Hill should be allowed to use the initials RPAG behind his name, but I would hate to think he would be prevented from giving advice to other farmers even though he charged some kind of a fee or compensation.

3:50 p.m.

Having given these examples, I am not blind to the fact that undesirable practices are occurring. We have spoken to the Ontario Institute of Professional Agrologists regarding this private member's resolution. They inform us that they are aware of instances where individuals are offering advice in the area of agrology to both consumers and producers for a fee but do not have the technical training to offer such advice. Some people have been masquerading as being technically qualified to give advice in the area of agrology but do not have the credentials to offer such advice. If it were this practice that this resolution was designed to curtail, then on that basis it would seem worthy of support.

However, as previously indicated, there are some problems this resolution might create. Agrology is a wide-ranging field covering everything from soil surveying to hydrology. Agrology embraces many disciplines. For example, many geographers are qualified to give advice in certain areas of agrology, but this resolution would prevent them from giving advice for a fee unless they were members of the Ontario Institute of Professional Agrologists.

There are surveyors, agricultural land mapping companies, hydrologists and many other professionals practising in some area of agrology. What about a farmer giving advice to another farmer for some type of compensation? And I use Gordon Hill as an example. What about the salesmen for feed companies who are giving advice to farmers? Members may say they are not receiving compensation, but I say they are receiving compensation indirectly for giving advice to farmers. If they were not members of the Ontario Institute of Professional Agrologists, they would be prevented from doing so. How would this resolution affect these instances?

It should be pointed out that the Ontario Institute of Professional Agrologists has not

taken an official stand on this resolution. They have not analysed all the implications of it. The institute met yesterday and decided to refer the matter to their professional standards committee. This committee was established to look into all matters of professional standards for agrologists and probably will be reporting this fall.

While this resolution seems quite justified in its intent to prevent some undesirable practices that are occurring, there are some implications in it which I believe should be given further consideration. I don't think I am going to support this until some of these implications are ironed out by the institute itself.

Mr. Swart: Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to take part in this debate and immediately I want to express the respect and the warmth that I have for the Ontario Institute of Professional Agrologists and its members.

I feel part of that warmth, I suppose, because of the stand they have taken on the preservation of the prime agricultural land, a view similar to mine. I think it is fair to say that no group, apart from the farm organizations themselves, has done more for agriculture in this province than this institute.

As a result of my warmth and respect for that group, I consulted rather extensively with knowledgeable groups, including the institute itself, the Ontario Federation of Agriculture and other professionals. After all that discussion I find myself in considerable sympathy with the reasons for this resolution but, like the member for Huron-Middlesex (Mr. Riddell), I am going to find some difficulty in supporting it, because it does not provide a reasonable solution to the problems with which it attempts to deal. Most of all, it is not primarily an agricultural issue; it is a professional discipline issue, although it has a real bearing on agriculture.

The intent of it is to prevent unqualified persons from giving agricultural advice or service. There have been, I understand, a couple of incidents recently where this has taken place to the disadvantage of some farmers. I guess there was some salesman who sold some soil conditioner and had RPAG behind his name which gave him a status which apparently he did not have. That can be dealt with in another manner.

It may give some protection in that regard, but there are other injustices it will create which I suggest will be worse than the limited cure it will provide. The member for Huron-Middlesex has given a fairly accurate interpretation of the resolution. I

had intended to do that, but I think that is unnecessary at this time.

The first point I want to make is that the term "agrologist" is almost impossible to define. It is not in itself a discipline. Rather, agrologist is sort of an umbrella term for a great many disciplines—in geography, in biology, in plant ecology, in livestock, in veterinary practice and in land management and so forth. It is not really a discipline in itself. The interpretation, in the resolution and in the existing act, and probably correctly so, provides that even a farmer who has not gone to college and has no degree can be a professional agrologist. That is as it should be. I have no objection to that, believe me. Many of those farmers know much more about it than perhaps people who have gone to university. I know that from the farm community where I live.

It could mean, in effect, that one farmer could not even give advice to another without taking out membership in the institute. Without becoming a professional agrologist or at least having those letters behind his name, he could not give advice in the planting of crops. It is simply wrong to say no one should offer advice on agriculture unless he has RPAG behind his name.

The other side of the coin is that a professional agronomist could still give advice in a field in which he had no competence because, as stated, a professional agronomist does not involve any distinct discipline. We could have a professional agrologist who had a degree in biology giving advice on land management or plant ecology. That would be possible. He probably would be disciplined by the institute.

That brings me to the next part of what I want to say. In all other professions, discipline and protection to the public are provided in two ways. First, in the profession, apart from the profession, although obviously associated with it, is a licensing commission. Then there are the separate associations, such as the Ontario Medical Association or the Ontario Dental Association. One does not have to belong to the association to practise, but he does have to have a licence from the licensing group. Those licensing commissions generally have somebody on them from the public, perhaps two or three people from the public side. There is public input, and rightly so. That is not what is proposed in this resolution.

The other type of discipline and accountability to the public occurs where there are professions, of which there are at least four—the architects, the lawyers, the accountants

and the engineers—where membership is compulsory in the association. In all cases, they have to have their discipline sections approved by the province. All of it must be approved by the province. This does not provide that either.

4 p.m.

There is no provision in this resolution to fit that group into either category. In fact, it is impossible, without dramatic changes, to fit it into either category. Nor can it fit into the recommendations of the report of the Professional Organizations Committee which has just come out. I am sure the members have seen it this month.

It talks about groups like this. It talks about groups it was authorized to investigate and bring recommendations on, and it goes on to deal, as it was directed to do, with other professions. It says there should be a general omnibus certification statute, to be called the Professional Designations Act.

This act would have a great many provisions. It would provide for the administration of a registration scheme by a registrar located in an appropriate ministry of the government; provide for the minimum criteria of which the occupational group must satisfy the registrar; be in a capacity to prescribe and enforce and maintain qualification requirements, a code of ethics, a complaints procedure and a disciplinary mechanism; and provide for a right of appeal for any aggrieved party to the divisional court in respect of a decision by the registrar to register or refuse to register or deregister any professional designation.

There is nothing in this resolution relative to all those things. The member may say they can be included. But the bare bones we have before us do not provide for anything of that nature. It gives absolute authority to the institute. There is no group I would trust more, but I do not trust any group. There has to be some public accountability in this, and the resolution simply does not provide that.

There is another danger in the resolution. At least one of the agrologists I spoke to said, "I'm afraid that can be interpreted as just a membership recruitment device." If all these umbrella groups have to belong to charge fees, it could be interpreted—they do not want it that way—as a membership recruitment device.

If this were a resolution that no one could use the designation of professional agrologist—as the member for Huron-Middlesex stated—without being a member of the institute, I could support it. It would make sense.

But it goes much further than that, and it does not even state that.

As has already been mentioned, the institute itself is not supporting the resolution. It is not opposing it either. It was neutral on it, as late as yesterday, as has already been pointed out.

Mr. Acting Speaker: The honourable member's time has expired.

Mr. Swart: I suggest, with due respect, that the resolution has not been properly thought out. We need to have a disciplines board. We need to prohibit the use of the term "professional agronomist" without being a member. We should wait before we do anything until we get the report from the institute.

Mr. Eaton: Mr. Speaker, it is a pleasure to have a chance to make a few comments on this resolution put forward by my colleague. I believe he has put it forward with the best of intent, to try to control a situation that we sometimes see happening in rural Ontario, where a fly-by-nighter will come along and hold himself out as something he is not.

I was interested in the comment of my colleague from Huron-Middlesex that some of us would not be able to be members of the association under the terms of the resolution, and at the same time would not be able to carry on a practice where we charged a fee for our services in the field of agriculture.

Some of us who were two-year graduates when the act came in could have joined at that time. I was at the agricultural institute in London, and one of the members there was instrumental in working on this. At that time I could have joined.

I was a couple of years out of school then, with not too much experience. Now, at this point, I probably could not become a member, even with my two-year graduation. I have also gone on and taken some master's degree courses in specific fields in agriculture I was interested in. Yet, with all that experience, I have not got the four-year degree they refer to in the act. It is questionable whether one would be able to become a member of the organization or not. But that is not what concerns me.

As we look at the description of what is meant by agrology in the act, we see that it means "the science or art of agriculture." There are many people out there who are outstanding in the science or art of agriculture who do not have the qualifications to become a member of the institute. I em-

phasize "to become a member of the institute." The interpretation goes on to say, "including scientific experiments and research," but then it refers to an agrologist as meaning "a person who teaches, demonstrates or performs any work or service in agrology." Once again, we refer back to agrology, and it is the whole field of agriculture.

Let's look at the field of teaching and demonstrating in agriculture. We have many people who come as practising farmers to our agricultural colleges. They are paid a fee to teach, to give some of their practical knowledge and information. I suppose, under the act, if the resolution were brought in the way it says, those persons would be excluded from being able to teach, because it specifically refers to teaching or demonstrating, and yet they could have much more experience than some people who have that four-year degree who are members of the Ontario Institute of Professional Agrologists. They would not meet the qualifications that are laid out in the act, and yet their experience far exceeds that of some people who are members.

Let's look at very simple things in practising the art of agriculture. Consider someone who selects cattle, saying: "They are the best ones for the herd. We think they are the right type" and so on. That person is practising an art, because it is an art to be able to select by eye some of the best-quality cattle. I suppose if a judge went to an agricultural fair and were paid a fee for doing that, he would not be able to practise that if he were not a professional agrologist. I am sure I am carrying it beyond what is intended by the resolution of the member, but that is the way the act could be interpreted as it is laid out at the present time.

I think we can go even beyond that. If we look at people who give advice on farm buildings, the ventilation of farm buildings and many other things like that, those people would not qualify to become members of the Ontario Institute of Professional Agrologists although they are practising and giving advice in what is the field of agrology.

Then let's look at the other side of it, at some of those people who are members of the Ontario Institute of Professional Agrologists and what they could do under the terms of this act. We have many members of the profession right now who are journalists, for instance, who probably have not practised agriculture in any way since they graduated from the agricultural college, except to write about it, to interpret things that are going on in the agricultural industry. They could suddenly

hang out their shingles as professional agrologists, which would mean they could make it look as though they had really good qualifications. They could hang out their shingles and become advisers in livestock breeding, plant breeding—I could go on and on with the things they could be qualified in.

The act would have to be interpreted far differently from what is in here in allowing people to become members of the Ontario Institute of Professional Agrologists, because it could eliminate some people who have a broad, vast experience in the practice of the art or science of agriculture, yet there could be people who have their degrees but have no experience in that art or science.

4:10 p.m.

I am afraid I have to say I am opposed to the resolution put forward by my colleague. I do not like to oppose it, because I know the intent of it, and the intent is right. I have a lot of respect for the Ontario Institute of Professional Agrologists. I have attended many of their meetings and came very close to joining at one time when I had that opportunity. But for some reason I decided not to, and now I guess, I could not.

This needs a much keener look to bring in qualifications in the field of professionals in agriculture who are offering their services for sale. I do believe that we have to have standards. We have to try to have qualifications. We have to make it so we do not get fly-by-nighters who go around the country and try to hold themselves out as being able to do something they are not equipped to do in any way because of experience, education or anything else. They could get some people into a great deal of difficulty because of the advice they pass out.

I would like to see us continue to work at this, to try to bring some standards to certain parts of the profession of agriculture. At the same time, I am sorry I cannot support the resolution put forward by my colleague.

Mr. McGuigan: Mr. Speaker, it is a pleasure to rise and take part in this private members' hour.

Like the member for Huron-Middlesex, I am a past member of the agrologists' group. I have a different reason for having dropped out: their fees finally got a little too rich for me. I think it started out at about \$25 a year and when it reached \$70—I am sure it must be much higher than that today—I decided that it was a little rich. However, I have no quarrels with their aims or objectives. I recognize the great contribution the agrologists have made to the province.

I wish to congratulate the member for Chatham-Kent (Mr. Watson) for going over the history of this, and he did it very well. He mentioned that I was in the delegation that went to Premier Frost. I could not give an exact date, but I would think it was about 1956 or 1957. I went along with Dr. Ken Pretty and Mr. Jack Huxley. I was the person selected to represent the farmers in this case. The big argument at the time was the matter of weeding out impostors and fly-by-nighters. On that subject I would say there is no legislation in the world that will weed out dishonest people; they will always find a way around it.

The big argument that was used was that farming was not seen as a very attractive profession in the mid-1950s. In the search for students to attend such colleges as the Ontario Agricultural College or Macdonald College in Quebec, the profession was not seen as a very prestigious job. This was because one could not put PEng behind one's name for professional engineers, or P-whatever behind one's name. In that respect, our graduates felt somewhat downgraded.

Perhaps some of the older members here may have outgrown the day when the agricultural college graduates were known as graduates of the cow college. That is pretty much in the past today, because people do respect agriculturalists for their importance in feeding the world.

Just remembering that visit to the Premier's office with the Minister of Agriculture at the time, the Hon. William Goodfellow, I had a very interesting discussion with Premier Frost. He did all the talking and raised all the points that were raised today. If he went to his cottage, he could not fix the septic tank or sewer, because he would have to call in a professional man to do that. Or, if he dug his garden, he could not plant the seeds, because he would have to call in a professional man. He used some rather far-out examples.

We left feeling that this bill would never see the light of day. But, rather interestingly, he rose from his great desk and put his arm around my shoulder in a very fatherly fashion and made me feel very honoured indeed to have the arm of the Premier of Ontario around my shoulder. But when he took his arm off my shoulder, I was out in the hall. All the time he was talking very kindly to me, I was not aware of the fact that we were gradually moving out to the hall. He closed the door and that was the end of it.

To be a little more serious and to follow up the points that have been mentioned, I

would agree with half of this resolution; that is, that people cannot operate as agrologists who are not agrologists, but I would not stop other people from giving advice.

To look back to Darwin, who discovered the theory of evolution and was one of the greatest scientists of the world, I doubt if he was a member of a professional organization, and he could not have published *Origin of Species* and gone on world tours lecturing and getting fees for it.

Mendel, a Belgian monk who discovered the principles of heredity, could not have lectured or got fees—perhaps, being a monk, he would not have charged any fees—he could not have raised any money to further his work because of the fact that he was not a professional.

I believe it was Dr. Wier who taught us genetics from a textbook, and he told us this textbook was written by two brothers, neither of whom had received any professional training. Simply because of their interest in heredity and genetics, they had written a textbook that a PhD was using to teach us.

I can think of a lady out in the state of Washington whose husband managed an orchard there. This orchard had a rather poor record of producing crops, which she determined was due to lack of pollination. She got some textbooks and went to work on the subject and developed a whole system of providing pollen to fruit trees when it is not naturally present. Today she gathers this pollen and sells it across North America, and it is recommended by the Ontario Ministry of Agriculture and Food as a desirable practice, yet this lady could not have done that were she subject to these laws.

To bring my remarks to a close, there is no way one can solve all the problems of charlatans and fly-by-night people, if I can use that term, from invading any industry. The buyer still has to somewhat beware on his own account and look into the background. Certainly there is no lack of facilities whereby farmers or anyone else can inquire as to whether these products or services are recognized as being adequate for the job they are supposed to cover.

4:20 p.m.

I support the idea that people who use the term "agrologist" should be agrologists, but when we look at the wording in the third line in the resolution which says, "where a person represents himself to be an agrologist," I could agree up to that point. Then it says, "or practices or offers advice in the

field of agrology as defined in the Ontario Professional Agrologists Act." To me, that would mean any person acting in this field could not do it for a fee or a compensation. I doubt if the member who put forward this resolution intended this. I would hope in his response he might say this was an oversight in the drafting. Perhaps in some future time he could bring back a resolution that would more adequately meet the needs.

Mr. Warner: Mr. Speaker, it is with some trepidation I enter into this field. I guess all the members who have spoken prior to my rising have some connection with the farm community and some good knowledge of the farm community. None the less undaunted, I shall do my best in the next few minutes.

I approach this resolution obviously a little differently to the member who has brought it forward. He is attempting to express a concern from a rural community. With his background, he speaks with great knowledge of farm situations and rural problems. I would like to look at this from the view of people who offer services in our society, what kind of credentials those people have, what kind of licensing procedure is involved and the whole question of self-regulation.

We have lawyers in Ontario who go through a certain school of study, and there are certain requirements they must meet before they are allowed to practise law in the province. That is one step. The second step is the self-regulation aspect, which has always been protected in this province. They are not directly beholden to the Legislature. They have a very indirect relationship to this Legislature, unlike some other professions. In the case of lawyers, architects, professional engineers and chartered accountants, they are self-regulated.

I always have a problem with that, quite frankly. While it may not be the case that self-interest only is met, there is at least the appearance. In other words, I am sure the public is not totally comforted when it is reported in the news media that a lawyer who has done something of which we do not approve will be judged by his peers. Fellow lawyers will decide whether to set a penalty, remove his licence or whatever. The same is true for the most part with doctors as well. They go to the College of Physicians and Surgeons. The government itself has been a little uneasy about this and has set up a special committee to deal with it.

When I look at the resolution, it sounds to me as though we have a parallel situation. If I am wrong, I would appreciate the member for Chatham-Kent letting me know. It seems

to me we have a parallel situation; that is, the professional agrologist will be in a self-regulating field. If someone is not happy with the way in which the service is being delivered or the way in which the agrologist is functioning or if the agrologist gives out advice that proves not to be very worth while, what happens? There does not seem to be any mechanism involved for a disciplinary procedure or for any penalties. I may be mistaken, as I said, but it seems to me there is no connection with a licensing procedure or a disciplinary procedure. They are at least at arm's length, if not more. That is why I am very uneasy about the resolution.

I am also concerned about putting in the phrase "or offers advice in the field of agrology." I know the member has qualified it by saying, "as defined in the Ontario Professional Agrologists Act." But it seems to me that when you put that in it may automatically mean every person who is actively farming can give advice and, by so doing, becomes the equivalent of the agrologist. When I read it, that is what it says to me. I do not have a farm, but I know lots of people who do. I assume under this definition they then are able to give advice as agrologists. They may not be qualified to do that, but I think that is what the resolution allows.

With respect, I think the member has provided too wide a definition. It is not tight enough. It has to be more specific. It is my own personal opinion, but I have reservations. First, there does not appear to be a licensing procedure. Second, there does not appear to be any direct voice over the provision of service; in other words, the self-regulation aspect. Third, the definition seems to be too wide and encompassing.

With a certain amount of reluctance, I find I cannot support this resolution. But I like to be a reasonable person—

Mr. Conway: There is a first time for everything.

Mr. Warner: Did I wake the member for Renfrew North up again? I am sorry.

Mr. Conway: I will phone the member's television program and really give him trouble.

Mr. Warner: I would love to have the member on the TV program. I am sure there must be a couple of people out there who would understand him.

Mr. Speaker: I will listen very closely to the member's response to the three particular items I have raised. I am willing to change my mind if he can present reasonable arguments to those three items. But, until I have heard those arguments, I must inform the member that I cannot support his resolution.

Mr. McNeil: Mr. Speaker, it is perhaps quite timely that we should be considering the matter of tightening up the process of accreditation for the profession of agrology.

Within the memory of many of us, farming was as much an art as a science. I suppose in many senses it remains as much a question of experience, trial and error, and even the farmer's own instincts, as anything else. No one is closer to the rhythms of the seasons and the cycle of nature than the farmer. The very survival of society itself depends on his ability to make the earth productive.

The agricultural representatives in this province have a long history of providing first-class services to our farmers. They have long been the farmers' best friends in terms of translating the research done in Ontario's own agricultural research stations. Also, the federal government experimental farms have provided a lot of improved ways and means of growing our food. Of course, we have in this part of the world the added challenge of hard winters, in much of the province at least, although my area in Elgin is blessed with a more temperate climate.

4:30 p.m.

Today the farmer has to be much more of an expert in interpreting and applying the extremely sophisticated techniques being developed in the labs and experimental farms. The agricultural representatives of this province do a commendable job of helping people keep abreast and keep improving the productivity of our farms. This is an important challenge.

When we hear about the high percentage of the world's population that goes to bed hungry every night, we realize the great need there is for doing all we can in Ontario to maintain our status as a net exporter of food. People in the agriculture business generally welcome innovations that will assist them to raise yields and maintain the productivity of their land.

I honestly do not know what percentage of our farmers actually call on the services of consultants above and beyond the agricultural representative. I know a lot of farmers try very hard to keep abreast by reading the farm publications. Most of these publications are excellent, not the least of which is the publication of the Ontario Institute of Professional Agrologists. I am sure that when the farmer needs some highly expert specialized input with respect to any of the multitude of factors that he has to keep on top of, the services of a highly qualified, reliable agrologist are most welcome. I am sure anything we do in this government to help the farmer

feel that he is getting the best would be a responsible measure for us to take.

The profession of agrology is mainly concerned with primary sciences, conducting research, advising farmers, formulating public policy and teaching at the post-secondary level. Agrologists are one of the most influential groups in today's agricultural industry, reaching thousands of farmers across Canada, providing expert advice on fertilizers, seeds, cultivating practices, farm machinery, farm finance and, one would hope, any other problem that arises in the farming industry.

Of the many varied occupations of agrologists, the majority are employees of government, educational institutions and big business. The agrologist closest to the farmer is the agricultural representative from the Ministry of Agriculture and Food. These agrologists, because of the nature of their employment, have access to the newest techniques and developments in the many fields of agrology.

The concern is primarily with the remaining few agrologists who are self-employed in farm consulting. These independent agrologists do not have the easy access to new developments in the agricultural industry. The incentive by these independent agrologists to maintain an up-to-date level of excellence is not present.

As a result of the strong influence agrologists have in the rural farming community, it is essential that agrologists maintain a high degree of professionalism. This entails the acquiring of fundamental knowledge, usually through a recognized university, the successful completion of a training or internship, and finally, the acceptance of a code of ethics of responsible conduct. In these essentials the profession of agrology is no different from other recognized professional bodies.

Diversification reaches an extreme in the profession of agrology. For this reason a standard of competence must be maintained to protect the farmers of this province. Today we talk about a total agricultural and food system extending well beyond the productive phase. This opens a new area of opportunity and responsibility for agrologists. Ecological aspects and renewable-resource-based industries are two interest areas which represent an opportunity for greater variety of specialties related to the broadened concept of agriculture.

Mr. Watson: Mr. Speaker, I wish to thank all those who took part in the debate this afternoon. I very much appreciate the points that have been raised.

I can appreciate the concern of several honourable members who mentioned the wording of the resolution and how it bothered

them. I want to assure them that it bothered me too, because I realize that it is such a broad field. I could have and had thought of bringing in the simple fact of saying, as was suggested by some of the honourable members, that if it were simply the use of the letters behind your name, we would have no problems with that. What I am concerned about is somebody out there who does not call himself a professional agrologist but hires himself out to a group and says, "I am a professional agriculturalist." He uses a little different term. He sets himself off with some kind of a professional standard; he twists it a little bit and says: "I'm not an agrologist. No, no, I'm not that. I'm a professional agriculturalist."

We have groups today that are hiring professional agriculturalists. They should look into the background of these people; I realize that. But we have municipalities which are hiring consultants for Ontario Milk Marketing Board hearings, for annexation hearings, for all these kinds of things. We have special interest groups which are hiring professional people for environmental hearings.

I was interested in the remarks of the member for Welland-Thorold (Mr. Swart), who referred to the report on professions. Quite frankly, it was that report, when it came, that finally convinced me that there is no harm in having this put on the table to be discussed. I feel that agriculture has just as much importance as a profession as any of the others. And I have doubts about some of those other professions and the powers of self-discipline they have.

The member for Scarborough-Ellesmere (Mr. Warner) talked about groups that have self-disciplining power. The Ontario Institute of Professional Agrologists would like to discipline some of its members or somebody who gets off track, but it has no real authority to do it because, if it disciplines them, so what? This is one of the problems.

Where we draw that line has been a debate, is a debate today, and is going to be a continuing debate.

It was suggested by the member for Kent-Elgin (Mr. McGuigan) that perhaps the drafting of the resolution was not quite right. I want to assure him of what the intent was, and perhaps I have to agree with him that maybe the resolution is not drawn to convey the intent that I wanted.

I want to prevent people out there from representing themselves as professional agriculturalists who make out that they have these standards. I do not want to prevent farmer-to-farmer advice; and for those who

are not used to farmers, I don't think any farmer charges for his advice anyway.

But as that situation was brought up, I have no objection to a person who represents himself as a member of the Ontario Federation of Agriculture and says, "I am a farmer, I am a member of the Ontario Federation of Agriculture, and these are my qualifications for giving that advice." That's fine. They can charge for that if they want to. But they should not try to say, "I am a member of the professional group that represents agriculture in this province" and charge for it. It's a misrepresentation; it's the impostors that are possible there.

This resolution has another tie-in. The other thing that has an implication for this was Bill 4, having to do with the granting of degrees.

I appreciate the comments that have been offered. I am not insulted by those who do not agree with everything in the resolution. The comments will be useful. I thank everybody for their participation this afternoon.

ELECTION EXPENSES

Mr. Conway moved resolution 16:

That in the opinion of this House the government should introduce the necessary amendments to the Election Finances Reform Act, 1975, to impose a limit on the total expenditure of each registered political party in each electoral district during a campaign.

Mr. Conway: Mr. Speaker, I find it a pleasure to participate, for the first time, in private members' hour. I look forward to a good debate, widespread opinion, and, like my friend from Chatham-Kent (Mr. Watson), I will look forward to, not only the supporting but also the dissenting opinion, in the very unlikely event the latter should obtain.

I am delighted to see my friend from Wellington-Dufferin-Peel (Mr. J. Johnson) here, since I can well recall his private member's ballot item in this connection. I do believe it was the first private member's item that became part of a government amendment.

4:40 p.m.

The ballot item, which I shall read, is, "That in the opinion of this House the government should introduce the necessary amendments to the Election Finances Reform Act, 1975 to impose a limit on the total expenditure of each registered political party in each electoral district during a campaign."

By that, I intend simply that we establish in our act the principle that, at least at the local constituency level, there be an absolute

ceiling on all campaign expenditures in the name of a registered party. By my resolution I intend further that it be comprehensive, that we include all expenditures in the interest of a given party in that electoral district for that particular campaign.

Our act, unlike the federal act, talks about and allows not only a registered political party but also a candidate and a constituency association to spend moneys in a given campaign period. The intent of my resolution, to be very clear about it, is simply to put a cap on all expenditures in a given electoral district during a campaign.

I know the sweet reason of that will recommend itself to each and every member in this chamber. I can see the swelling tide of enthusiasm and joyful support everywhere, from Oriole in North York, to Simcoe Centre, and elsewhere.

Mr. Samis: The enthusiasm of the cabinet, too.

Mr. Conway: The enthusiasm of the cabinet, I am sure, is there as well.

As one of the members from Renfrew county, I have a particular interest in the issue of electoral reform. Our past, and not so past, politics and elections have been characterized by what my grandfather, among others, would describe as a vigorous, colourful and sometimes spirited quality. I must say that the initiatives undertaken some five years ago in this particular act were a very right and proper course of action. I think the government wisely undertook to move, in the 20th century, with this sort of reform.

I want to talk briefly about the third report of the Ontario Commission on the Legislature, tabled in this House in September 1974, which dealt exclusively with the matter of electoral reform in this particular jurisdiction. I would like as well to indicate that this particular resolution speaks to a position taken, in my absence I might add, by my caucus colleagues when the matter was being discussed some five and a half years ago. I would have supported that position, had I been here then when the matter was being discussed.

I might also add that the very distinguished former leader of this party, the long-time member for Grey South, Mr. Farquhar Oliver, who was a member of the Camp commission, dissented to the third report in the following words: "I am in full agreement with the recommendations of this report, with the qualification that there should have been a recommendation for ceilings on party and constituency expenditure in an election campaign. This would, in my judgement, have

added materially to the full effect of our proposal." I think Mr. Oliver was very correct in that point of view.

I want to go through this report quickly, since it provided much of the basis, though not all, for the act which followed.

In this particular report the commissioners cite, on page three, as part of their mandate, a letter from the then, and now, Premier (Mr. Davis), who wrote to them in December 1972, setting out the task of this commission, in the following paragraph: "To the greatest extent possible, I would want to maintain a political system in which the various parties can function and campaign for public support freely and openly, and in an atmosphere above and beyond public doubt, suspicion and cynicism."

Eloquently put. I could not agree more wholeheartedly with the member for Brampton, the Premier, in that particular statement. But I do wonder, as I look from my vantage point as a citizen and as a participant in at least two provincial election campaigns, about what we are doing by allowing the uncontrolled expenditures at the local level, where it is most obvious, but also to some degree at the provincial and national levels—the provincial level for our purposes.

I want to make it clear that my resolution does not intend to deal with controls at the provincial level, although I might have easily included it, since I believe it is as appropriate there as it is at the local level.

To speak to the Premier's concern about cynicism, I do believe there is cynicism in much of the public when they see great gobs of money, some of which is being subsidized by the public treasury, thrown about with reckless abandon in some, although not all, cases. In an effort to deal with the injunction of the Premier to the commission of some eight years ago, we would do well to move in the direction my resolution intends.

I was interested in the logic that the Camp commission, in its majority form at least, used to deal with why it did not find it useful to deal with Mr. Oliver's objection and to establish a ceiling. In their third report, pages 18 and 22 deal with the cost of election campaigns. On page 20, they properly concern themselves about the problem—then and now—of expenditures increasing in the efforts of electing individuals and government, whether here or elsewhere. On the question of limiting, they say on page 20:

"A common answer to the question is that limitations could be set so as to equalize the contest between the parties, so that the party with the most money does not command the

most time and space in the media. While it might be sportsmanlike to handicap the parties in order to make them equal in strength and resources in an election campaign, it could only be done by a system of arbitrary and artificially applied subsidies for lesser parties on the one hand and/or extreme restrictions upon the major parties on the other, with the result that the contest would not necessarily be more democratic but less so."

They go on, in much of their report, to talk about what they see as the almost impossible administrative burden that would devolve on the regulators' shoulders in trying to effect the sort of ceiling I personally and very strongly believe in. It is very interesting in this connection, that on page 40 they did talk about a funding formula for candidates' expenses. I will not bore the members with the details, but I was quite interested that in their recommendation they did suggest in a minor way a certain incentive. Let me just read; they proposed that "the following calculations be made: that a candidate who receives a minimum of 15 per cent of the popular vote be reimbursed by the lesser of the audited difference between the contributions he receives and his expenses as disclosed by his return, or \$7,500, with the qualification that any candidate who spends more than the total of 80 cents for each of the first 20,000 electors in his constituency, and 25 cents for each of the remaining electors, shall have his subsidy reduced by \$1 for each \$2 by which he exceeds such total."

There was an effort in their report to deal with the problem of subsidizing unlimited expenditures at the local level. I noticed, as I know all members did, in the Election Finances Reform Act, 1975, section 45, that qualification was not attempted in that particular section of that particular act, I think regrettably so.

I want to deal more directly with the four limiting factors which the Camp commission in its majority form saw as the most meaningful ones in controlling the common concern all members have about campaign expenditures.

On page 42, the commission dealt with the following: "It is evident that the parties will be effectively limited by certain governing factors: in that the overall period of election campaigns will have been reduced from not less than 37 days, as in the present act, to 30 days; in that we have proposed that the time period during which political advertising is allowed be reduced"—and that ceilings be

established there—"in that we have also proposed a formula for the partial public funding of candidates' campaign expenditures which provides an incentive to candidates to keep their budgets within certain limits; and, additionally, in that we have proposed rather stringent limitations upon the size of allowable political contributions which, we suggest, will also tend to keep campaign budgets within sensible bounds."

4:50 p.m.

I suggest to my honourable colleagues in this chamber that each and every one of those four limiting factors has had no bearing of a significant kind upon the limitations which the commissioners themselves and, I think, all members of this House and all candidates for public office in this province would like to see in place. I think that is very important.

They state on page 43: "There are great difficulties with the enforcement of ceilings on expenditures." They see these great difficulties. I want to deal briefly with those great difficulties, if I can, because that brings me to the federal experience of the last two campaigns, May 1979 and February 1980.

We do have a knowledge, as I am sure all members are aware, that the federal act in this area does incorporate the principle that there will be ceilings at the local and national levels. I was speaking with some of the federal officials in connection with this particular resolution of mine to ask whether they had found these very great difficulties which were so generally, so often and so widely complained of by the commissioners here in Ontario. They said, "Not at all." They have some very interesting data now.

Mr. Rotenberg: Maybe not in Renfrew.

Mr. Conway: If the member for Wilson Heights will only restrain himself, I shall try to educate him in the ways of the federal experience. For his edification, if for no one else's, I want him to know something.

A review of the May 1979 federal election campaign experience has been undertaken and completed by the federal election office. It offers the following guidelines: 97 of 282 MPs elected in that campaign spent more than 90 per cent of their allowable limit; 90 elected MPs to that Parliament spent between 80 and 90 per cent of their limit; and 95 elected MPs spent less than 80 per cent of their limit.

So 65 per cent of the members of the Parliament elected in May 1979 spent less than 90 per cent of their allowable limit. Moreover, the federal people tell me they have done a survey of the chief financial officers involved in that campaign, and they

now know that a clear majority of those chief financial officers surveyed after the May 1979 federal election campaign—and I want my friend from Wilson Heights to know—did not complain that the federal limit at the local level was unduly restrictive. There seems to be widespread agreement that the limits are restrictive but not unduly so.

It is interesting to note that the federal legislation gives a national ceiling as well, which in the May 1979 campaign gave all major parties—the Tories, the Liberals and the New Democrats—a ceiling of \$4.45 million. The Tories spent \$3.85 million, the Liberals spent \$3.9 million and the New Democrats spent \$2.19 million. It is clear they were very easily able to come within those particular guidelines.

I think that federal experience is extremely important when we look at our own experience in this connection. I do not want my friends from Oriole (Mr. Williams), Algoma-Manitoulin (Mr. Lane), Armourdale (Mr. McCaffrey) and elsewhere to feel that this is anything but a private member's point of view. It is not something motivated in this case by a partisan desire. There will surely be an assessment of the data that might encourage some of the suspicious members opposite to think it is to the contrary, but I can assure them it is not so.

Mr. McCaffrey: No incumbent would be suspicious.

Mr. Conway: The point about incumbency is important. If we are interested in cleaning up the system, I do not think there is any reason why we should not accept the principle that is incorporated in this particular act. They do grant control at a certain level at the constituency by capping the media advertising.

We are not quibbling about the principle. We are just talking about extending it, which I believe should be done because, first and foremost, it does set a set of circumstances that are fair and equitable to all concerned so that anyone who is getting involved will know that he or she can expect to spend, and to have spent by his or her competitors, a certain amount at the local level and no more.

I believe those limits should be negotiated and established in the interest of fairness, taking into account, as the federal people do, the regional disparities between the Northwest Territories and Wilson Heights. Obviously, those kinds of inputs have to be taken into consideration. But the principle of capping expenditures at the local level must surely be understood in the good old liberal

sense of equalizing the treatment of those democratic partners setting out in the very important electoral process.

I find it absolutely incredible that my good and continuing friend, the former candidate for Carleton East, Darwin Kealey, another Ottawa Valley Irishman, could have spent—was allowed to spend, not only by this Legislature, but also by his own constituency association—the utterly unbelievable, positively obscene sum of \$60,846. It is unbelievable that he could have spent such. I will not bore the honourable members about the records of the Attorney General, save to say that in 1795 he spent an amount which was almost as much, and the figures are there.

My good friend from Windsor-Walkerville (Mr. B. Newman), who has a capacity for understanding these things far better than I, pointed out to me who the big spenders were in the 1977 Ontario election. Stabile in Downsview spent—and my friend from Downsview (Mr. Di Santo) must surely want to participate and tell us how this one candidate could have spent the again impossible amount of \$62,467, or \$10.15 for every losing vote he obtained.

I guess I have to accept that there might be a partisan quality in this, but who are the big spenders, according to my friend from Windsor-Walkerville? They are: Stabile, Jones, Grossman, Walker, Shore, Scrivener, Bennett, Wells, Carter, Snow, McCaffrey, Ross, Cameron and my friend O'Neil from Quinte—I don't want to excuse him; I told him, privately at least, that I think the expenditure in his case of some \$43,000 to maintain himself in Quinte was probably not an efficient allocation of resources.

The big hitters, the top 10 on this hit parade, I am afraid are all over there. If the Premier tells the chamber of commerce that the time has come for us all to pull our belts tight, to exercise restraint, surely all of us in this chamber—you, Mr. Speaker, are to be congratulated, because your record is second only to our friend the Deputy Speaker (Mr. Edighoffer), in spending and in efficiency of money spent for votes won. You are a fine and upstanding leader, together with our friend from Perth, in how we might more effectively incorporate electoral reform.

I know I have very little time left, and I just want to recommend to every member the efficacy, in the small-l liberal sense, of this continuing reform, a principle which I suggest to my friends opposite has already been agreed to in so far as we have capped the media expenditures at the local level. The time has surely come, as the federal experi-

ence of two elections has proved beyond a shadow of a doubt, when we can, should and must move, almost immediately in my view, to cap those expenditures at the constituency level.

I thank you. If I have any time left, I might like a rejoinder to such comments as may be offered by honourable members.

Mr. Speaker: I'm sorry; you don't have any time left. You timed it perfectly.

Mr. Breagh: Mr. Speaker, in the course of doing a little work on this resolution, I got from the library a publication called *A Comparative Survey of Election Finance Legislation, 1978*, which is essentially a catalogue of every jurisdiction in North America which has attempted to put together some kind of legislation in this regard. The member for Renfrew South has just put the truth to the quotation from Will Rogers which appears in the front of this book. The quotation is, "Politics has got so expensive that it takes lots of money to even get beat with." I think that litany of big spenders puts the truth to that particular quote.

5 p.m.

I think there is a general recognition, for whatever reason it seems to focus here, that there is a need to put into law, regulations about election expenditures. I think it comes from one central theme: the rather abhorrent theory that came about in this country—in this continent, actually—that we should not allow to continue the practice of being able to buy one's way into public office. The theory held that the only effective technique that could be put together was some electoral reform which controlled the expenditures during election periods.

In another life, I functioned as a campaign manager in federal elections in Oshawa. We have not a bad candidate there by the name of Ed Broadbent who seems to do reasonably well. We seem to have mastered that. We have gone through two federal elections with that piece of legislation. In addition, we have gone through two provincial elections with the province's version of it.

I think it reasonable to say that in comparing the two acts, for most of us who are not accountants or lawyers or people who regularly deal with that kind of regulation, there are a number of headaches. There are a number of requirements put in place by both acts which cause ordinary people in the course of participating in the election processes some problems. But I do not think they are insurmountable.

I think that aspect of it—the paperwork which must be done, the accounting, the

keeping of bills, whether something can be moved from one account to another—all of that serves the fundamental purpose of this kind of legislation.

But it does strike me, in comparing the two acts, that Ontario, in putting through its legislation, missed the boat on a rather major point. That is the one that is the subject of this resolution. It is essentially proposing, if I may oversimplify somewhat, a cap on expenditures. I would regret if that cap on expenditures attempted in any way to decide what could be done in each riding. That would be a rather impossible task for us to attempt.

But I am in complete agreement with the notion that there ought to be a cap on the kind of expenditures that are allowed. The purpose of that exercise is essentially to curb any kind of gross expenditures, any attempt that goes back to the original principle of seeing that you can't buy public office. That cap serves that purpose; it cuts it off there.

In looking over the reports upon which our legislation is based, the matter was considered in this province. It was felt reasonable to say at that time that there were other techniques on advertising periods and on the amounts that could be spent for that. In other words, they went into detail on one aspect of it and felt that was the way they should go. I am not sure that solves the problem.

I would support this resolution on the basis that an original principle, which is shared by similar types of legislation across North America, is one which is missing from our legislation. It ought to be put into it.

There is a commission that looks at the workings of our legislation. It has made some recommendations to the government. We have not seen a major reform of that piece of legislation even though we have been through two elections now and we have some practical experience on whether it does or doesn't work.

I would suggest that the arguments for and against this one are interesting ones to listen to. Essentially, Ontario opted for not putting a cap on overall expenditures, feeling it had dealt with the matter in other ways. I am a proponent of this resolution before us this afternoon, essentially because of the capping of expenditures. However, I think it is reasonable to say if someone sets out to break the law—to defy the legislation, in other words—I doubt that anyone could write a law that could prevent that from occurring.

But the provision of a cap would make it clear so that I would think all honourable members would be prepared to abide by that.

What is more important, the citizenry at large would see that as being a fair and reasonable way to proceed and would abide by it. I think all of us are in agreement with the simple principle that good legislation is that which does not require a lot of enforcement. It is legislation the population at large sees as being a reasonable way to proceed and accepts without a great deal of supervision.

This report, comparing this kind of legislation from across North America, goes through all of the details, all of the basic principles, all of the enforcement techniques that are used, all of the reporting techniques that are there.

On this matter of putting a cap on it, though, perhaps I might quote some basic principles from the report of the select committee on election expenses. In support of the notion that there ought to be a cap on expenditures, it points out that a candidate who would spend beyond the legal limits and wishes to avoid the penalty would have to, first of all, deceive his auditor; secondly, deceive his official agent; thirdly, deceive the electorate in his riding; and, fourthly, deceive his opponents in the electoral district, their auditors and agents. I think that puts it as succinctly as it can be. If someone wanted to, it could happen.

But, as a normal course of business, members of this House, who have been elected as candidates, would accept the premises of a cap; that people who work in campaigns would see the amount as being reasonable; that there were lots of options to choose whether they would do a lot of heavy advertising, or whether they would do a great deal of printing of material, or distribution, or mail-outs, or whatever way they decided to wage the campaign—the options are there to choose.

The member for Renfrew South, in running through what has transpired in this province over the last two elections, has pointed out that one cannot buy a seat in this House. One can spend a lot of money uselessly—which is perhaps not a supportable notion in any event—but it is difficult to convince the electorate in a reasonable way just through spending money.

One of the things that brought this home to me was a discussion of the matter of expenditures and the Election Expenses Act with members of the US Congress. They pointed out that the milieu in many of their congressional elections is so different from ours that there is very little opportunity to do the kind of campaigning that members of this House are familiar with; in many of their

elections they are forced into heavy advertising and heavy expenditures of funds, particularly television advertising.

In part, our own legislation in Ontario covers that aspect of it, but it does not speak to the kind of situation where, for example, one member of the Congress I spoke to told me that 10 years ago his total election expenditures were about \$15,000 and that in his last election he had gone to some \$275,000 for the same congressional seat. That kind of thing could happen here. The legislation in place in Ontario is imperfect because it did not accept one of the major principles that has been accepted in other jurisdictions.

I support the resolution before the House. I would suggest to the members that it is in such motherhood language it would be difficult not to support it. It addresses itself to a principle in extremely broad and general terms. I believe it to be worthy of the consideration of this House that this resolution now be sent perhaps to the Commission on Election Contributions and Expenses for more careful study and understanding of what we mean by "a cap" and to put it on the record for their considerations at some future time.

I do not support the notion that the election expenses commission or this Legislature should attempt to devise a formula. Frankly, one of the things I find wrong with the federal cap is that there is a formula at work. I am not sure that is the perfect system. I would be supportive of the notion that there should be a general limit on total expenditures, and that the purpose of that limit would be to prevent any kind of grossness that might evolve. There should be considerable leeway in how that cap is put on.

If the intent is clear and the principle is important enough, the members of this House should support this resolution and we should now begin in Ontario to continue that review and to make some changes in that legislation.

Mr. Williams: Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to have the opportunity to participate in the debate this afternoon for two reasons. First, I was most anxious to be present in the House to listen to the quiet-spoken but most eloquent orator, my friend from Renfrew North, who is the sponsor of this resolution this afternoon.

5:10 p.m.

The second reason I was interested in participating goes back some further period of time. I must say I have always had a personal interest in the matter of controlling election expenses because of my experience

at the municipal level when myself and my colleague across the way from Yorkview (Mr. Young) were members of what is now the city of North York council.

We always found that following municipal elections there was inevitably someone who felt he had been prejudiced in the election process because the matter of how much money was donated and how many people worked for a particular candidate worked against him. It usually was a person who had not been successful in an election who would tend to make some innuendo or suggestion that somehow he was disadvantaged because his successful opponent had outspent and outmanoeuvred him in an unfavourable way.

The longer I spent on the council, the more this became an issue after each and every election. In fact, it became so much so that in the last two terms I had the opportunity to serve as an elected member in North York resolutions were introduced by the council that would require members to file a list of donations that were made as well as a list of expenditures that were experienced by an elected member once he was successfully elected to the council.

Quite frankly, I did not feel that type of resolution was necessary for myself to take the initiative to impose that type of self-restraint, because I always made a point of setting a certain level beyond which I would not accept donations from any one source. I felt that to do otherwise would leave one in an uncomfortable position if during the term of council it was found that that supporter or group of supporters came before the council when we were dealing with some business on which we had to make a decision.

Of course, one would in any event declare a conflict of interest, but it would be better to prevent the situation from arising by limiting the extent of financial donations at the outset. So I did without hesitation support those types of resolutions and motions that were put before council. I think I can say without fear of contradiction that I perhaps filed the most complete expenditure and revenue accounts after the municipal elections of any member on our council at that time.

In fact, in thinking back, I recall that an occasion arose where my list was used by some citizen or individual to throw up to me the fact that I had received a \$100 donation from one particular individual, which I didn't hesitate to acknowledge was the case. The very fact that the individual who had made that donation belonged to a profession that we were on broad terms dealing with as a group of businessmen within the community

seemed to imply that, by discussing the possibility of limiting proposals for a particular municipal project to all of the people within that profession who had their businesses within the city, I was somehow displaying a conflict of interest. They pointed back to the fact that there happened to be one member in that profession which I was supporting at large as resident professions within the municipality and that, therefore, a conflict of interest was created.

I have always been very sensitive to this situation and, as I have indicated, I have always imposed my own self-discipline in this area. When I first ran for the provincial Legislature, I was delighted that the act the member is asking to be reformed, the Election Finances Reform Act, had already been put in place at the time, because I had no quarrel with the purpose and intent of that legislation. I was delighted to live by those guidelines, because they are ones I've lived with all through my political life.

It is apparent that this resolution is not in any way critical of the existing system or the legislation, because I think we all agree in this House that that legislation is well conceived. In fact, in a very practical way, it has imposed certain restraints to ensure to the public at large that there is a broadly based source of financial support that comes to all members. At no time can any member or group of members be accused of having had their election bought for them, so to speak, from any one or handful of sources, so as to create in the minds of the public, and rightfully so, a conflict of interest should there be dealings with that group, directly or indirectly, during the individual's term of office.

I have never quarrelled with that concept. Indeed, it is an appropriate type of restraint that the donations should be spread, and one should not be able to go to one or two sources for a limitless source of financial support.

What I have difficulty with in looking at this resolution is this: While the Election Finances Reform Act does remove the cloud of suspicion about which I have been speaking, at the same time it allows the latitude that must surely be permitted to exist and continue if we are to have a strong form of democratic government. Surely any individual seeking elected office must have the right to gather about him as much support as he or she can possibly garner, without any type of impediment or legal restriction in the form of legislation.

It seems to me, therefore, that this idea of limiting the amount of financial support that

can be given to any one candidate does offend the very fundamental principles of the democratic process.

The fact that one candidate may be more popular than a candidate for another party, and thereby receives a greater amount of financial contributions, should not be used as a basis for trying to impose restrictions on that popular candidate.

The fact of the matter is that many people want to participate in the election process, and they do so by giving voluntarily of their time, by going out and knocking on doors, by answering telephones, by stuffing envelopes with election material, by putting up signs, or whatever.

If we are going to impose on the right of individuals to show their form of support in the way of financial contributions because they may not have the time available to do any of those other volunteer things, then surely the next step is that we are going to be limited as to the number of signs that we are going to be able to put up. Perhaps it will be taken to the excess of limiting the number of workers we are allowed to have out in the field working for us during an election period. How far do we carry this type of limitation?

What I have illustrated simply points out the illogical approach that is being taken in this resolution and the consequences which, if carried to their ultimate conclusion, offend the democratic electoral process. On that basis, therefore, I feel obliged to be opposed to this resolution before the House.

5:20 p.m.

Mr. Mancini: Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to participate in this debate. If one thing has been made clear over the many weeks that we have discussed private members' resolutions, it is that the Ontario Liberal Party has always used this time as exactly that—a private members' hour to discuss private members' resolutions.

In that respect, therefore, I have no hesitation in rising and saying that I oppose the resolution that has been introduced by my very good and long-time friend, the member for Renfrew North. I do so after serious consideration of the consequences of such a new law as far as election expenditure goes.

It has been pointed out eloquently by the member for Renfrew North who the big spenders are. It has been pointed out eloquently that the Progressive Conservative Party of Ontario is in a league by itself. Its candidates are certainly the big spenders in Ontario politics.

If that is the type of image the Progressive Conservative Party wants, an affluent party, one where money means nothing and having all they want, that is their business. The voters will see it as such, and they may pay for it at the polls.

We in the Liberal Party—and the documents show this—have probably been very frugal with our money. The electorate also knows that. However, when we look at the overall issue of money expended, first of all, the money has to come from somewhere. The money must be raised by individual canvassing. We have already placed restrictions on corporate donations. We have already placed restrictions on individual donations, where an individual can only give \$500.

If I have the political support in my own riding where I can find 500 people to give me \$100 each for my political campaign, why should I be restricted in spending that money when the other two political parties have the same opportunity to obtain money.

Let's turn it around the other way. Let's say, for example that I was able to raise tons of money the election before, and since then something has happened and the voters would like a change.

Mr. Nixon: That will never happen.

Mr. Mancini: I'm sure that will never happen. When that happens, I have the money available. We are then restricting the new candidates from making themselves known.

Let's not forget all the advantages of an incumbent. We have constituency offices. We send out two mailings a year. We have two staff people. We can travel around our ridings constantly. We are always in the public domain. That is a tremendous advantage over the other two political parties who wish to challenge us in future elections.

If we are going to restrict them so they cannot print 20,000 pamphlets and maybe have to go with 10,000, or they cannot have 6,000 lawn signs and maybe have to go with 3,000, that's not democracy.

If the candidate can raise the money from the general population of the riding, he should be allowed to spend it. If we want to say that the \$500 limit is too much, let's limit the \$500 to \$100, and thereby make the campaign donations come from a greater number of people. That is more equitable, that is fairer, that is more democratic.

We are underestimating the intelligence of the voter. If anyone thinks the voter is going to vote for a particular candidate because he or she happens to spend more money than the other candidates, I find that unbelievable.

In my own experience, in the election in 1977, I was outspent by the Progressive Conservative candidate by more than \$12,000. Yet the people of Essex South saw fit not to send that person but to send me here. That tells me something. That tells me that money is not going to buy votes.

I do not think the average man or woman on the street feels his or her vote can be bought by some ad or pamphlet or by receiving three instead of one. I do not believe that. The facts are here before us. These facts are made known to us by the results of the last election.

It was mentioned that a certain Mr. Stabile had run against the very good member for Downsview (Mr. Di Santo). It was mentioned that this Mr. Stabile had spent some \$60,000. Mr. Stabile is not here in the Legislature. He could have spent \$200,000 and he probably still would not have been here. If the present member for Downsview is in the position now of raising \$40,000, or more or less, that is because he is the popular candidate of that particular area. Why do we want to restrict people's involvement in any way?

All of us get up and say: "We have to get more people involved in politics. We have to show them we are not cynical. We have to make sure they feel a part of the electoral process." Donating money legitimately in a political campaign to the candidate of one's choice is just that kind of involvement.

I was listening to a news broadcast not too long ago where it was mentioned that a certain congressional candidate in the state of New York, a self-made millionaire, had decided he wanted to be a Congressman. That gentleman spent \$1 million of his own money to be defeated. The people of Ontario cannot be bought. I refuse to believe that. I refuse to believe that because certain members have spent certain amounts of money and are here they would not be here if they had spent substantially less.

Especially on a riding-by-riding level, the electorate watches the political incumbent and watches the political candidates. That is why in excess of 70 per cent of people go out to vote. They vote for a reason. That reason is not that one candidate has spent more money than the other.

If we were to impose this law and if we were to impose these restrictions in my own particular riding, the geography of it is such I would have to set up four campaign offices. I would have to do certain things the member for Simcoe Centre (Mr. G. Taylor) does not have to do. I would have to do certain

things the member for Wilson Heights (Mr. Rotenberg) does not have to do. Why should I be restricted along the lines of the member for Wilson Heights? That is not fair.

In closing, I would like to say if we want to put more restrictions on campaign financing and if we want to be doubly sure no one is being sent to the Legislature because he has to spend more money than others, then let us restrict where candidates can get the money from. If \$500 per individual donation is too much, let us restrict that. If the corporate side of the donation is too much, let us restrict that. But if an individual candidate has the popularity and confidence of the people in being able to raise certain amounts of money legally and ethically, then we have no reason whatsoever in stopping that particular candidate spending that money that has been given to him in the democratic process.

5:30 p.m.

Ms. Bryden: Mr. Speaker, we know the Election Finances Reform Act came to this province in 1975 only after a long history of scandals in which this Tory government was found to be awarding contracts and granting favours to persons and corporations that made large political contributions. Many of the donations were hidden, but enough leaked out to demonstrate that the practice was widespread.

In addition, public opinion was focusing on the unequal expenditures by candidates from different parties and arguing that this posed a threat to democracy. As election costs rose, the problem of an equal voice for contenders in elections became more acute.

The Melchers Distilleries case and the Fidinam case were two instances where the connection between political contributions and the granting of favours came out into the open. In 1966, the member for the then riding of Woodbine, who happens to be my husband, exposed the Melchers case. In that case it appeared that the obtaining of listings from the Liquor Control Board of Ontario depended on political contributions.

The government's response to that particular exposure was to set up a committee on election financing in 1967. But two elections came and went before any legislative action was taken in this field. It was not until 1975 that we got the Election Finances Reform Act.

This legislation was modelled on the recommendations of the Camp commission, which reported in 1974 on election financing. They stated that their objective was "to

remove from the political process the presence of big money from large and powerful interests." Unfortunately, we have not completely succeeded in doing that.

The Camp commission noted there were two routes to controlling election expenses. First, one could control the size of contributions so that governments would not be in the pockets of those able to make large contributions. Second, one could control the expenditures by each candidate and party to put the parties on a more equal basis.

Unfortunately, the Camp commission concluded the second route was too difficult to enforce. One of the difficulties, as the honourable member across the floor mentioned, was that many supporters contribute both goods and services and it is not easy to put a price on these in assessing the cost of a campaign.

The commission did feel that media expenditures were easy to monitor. It, therefore, recommended that a limit be placed on media expenditures but not on the others. It thought that controlling contributions would solve the problem of excessive and unequal spending on elections. However, we have found this has not been the case. In fact, there have continued to be great disparities between the candidates and the parties on what they spend on their campaigns.

The totals for the 1977 election show a staggering inequity among the contenders. At the party level, the Progressive Conservatives spent \$2.3 million, the Liberals \$429,000 and the NDP \$319,000. These did not include the expenditures of the individual candidates. There were similar disparities in the ridings. There were 14 members who spent more than \$40,000, and all but one of them were Conservatives. Leading the pack was the Attorney General (Mr. McMurtry), who spent \$73,689. The Premier (Mr. Davis) was not far behind at \$47,383. The Minister of Correctional Services (Mr. Walker) spent \$59,289. And the Minister of Housing (Mr. Bennett) spent \$59,624. We must remember that, with the income tax rebate available at the provincial level, the taxpayers are footing a great part of these excessive bills.

The Camp commission's recommendation did half the job, and this resolution suggests that we should do the other half; that is why I am supporting it. The federal government has controlled total expenditures, not just media expenditures, and we have had two elections to test how it is working. I believe it has worked quite well and put a clamp on excessive spending—although not a tight

enough clamp, in my opinion. I think the Camp commission was misguided when it thought that election expenditures could be controlled through controlling contributions.

The Commission on Election Contributions and Expenses came across several cases where the contribution limits were exceeded by candidates. In some cases it was an oversight, and the commission simply asked for a refund of the amount. But in at least two cases the election expenses commission discovered that candidates had found loopholes in the contribution law which enabled them to greatly exceed the limit for contributions and, therefore, for expenditures.

The committee reported these violations to the Attorney General, as it was required to do under the legislation, and recommended prosecution. However, the Attorney General refused to prosecute on the ground that the commission does not think it has the power to do so under the act; so the contribution limits are still open to very serious abuse, and the government has taken no action either to clarify the legislation or close the loopholes. In fact, no prosecution has ever been instituted under the act.

This is another reason why I am supporting this resolution. The 1975 legislation has never been amended in any respect, despite the emergence of a number of very serious problems of interpretation and the identification of some loopholes which could completely negate the act.

The Commission on Election Contributions and Expenses has drafted a number of amendments in the past five years. It has circulated them to all members of the Legislature. It has urged that they be enacted. The commission has even drafted a bill incorporating them and attached marginal notes explaining them.

Members of the NDP have questioned the government on when it will bring in these badly needed amendments which have the unanimous support of the commission. So far we have received no commitment from the government for legislative action.

If we don't want to fight the next election under a badly flawed act, which is really a paper tiger, we must consider amendments this session, and this resolution could form the basis for one amendment. It would also open up the act and give us an opportunity to propose additional amendments, or for the government to bring in additional amendments. One of those must be a limitation on total expenditures.

If the government members fail to support this resolution, or block it, they are in effect

condoning the old, corrupt system of excessive and unequal expenditures by the parties and the candidates. They will be going back to a system in which large and powerful interests play an undue role and democracy is negated.

Mr. Speaker: The honourable member's time has expired.

Ms. Bryden: I would simply plead with the members opposite to support a very worthwhile reform.

Mr. G. Taylor: Mr. Speaker, as I rise to speak in this debate I must compliment the member for Renfrew North (Mr. Conway) on his selection of a topic. It is a topic which has been discussed, I am sure, many times in academic circles and has had many studies and reports done on it in this jurisdiction and many others. It is a very good topic both from a practical and a theoretical aspect, a topic one can get his teeth into and argue on both sides with great delight.

It also has that ring to it. We have seen jurisdictions that have put in place some type of legislation that he speaks about. There are now sufficient studies provided by the advertising media, academic circles, political circles, legislatures and jurisdictions, parliamentary and otherwise. They have studied it so that we probably do have a wealth of information now on this topic.

When I was asked to speak on this resolution, the computer printout on the number of articles, books, periodicals on the subject was quite lengthy. I would use up my entire 10 minutes if I were just to read the topics on this subject ranging over all the jurisdictions of the United States and the world.

However, having said that about the limitations, I would say that possibly the member's resolution is ahead of its time.

In addition, we have come to the point with our existing legislation—with a cap, as it is called, on our spending limits—particularly on those limits that we feel, and most studies feel, are the ones that are a determining factor. I refer to commercial advertising in a political campaign. Money spent on advertising is the factor that is going to make the difference between winning and not winning.

The member for Essex South (Mr. Mancini), with whom I agree, says we cannot buy the voters of this province. I believe that. Both here and in other jurisdictions the amount of money spent is not a great determining factor of whether one is successful in an election.

When there are two brand new candidates spending about an equal amount, usually one

is successful and one is not successful. Some of the studies show that where an incumbent has been around for some time, his spending should and indeed does decrease. One study showed an incumbent who had been in the U.S. Congress for some 20 years had expenditures totalling \$20, his filing fee and his stamps to send that filing fee to the Election Expenses Commission. So one cannot determine the amount of success by the amount of money put into a campaign.

There are many features of a campaign that we must look at in which there are variances in the jurisdictions. The member for Essex South said, why should he spend as much as somebody else, or not as much, if he can collect and spend that money. The federal act has taken that somewhat into consideration but not totally.

In my riding there are 14 newspapers, three radio stations and one TV station. I might not use their services in a campaign, but if I were to do that it would cost some considerable sum to lay heavily on television, as we know. It costs a little more on radio sometimes than on the printed media, because there are different and variable rates.

Given the variances in the different ridings—an urban riding is different from a suburban riding, a rural riding or a mixed riding—the amounts of money spent are variable. There is a great deal of variation in what one member has to do to put forward his campaign material as compared with another one. In some, maybe lawn signs will do the trick. In some of the urban ridings, no matter what type of media you place your campaign information in, you have no success guaranteed because the editorials or the reporters or the major disseminators of news material outweigh anything you might buy commercially. So even there it might be outspent.

When I have heard the comments about federal election campaign expenses being of some success, some might say of two elections both have been wrong in some point; so one might say all that money was ill-spent in those two elections.

Just look at what some of these regions have brought about when they have gone into them. The commission controls some of our expenses. Some say one can not go into an election campaign now without the use of a good auditor, a good lawyer and a professional group of people saying, "This is how the campaign is going." This is becoming prevalent in the United States. They have become most reluctant to carry on their campaigns without the services of very high-priced, highly talented and knowledgeable individuals

just to confine themselves within their present election laws.

There are also many grey areas that are producing litigation. We have some now in this country as a result of the federal election. I remind members of the Crombie campaign where somebody spent money, not as part of the campaign, though it is now being decided whether that should be within his campaign expenses. This is becoming a very litigious area in the United States. Political action committees are spending enormous sums of money. The Federal Communications Commission in the United States and the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission are getting into what does constitute election expenses.

We are now clouding and shrouding the election campaign with a myriad of commissions, boards, overseers, auditors and otherwise trying to keep track of every expenditure we might make, with the candidate being nervous and his chief financial officer and other people in the campaign being exceedingly nervous as to whether they have totally come within the confines of the Election Finances Reform Act. If they transgress that, what is the final outcome? In some situations, there could be a new election, disqualification, embarrassment or otherwise. These litigation problems are increasing as a result of the present legislation.

Let us look at some of the other features. When they talk about a cap being on, I should remind the members, if they have not gone out recently and inquired about some of the prices, expenditures on campaign expenses in the congressional elections in the United States increased by 44 to 100 per cent in a two-year period. If some think the present expenditure limits in the province are too high, with inflation as it is coming around in election campaigns, they will surely be there and putting that cap on in the present situation. I think the average cost of a lawn sign today is somewhere around \$1, including the stake and the paper cost. I don't know what it would cost if one included the man-hours to hammer them in and pack them up to the different places. We do have some limits in there at present.

If we put these limits on, what type of control are we going to get? Are we going to improve the campaign? Are we going to improve the quality of the candidate? Are we going to improve the quality of information disseminated or the amount given? What are we going to improve if we did put these limits on? I am not sure we would improve the candidate or any of those other things

with any degree of quality or increase. It would probably be the same, except the economy would be without that extra money that would flow through as a result of the particular campaign.

There are also problems as a result of where the campaign funds come from. I am not so sure the members opposite have characterized where the funds of the Progressive Conservative Party come from. I would submit they come from all areas, from small donations and large donations and from people interested in putting forward the policies of the province that this Progressive Conservative Party has put forward.

I wish the member for York South (Mr. MacDonald) would spend his money wisely and send some to William Kelly so that he can continue this honest and good government he is getting on this particular side of the House. In a most partisan way I would say, if anything, I have been pleased that this government and these candidates on this side of the Legislature spend the money. If they get the better government and the good government they can get, I would not put any limit whatsoever on the spending of the members of this side. If one could say it, I would put limits on opposition members for the amount of money they could spend. But that is said in jest.

One can say that to spend does not ensure one's election. One can divide the number of votes and say a candidate lost and it cost him \$1 or 90 cents a vote, or he won. What's the difference? I would definitely not restrict it. If one can collect, it is a measure of a man's ability to put forward his program and his platform. Thus, to put any kind of limitation on spending is not what I would support.

5:50 p.m.

AGROLOGY

Mr. Speaker: Mr. Watson has moved resolution 15.

Those in favour will please say "aye."

Those opposed will please say "nay."

In my opinion the nays have it.

Resolution negatived.

6 p.m.

ELECTION EXPENSES

The House divided on Mr. Conway's motion of resolution 16, which was agreed to on the following vote:

AYES

Bounsall, Breaugh, Breithaupt, Bryden, Charlton, Conway, Cooke, Cunningham,

Davidson, M., Davison, M. N., Di Santo, Duktzta, Edighoffer, Gaunt, Germa, Gigantes, Haggerty, Hall, Kerrio, Lane, Lawlor.

MacDonald, Makarchuk, McCaffrey, McGuigan, McKessock, Miller, G. I., Newman, B. Nixon, O'Neil, Peterson, Philip, Reed, J., Reid, T. P., Riddell, Roy, Ruston, Samis, Stong, Swart, Sweeney, Warner, Worton, Young, Ziemba.

NAYS

Ashe, Belanger, Bennett, Brunelle, Cureatz, Eaton, Epp, Gregory, Hennessy, Hodgson, Johnson, J., Kennedy, Kerr, MacBeth, Mancini, McCague, McNeil.

Newman, W., Norton, Parrott, Ramsay, Rotenberg, Rowe, Taylor, J. A., Taylor, G., Turner, Villeneuve, Walker, Watson, Wells, Williams.

Ayes 45; nays 31.

Resolution concurred in.

Mr. Speaker: The Minister of Correctional Services has what he considers to be a point of privilege.

Hon. Mr. Walker: Mr. Speaker, I rise on a point of privilege about some remarks I believe were made by the member for Beaches-Woodbine (Ms. Bryden) which would suggest that perhaps I was one of the high rollers when it came to certain spending limits in the 1977 Ontario election.

I would like to say the member for Beaches-Woodbine drew her comments from a reasonably good source, the third annual report of the Commission on Election Contributions and Expenses. However, just to make the record correct the commission ultimately acknowledge that their Chinese figures were somewhat in error when it came to the riding of London South and my own name. I was identified as having spent something in the range of \$59,289, which certainly was not an

amount that was spent. It was somewhat lower than that.

The commission ultimately acknowledged the error of its ways and published a newspaper advertisement which would indicate the spending was something in excess of \$40,000. It was certainly not the \$59,000 the member opposite suggested. I would have thought the member better informed than to have even suggested I would have spent that much.

Mr. Speaker: The government House leader wants to give the order of business for next week, but I would inform the House the member for Essex North (Mr. Ruston) has withdrawn his dissatisfaction with the answer to a question asked of the Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs (Mr. Wells).

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE

Hon. Mr. Wells: Mr. Speaker, I would like to outline the business of the House for the rest of this week and next week.

Tonight we will deal with the budget debate. Tomorrow morning we will also deal with the budget debate.

On Monday, May 19, it being a national holiday, Victoria Day, the House will not be meeting.

On Tuesday, May 20, in the afternoon and evening we will deal with legislation, in the following order: Bills 52, 53, 54, 61 and 47.

On Wednesday, May 21, the justice, general government and resources development committees may meet in the morning.

On Thursday, May 22, in the afternoon, private members' public business will be dealt with, ballot items 15 and 16, followed in the evening by budget debate.

On Friday, May 23, the House in committee of supply will consider the estimates of the Ministry of Intergovernmental Affairs.

The House recessed at 6:03 p.m.

APPENDIX

(See page 1899)

ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS ON NOTICE PAPER

TRANSLATION COMPANIES

139. Mr. Grande: 1. Could the Minister of Culture and Recreation provide a complete list of all translation companies and/or individuals who have been given work by the ministry over the span of the last five years? 2. Would the minister also provide, along with this list, the exact cost involved and the moneys given to each company and/or individual? 3. Would the minister indicate whether the public tendering process applies in these instances? (Tabled April 28, 1980.)

Hon. Mr. Baetz: Please see the following list for the names of the translation companies and/or individuals who have been given work and the monies involved for same.

The public tendering process has been in effect for the past year, but is only applied to documents costing \$5,000 or more. Agencies and freelances are asked at the beginning of the fiscal year to submit a list of rates (cost per word) for general, technical, specialized, legal and rush assignments. Standing agreements are then drawn up and the company or individual is held to the rates for one year. The bureau refers to these agreements when sending work outside. Other factors that influence the bureau's decision are quality, availability to meet a specific deadline and expertise in the subject matter in question.

Prior to 1979-80 the bureau would canvass a number of agencies and/or individuals as to rates, quality, availability and expertise when choosing an outside service.

Translation companies and/or individuals used by the translation bureau over the past five years and the total moneys paid to same.

	\$		\$
Adelaide Trans. Serv.	31,284.56	Brickus, A.	55.59
Ahmad, I.	37.25	Brix, C.	63.30
Ahmad, O.	2.67	Burn, E.	749.10
All Languages Serv.	394.65	Campos, A.	1,963.08
Almeida, A.	110.10	Campos, F.	278.70
Anbeek, P.	29.01	Carmichael, A. M.	4,434.98
Argue, S.	182.47	Chagnon, P.	5,130.00
Arrow Sales	654.75	Chan, G.	2,161.39
Arsenault, L.	424.00	Chan, K. S.	8,137.88
Arteco	428.45	Chang, N.	7.00
A.T.I.O.	557.00	Chaput, D.	1,000.00
Aylward, D.	108.25	Charlez Trans. Ltd.	172,244.59
Baillargeon, A.	295.37	Chatterjee, C.	2.00
Bakis, I.	13.19	Chen, P.	2,974.21
Baril, G.	1,280.00	Cho, S. O.	7,438.46
Basmajian, I.	29.34	Chong, A. S.	103.14
Beaudet, M.	2,225.00	Chu, J.	1,585.17
Bedi, G.	141.05	Chumkovski, P.	127.56
Bedi, S.	200.96	Churchill, K.	9,538.27
Bedrossian, V.	45.05	Cogem Trans. Compagnie de	
Bélanger, Jean-Pierre	91,405.35	traduction universelle	980.00
Benais, R.	146.16	Concorde French Com.	22,996.10
Bériault, P.	738.00	Côte, L.	3,083.00
Bériault, L.	1,960.00	Creative Lang.	645.90
Besso, M.	1,089.62	Creatore, P.	36.18
Boisvert, F. P.	270.00	Darkazally, B.	2,856.78
Borgida, A.	3,009.22	Da Rosa, A. M.	4,867.74
Borgida, E.	460.37	Da Rosa, J.	4,857.22
Boulay, G.	401.28	Da Silva, A.	452.62

Translation companies and/or individuals used by the translation bureau
over the past five years and the total moneys paid to same.

	\$		\$
Dastoor, S.	23.69	Kottis, E.	4,367.49
De Castro, M.	1,559.64	Kostic, M.	76.04
De Kir, D.	177.47	Kraungtone, T.	8.30
Dela Cruz, C.	153.03	Kwa, T.	103.15
De Vienne, Bernard	91,068.58	Kwok, R.	131.89
Dey, G.	25.25	Laburu, E.	34.30
Dickinson, P.	12.32	Lawson, K.	487.70
Dodic, R. J.	550.16	Les Traducteurs Associés. C.F.T.	70,933.00
Dupont, E.	2,774.00	Les Traductions Marhenat	750.00
Dussault Trans.	1,285.00	L'Heureux, J.	4,408.70
Efstratiadis, G.	237.77	Liitoja, L.	37.50
Eidelman, A.	16.32	Lindholm, T.	175.03
Ekelund, J.	19.00	Luong-Tran, P.	1,403.43
Elton, J.	379.55	Madanayake, B.	148.51
Fatsis, B.	4,585.60	Maishlish, A.	950.26
Furuya, K.	38.16	Makhija, C.	9.65
Galloway, Y.	15.00	Makhija, K.	69.17
Galvez, M.	60.01	Makhija, S.	16.85
Canon, R.	80.00	Makope, T.	7.50
Gaudi, S.	140.25	Makris, M.	5,080.28
Gauthier, G.	570.00	Makriyannis, A.	70.00
General Trans.	95,306.07	Malebranche, K. L.	8,821.07
Gil, T.	18.20	Manteghi, F.	163.92
Global Trans.	163.87	Marois, G.	1,748.54
Gnanananthan, K.	82.38	Martin, A.	541.28
Goodwill-Vézina	5,922.00	Matiash, C.	3,194.03
Goria, E.	4,446.65	Mattam, M.	15.17
Gracile, M.	16,399.93	Mawji, G.	62.99
Grant, A.	92.48	Mayne, S.	30.83
Greengarten, J.	1,145.25	Mehrassa, A.	21.55
Griffin, D.	29.00	Mendoshkin, F.	49.00
Grigoriadou, E.	491.05	Minden, R.	32.96
Groulx, J.	1,500.00	Ming, M.	18.00
Haaland, A.	301.30	Miraflores, C.	22.22
Haaland, P.	149.12	Moisan, C.	5,609.89
Haddad, F.	22.30	Morrison, C.	23.16
Haideimeyer, H.	251.16	Mouaket, I.	18.00
Harshbala, S.	18.14	Mulla, K.	47.74
Hassan, Y.	39.49	Nagy, G.	309.34
Hecht, S.	979.92	Mamikas, E.	272.85
Hernandez, E.	8,368.60	Nguyen, Q. T.	747.24
Hilbert, S.	14.75	Nguyen, T. D.	65.70
Ho Chi, Chae	228.75	Nickel, C.	222.46
Horban, M.	5.00	Nungag, A.	49.00
Huynh, T. B.	568.18	O'Brien-Hitching, P.	928.02
Italian Lang. Serv.	3,203.27	Ogale, M.	7.20
Jacinto, T.	10,711.43	Oh, J.	1,074.87
Jankovic, V.	413.81	Ojibway Cultural Cent.	72.90
Johnston, B.	140.00	Onat, N.	1,393.67
Kanellakos, K.	562.00	Opasini, H.	90.48
Kao, S.	13.37	Osgoode Tech. Trans.	34,585.25
Khambata, R.	152.61	Papadimitriou, K.	1,023.57
Khan, N. R.	70.84	Parsi, B. M.	391.62
Khoury, G.	433.11	Pascaluta, O.	14.65
Kindiakoff, O.	243.35		

**Translation companies and/or individuals used by the translation bureau
over the past five years and the total moneys paid to same.**

	\$		\$
Patni, P.	781.95	Synectra	20,719.00
Payne, J.	3,282.90	Szoke, S.	10.00
Peckmesian, L.	22.50	Tchillinguirian, C.	9.07
Peera, M.	24.68	Tedjosoengkono, H.	13.60
Penzo, M.	59.24	Tekauz, M.	1,027.09
Pergler, V.	76.80	Teloniates, J.	108.65
Phiphat, B.	86.27	Tembe, D.	6.12
Pietinen, L.	686.54	Thalenberg, E.	77.20
Pilacinski, E.	12.70	Toste, M.	345.95
Pilarinos, M.	3,710.36	Translation Company of Canada	67,910.60
Pistone, L.	6,541.91	Trochonowicz, J.	120.09
Potts, C.	5,502.84	Truong, V. V.	51.49
Prasad, D.	282.80	Tuemer, A.	438.47
Public-Hull (Trado) Ltée.	577.08	Vakili, G.	56.06
Rabbi Edery	43.00	Valentin, M.	18.55
Raksamani, K.	55.10	Van Bao, P.	1,414.24
Roland Translations	10,177.10	Van Der Graaf, B.	1,858.52
Sarzotti, A.	3,548.10	Van Steen, G.	458.50
Salva, H.	465.45	Varatojo, A.	510.48
Satoor, L.	332.50	Vassallo, M.	46.20
Sawa, G.	836.56	Vijan, P.	1,998.02
Sayad, M.	41.70	Vijan, S.	179.87
Schafer, L.	24.14	Vinh, S.	7,298.56
Schvartz, E.	11,268.40	Wa-Wa-Ta Native Comm.	2,380.00
Shah, K.	65.00	Word Services	1,271.57
Shah, M.	3.58	Younan, S.	14.25
Sharratt, B.	154.75	Zaleski, I.	11,404.46
Shilan, H.	114.85	Taxi*	10.60
Ship, V.	109.22	1975-76	173,017.71
Sie, T.	651.24	1976-77	160,129.02
Skrela, D.	3.50	1977-78	332,101.31
Souvalian, N.	347.33	1978-79	172,317.35
Spencer, G.	2,050.20	1979-80	154,793.35
Stillich, S. W.	9,213.96	Total	992,358.74
Sun, S.	19.13	*In 1975-76, in the absence of a petty-cash	
Sung Rhee, H.	38.34	fund, \$10.60 was paid to cover delivery	
Surducki, M.	4,840.00	charges on rush assignments.	
Svigel, G.	38.77		
Swedish Trade Dele.	11.90		

TEACHERS OF THE DEAF

149. Mr. Isaacs: How many teachers in Ontario possess specialist qualification in teaching the deaf? What is the actual and potential demand for teachers holding this qualification? On what basis does the ministry decide whether teachers holding a similar qualification from other jurisdictions will be granted equivalent standing in Ontario? (Tabled May 1, 1980.)

Hon. Miss Stephenson: 1. As of May 8, 1980, 538 teachers recorded on the teacher

information file held the specialist qualification for teaching the deaf. It is expected that there will be 20 graduates from the training program at the Sir James Whitney School in Belleville in June of this year.

2. It is difficult to assess the potential demand for such teachers but information from the school September report and the June board report for the 1978-79 school year indicates that 1702 children were in self-contained classes for the deaf and hard of hearing and that 336 "full-time equivalent teachers"* were instructing these

children. In addition, 715 children were participating in resource/withdrawal programs in which special assistance is provided by teachers of the deaf for a portion of the day. More than 50 per cent of the instruction is received in regular classes. There were 31 "full-time equivalent teachers"* involved in these programs. It would appear that there are sufficient numbers of teachers available to meet the potential demands at this time. *Full time equivalent represents instruction for at least 25 hours a week and the number of teachers actually involved may exceed the number of "full-time equivalent teachers."

3. The qualifications of those who received training outside Ontario in this area are evaluated in accordance with the requirements and standards necessary to graduate from a training program in Ontario. The following list outlines the content of this program. In addition, two years of successful experience in Ontario schools or classes for the deaf or hard of hearing subsequent to training is required before a specialist certificate is issued.

As is the case for Ontario graduates, every attempt is made prior to granting the qualification to ensure that the teacher will provide effective instruction for the children in the classroom.

Required courses (24 semester hours)

(a) Teaching speech to the deaf

Minimum: 4 semester hours

(b) Teaching language to the deaf

Minimum: 4 semester hours

(c) Teaching speech reading

Minimum: 2 semester hours

(d) Teaching elementary school subjects to the deaf

Minimum: 4 semester hours

(e) Audiology (hearing tests, acoustics, auditory training)

Minimum: 4 semester hours

(f) Practice teaching and observation (6 weeks)

Minimum: 6 semester hours

plus an additional 17 semester hours selected from:

(a) Anatomy and pathology of the speech and/or auditory mechanism

(b) Psychology of deafness

(c) History and philosophy of deaf education

(d) Psychology and education of exceptional children

(e) Education and guidance of the deaf

(f) Manual communication

(g) Training and guidance of preschool deaf children

- (h) Methods of teaching multiple-handicapped deaf children
- (i) Phonetics

INTERIM ANSWERS

150. Mr. Isaacs: What was the average percentage increase in total compensation received by employees in each management module in each year since 1970? Will the Chairman of Management Board confirm that the information provided in response to written question 101 first tabled December 14, 1979, retabled on April 8, 1980, and answered April 10, 1980, is the average percentage increase in salary range and that the average percentage increase in total compensation (salary plus benefits) paid to continuing full-time employees in each module is higher? (Tabled May 2, 1980.)

Hon. Mr. McCague: Additional time is required to provide the information. The question will be answered on or about May 23, 1980.

153. Mr. Di Santo: Will the Ministry of Culture and Recreation table the following information: 1. How many multicultural programs has the ministry funded and/or contracted to private radio and TV companies or to newspapers since January 1978 to date? 2. Will the ministry list the names of the companies involved? 3. Will the ministry list the programs for each company and the cost of each program? (Tabled May 6, 1980.)

Hon. Mr. Baetz: Due to the volume of information requested, it will not be possible to provide an answer by the allotted date. The information should be available on or about May 30, 1980.

RESPONSE TO PETITION

MANITOBA LEGISLATURE PROCEEDINGS

Hon. Mr. McMurtry: Response to the petition of May 1, 1980, from Guy Babineau of Toronto, Ontario:

Clause 11 of the petition asserts the following: 11. That the province of Quebec has complied with the decision of the Supreme Court of Canada in the matter referred to above whereas the province of Manitoba has not as of today complied with it.

The assertion in clause 11 is mistaken. The following facts are not acknowledged in the petition:

On April 25, 1979, in the case of Forest versus the Attorney General of Manitoba, a

unanimous Manitoba Court of Appeal granted a declaration that the Official Language Act enacted by 1890 (Man.) chapter 14 and now being RSM 1970, chapter 0-10, "is inoperative in so far as it abrogates rights, including the right to use the French language in the courts of Manitoba, as conferred by section 23 of the Manitoba Act, 1870, confirmed by the British North America Act, 1871."

On December 13, 1979, the Supreme Court of Canada dismissed by unanimous vote an appeal from the decision of the Manitoba Court of Appeal.

Since December 13, 1979, the government of Manitoba has taken steps to establish a translation bureau to translate existing legislation into the French language and to prepare bills in the French language for introduction in the Legislature. This work has in fact begun.

On May 8, 1980, Bill 2 received second reading in the Manitoba Legislature. Bill 2 is entitled An Act Respecting the Operation of section 23 of the Manitoba Act in regard to statutes. This bill expresses the Legislature's intent to comply with the court rulings, and it is expected to become law during the current session of the Legislature.

The petitioner prays that the Legislative Assembly ask the Governor General in Council to submit the following question to the Supreme Court of Canada: "Does the fact that the acts of the Legislative Assembly of Manitoba are assented, printed and published in the English language only render those acts void and inoperative?"

The Chief Justice of Manitoba speaking for the entire court in the Forest case addressed substantially the same question and answered it in the negative:

"Counsel for Mr. Forest suggested, though he did not press the point, that section 23 requires bills to be passed in French in order to result in valid statutes. Counsel for the Attorney General of Canada said that on instructions from the Attorney General he wanted to put forward that view. It is indeed the view expressed by the Quebec Court of Appeal in the Blaikie case.

"For my part, however, I would not be prepared to declare that all the statutes of Manitoba since 1890 are constitutionally invalid. Indeed, an agreed statement of facts suggests that so far as can be ascertained statutes were not adopted in French in Manitoba even before 1890. Since this court was established by a statute enacted wholly in English after 1890, it could hardly be that

we could make any declaration at all if the statute providing for our existence were not valid.

"It may be that the Quebec Court of Appeal is right in saying that a requirement that records and journals be in both languages involves the proposition that bills and statutes should also be in both languages and that both sections 133 and 23 require that there be official versions of the statutes in both languages. It does not follow, however, that a failure to comply with the provisions of section 133 or section 23 has the effect of rendering the statutes invalid. British law draws a clear distinction between directory and mandatory statutes, and a further distinction between those mandatory statutes that result in nullities and those mandatory statutes that result in irregularities.

"Furthermore, I do not think it can be said that section 23 of the Manitoba Act takes away the power of the Manitoba Legislature to enact laws in relation to the subject matter of section 23. Indeed, I do not see how the rights set out in that section can be made effective without legislation or regulation in relation to them. The section affirms that either language may be used in the pleadings and process of courts: how that provision will work in practice must depend on legislative provisions or on court rules, which in Manitoba have the force of statutes. It cannot be that section 23 would enable French-speaking litigants to require other people to use French in pleadings. It cannot be that French-speaking litigants can require courts to issue writs of execution, one example of a court process, in French, even if the persons to whom they are addressed and persons affected by such writs do not understand a word of French. I think it is obvious that there is a need for regulatory legislation on language rights in Manitoba, in order to make section 23 effective.

"In our earlier encounter with this matter, I indicated our awareness of the practical problems that would arise from a judgement holding the Official Language Act to be inoperative. Our judicial duty, however, is to give the judgement that we feel should be given. I do not think I go beyond my judicial function to suggest to all concerned that constitutions can be made to work only if the spirit of them is observed as well as the black letters they contain, and if there is a disposition on the part of all concerned to make them work in a practical and reasonable way without, on the one hand, in-

transigent assertion of abstract rights and without, on the other hand, a cutting down and chipping away of those rights."

Although it is not clear whether or not this point was considered by the Supreme Court of Canada in the Forest case, it is noteworthy that there is no disagreement by

the Supreme Court of Canada with the reasoning of the Manitoba Court of Appeal, that the Attorney General of Canada argued in favour of an affirmative answer in the Court of Appeal, and that the Attorney General of Canada participated in the appeal to the Supreme Court of Canada.

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No. 50

Legislature of Ontario Debates

Official Report (Hansard)

Fourth Session, 31st Parliament

Thursday, May 15, 1980

Evening Sitting

Speaker: Honourable John E. Stokes

Clerk: Roderick Lewis, QC



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Reference to a cumulative index of previous issues can be obtained by calling the Hansard Reporting Service indexing staff at (416) 965-2159.

Hansard subscription price is \$15.00 per session, from: Sessional Subscription Service, Central Purchasing Service, Print Procurement Section, Ministry of Government Services, 9th Floor, Ferguson Block, Parliament Buildings, Toronto M7A 1N3. Phone (416) 965-2238.

Published by the Legislature of the Province of Ontario.
Editor of Debates: Peter Brannan.

LEGISLATURE OF ONTARIO

THURSDAY, MAY 15, 1980

The House resumed at 8:01 p.m.

BUDGET DEBATE

(continued)

Resuming the adjourned debate on the amendment to the motion that this House approves in general the budgetary policy of the government.

Mr. Nixon: Mr. Speaker, the word must have got out that I was going to address the assembly tonight. Nevertheless, I am bold enough to proceed knowing of your great interest in matters of public concern, particularly those associated with the budget.

Before I turn my attention to those matters specifically I thought I would give you my views on an event that happened in the House some days ago. It was at the conclusion of the great Confederation debate. The leader of the NDP (Mr. Cassidy), my colleague and good friend the Leader of the Opposition (Mr. S. Smith), and the Premier (Mr. Davis), had just concluded their remarks when a group in each of the galleries, as you may recall, stood up and started berating the members and throwing tracts at us. They were subsequently identified as supporters of the Marxist-Leninist society, whatever that is, and they were trying to convince us that we were somehow blackmailing the province of Quebec by urging that province to stay in Confederation.

Without commenting about their point of view, it brought to my attention the fact that they could have been throwing anything else from the galleries. Many of us think about this from time to time, as far as the security of this House is concerned. Obviously, tonight, we are very secure indeed since you and I, Mr. Speaker, are almost alone except for a coterie of our close friends.

Obviously, Mr. Speaker, you and those who share your responsibilities in the chair have to give some thought to this. I, for one, would be very unwilling to place the heavy restrictions on admission to our galleries that are found in certain other Houses such as the Parliament at Westminster and even in Ottawa. I suppose the members there, and the governments in those jurisdictions are far more vulnerable than we are, since they are dealing with matters of world moment. The

thing is, however, that there are nuts in almost every collection of individuals. You never know when they are going to stop throwing tracts and start throwing something else.

It really did occur to me, however, that one of the steps we should be taking is perhaps to set up a somewhat more formal organization. The responsibility lies directly with you, Mr. Speaker, and with those in our force of security guards who do their best to assist us and you in maintaining order in our galleries. The rules are very strict that people are not to be searched, and I don't think those rules should be changed, although the guards have to use their discretion, of course. But I do feel someone who is closely associated with what goes on in this chamber on a day to day, hour to hour basis, might very well have conferred on him some additional responsibility.

I am referring to our Sergeant at Arms, who does an excellent job in leading your procession into the House each day, Mr. Speaker. Although he has not been put to the test of drawing his sword in order to usher any of us as individuals out of the chamber, I have a feeling, if called upon to do so, he could not only draw it, but run us through if on your command that became necessary in order to keep some semblance of order in this chamber.

I quite seriously suggest to you, sir, as is done in other jurisdictions, we might very well ask Mr. Stelling to add to his duties the supervision of the security in this chamber and the environs closely associated with it.

Mr. Breithaupt: The precincts.

Mr. Nixon: My colleague from Kitchener advises me "precincts" is a better word, although in South Dumfries we prefer "environs."

I would say to you, Mr. Speaker, that this would be a suitable distribution of authority from yourself since many things have devolved in recent years on the Office of the Speaker. While we have assistance of a very high order and quality to advise on all matters pertaining to the rules and the business of the House, financial and otherwise, I believe we might very well call upon an

official whom we know, in whom we have confidence, who is close to us here and who really knows some of the pressures, some of the boredom, some of the tedium that devolves upon us.

I put this as a suggestion to you and I intend to write to you, Mr. Speaker, in this connection because I think it is an alternative we should consider. There is no easy solution towards safeguarding our precious existence as members of the House. There has been nothing other than a mild embarrassment from time to time from the galleries. We would hope that continues to be the case. Yet I would suggest we take some thought as to the preservation of proper order in the galleries and I think our Sergeant at Arms could perform that duty very well indeed. I am very impressed with his capabilities and I hope this is something that you, Mr. Speaker, and those who are advising you might take under consideration.

This is a budget debate. I have in my hand the Ontario budget 1980 as delivered by the Treasurer (Mr. F. S. Miller) on April 22. I want to deal with it rather briefly since there are two or three matters of specific importance from my own area of the province I also want to bring to the attention of the House. One of the things that has concerned me has been the attitude of the government of the day to shine up its halo as it goes about the province and says, "Look what we are able to do for all of you taxpayers with no new taxes whatsoever."

I am glad to see that my good friend who lost the vote in the Legislature this afternoon, the member for Chatham-Kent (Mr. Watson), is applauding what the government is doing. He might very well do that since he is one of the back-benchers with expectations.

Interjections.

Mr. Nixon: Well, vain hopes, let us say. He will probably be the shortest-lived minister in the history of 37 years of Toryism if he ever makes it. As a matter of fact, one step back and he is right out the door.

I do feel that if the government is going to be fair, which it prides itself on from time to time, then in the same breath as it says this budget includes no new taxes, it should inform the taxpayers that the deficit was increased from \$600 million to approximately \$1 billion.

I don't think it takes much ability or perspicacity to keep the tax level constant if the government is going to increase the debt by about 44 per cent. This is somehow a matter that does not gain emphasis in the press releases that are sent out in great

number and at great expense by the Treasurer and those who like to support him. It seems to me that if any kind of a candy store were run that way, it would be in bankruptcy tomorrow. If the owners were to advertise their ability that way, the Minister of Consumer and Commercial Relations (Mr. Drea), who has not been with us now for several days, would have them arrested and thrown into jail for false advertising because false advertising is exactly what the birds over there are guilty of.

8:10 p.m.

I want to look briefly at the page in the budget tables that always interests me more than anything else. It is entitled "Ten-Year Review." It is on page 32, table C-13. I have one regret: that with the passage of time, that famous year 1970-71 has now dropped off the beginning of the table. It begins with 1971-72. I regret that because 1970-71 was the last year in which the province balanced its books and actually had a small surplus.

Those who are the grey-haired contingent in the Tory party, which is most of those members—those who have any hair to brag about at all—remember that is the last year that John Robarts was minding the candy store. We had balanced books and a small surplus. It was almost like a Liberal budget, although we did not describe it that way at the time.

Hon. Mr. Maeck: Who ever heard of a Liberal budget in Ontario?

Mr. Nixon: There have been Liberal budgets. I think the last one amounted to \$85 million. It was in great shape—balanced too.

I regret there is not a single balanced budget in the 10-year review. I am just looking at the right-hand end and the funded estimate for 1980 is \$16,195,000,000, excluding Ontario Hydro.

I thought perhaps some of those less-positive figures should at least be brought to the attention of the public who are hanging on my words here tonight. Otherwise it is possible that not very many people would be aware that the great Tory management of our affairs has resulted not only in the debt of \$16 billion, but as I turn back to another table on page 21, that debt is serviced by an interest payment this year expected to be \$1.614 billion. Using old-fashioned arithmetic of a conservative variety, that means that in interest payments alone we are paying \$4 million a day, every day; Christmas Day, the birthday of the Minister of Revenue, every day of the year we are paying out \$4 million.

It really is shameful, particularly since the former Treasurer in the dying gasps of his incumbency was talking about and moving towards a balanced budget. I believe Darcy McKeough believed that. Now that he is running Consumers' Gas, I hope he is doing a better job there than he did here.

Mr. Watson: Union Gas, Bob.

Mr. Nixon: Right, Union Gas.

Mr. Makarchuk: He can't stand the word "union."

Mr. Nixon: The only union that appalls me is the one between the NDP and the Tories. That is what is keeping this government in office for so long.

I have heard of the perfect union but that is not an imperfect one, it is an indecent one. There should be an 11th commandment against that.

I notice, by the way, the former Treasurer is now on the board of Noranda.

Hon. Mr. Maczek: They are keeping an opening for me.

Mr. Nixon: Yes, the Minister of Revenue indicates the seat is being kept warm for him when he passes on to greater things.

I suppose we can't blame Darcy McKeough for the sum total of this serious mismanagement, but there it is.

I mentioned that the debt of \$16 billion excludes Hydro. Down at the bottom in rather small print there is a special column assigned to Ontario Hydro. The first column is United States borrowing on behalf of Ontario Hydro and in 1979-80, which is the last year for which the figure is available, that is \$3.782 billion. In addition to that, there is a contingent liability, in brackets "mainly Ontario Hydro," and that is \$6.692 billion. The last year for which that figure is available is 1978. The last two have an "N/A" meaning not available. I do not know why the devil they are not available from Ontario Hydro, but they are not. If we add those two figures together, there is a \$10-billion debt associated with Hydro, and that is a conservative estimate of the sum total of all that is owed on behalf of Ontario.

I have the report of Ontario Hydro here. It is a very fine document indeed, well printed, in four colours, with a picture of the new chairman, Hugh L. Macaulay, and a very informal picture of the present board. Those of you who have looked at the report will see that the most dramatic and imposing member of the board of directors is the former Minister of Agriculture, who is prominently situated in the group, pointing with pride to a model of one of the developments.

But the report begins with an interview with the new chairman of Hydro, who is now already defending the situation in Hydro.

The reason it was brought to my attention is that it is very difficult to determine from the figures given to us from the official annual report of Hydro exactly what its indebtedness is. I am hard put, in fact, I cannot find figures in the report of Ontario Hydro that add up to the same numbers in the Ontario budget. The big numbers tend to be, if not concealed, let us say difficult to find in the report.

They have, however, as of 1979, the total principal outstanding in bonds and notes payable of \$11,206,395,000. The reason I was concerned about that is that in the question period today the Leader of the Opposition (Mr. S. Smith), the next Premier of Ontario, was questioning the present incumbent of that office about his comments having to do with wage and price. Of course, the Premier (Mr. Davis) does not use the word "control." What did he say? Review or—

Mr. Roy: Restraint.

Mr. Nixon: Restraint, yes. The Leader of the Opposition asked, "If you are so keen about restraint, why don't you do something about Hydro?" The Premier, in high dudgeon, came back and said, "You don't understand that many of these costs are fixed, and we have to produce power at cost." One of the biggest costs is paying the interest on the hundreds of millions, in fact, billions of dollars that Ontario Hydro has borrowed in New York. That is why the rates are going up. They are 16 per cent right now.

The question was, if the rates are going up, why are they going up the same amount for the farm consumers as for the urban consumers? The Premier, on the very day the galleries were full of farmers here to listen to the debate on the resolution from my colleague from Grey (Mr. McKessock) about the farm problems, got up and announced that he was going to equalize the costs of power between the urban and the rural parts of the province. The Premier was very surprised to learn from the opposition that the rural rates are the highest in Canada west of New Brunswick, and we all know in New Brunswick they make all their electricity from oil.

We have the advantages of a very elaborate and expensive atomic development and, of course, the natural resource of the hydraulic developments that have been the basis of the production of power here for years. It is only by virtue of very bad man-

agement and incredibly bad decisions that we have got to the point that the costs of our power in the rural areas are as high as or higher than almost anywhere else in Canada.

But my colleague the leader of the Liberal Party, indicating that at least the Premier, if he was so concerned with the containment of the inflationary process, should do something about Hydro—they are asking for 16 per cent more this year which is well above the inflation rate—was quick to point out that the costs of servicing that debt are associated with the overdevelopment of electrical energy that has been the hallmark of the bad decisions made by Ontario Hydro for the last decade.

8:20 p.m.

It is interesting to note that in the very peak draw, the consumption of electrical energy for the year 1979, we required, when all the factories were going full tilt—it was the time of day when electrical heat was turned on in very cold weather and the housekeepers had the stoves all on high—the draw was about 16,000 megawatts. At that very time, Ontario Hydro was capable of producing 25,000 megawatts.

Mr. J. Reed: The worst mismanagement in the history of Ontario.

Mr. Nixon: My colleague is entirely correct because when one looks at this 16,000 megawatts, that was one time in the whole year when the graph peaked at that high level. The rest of the time it's way down, far lower than that. We are paying through the nose for the interest on the money borrowed in New York to build these tremendous enterprises.

I'm proud of them in one sense. Certainly Pickering, which by the way is completely closed down today and not functioning at all, which is regretted, is really the best atomic reactor in the world. The one up in the Bruce Peninsula, and if anybody has ever visited that he will know this is true, is probably—we don't really know what the Russians have—the largest atomic complex in the world. I have no doubt it is the largest if you include with the reactors the heavy water plant itself, which is worth approximately \$4 billion. In the riding of the member for Haldimand-Norfolk (Mr. G. I. Miller) and close to my own riding is the thermal generator that burns coal at Nanticoke, which is the biggest thermal generator in the world.

Here we have all these things, thumping and crashing and bumping away making the electricity we can't possibly use. It's almost as if somebody over there, years ago, and not

too recently, had some delusions of grandeur. We have to have the biggest; we have to have the best. It's very nice to do that. It's lovely to do that.

Mr. Conway: Robert Macaulay, surely.

Mr. Nixon: My colleague mentions the august name of Robert Macaulay, who now spends most of his time appearing before the Ontario Energy Board and the National Energy Board in Ottawa, criticizing Ontario Hydro for raising its rates, when probably he is the father, legitimate or otherwise, of the decisions which really led to these problems. They go back to the days when the decision, for example, was made to build this beautiful headquarters for Ontario Hydro right down here.

Many of the honourable members have heard this story before and I don't intend to spend more than 10 or 15 minutes talking about it, but I can well remember in the good days when John Robarts was keeping the birds over there whipped in line that the chairman of Ontario Hydro decided to build the new headquarters. The former Royal Conservatory of Music had burned down. Ontario Hydro bought the property and they were planning for one of these great buildings. They even published a design. It was like a Cheops pyramid with one executive floor at the top, not too big but very high with a special elevator that went up to it. That's where the chairman and his friends would rule this empire.

Robarts didn't make a big fuss about it; he just made a little this time. We never heard another thing about it until after 1971 when we got a new Premier. The chairman said, "Well, I think probably I can put something over on this bird." They announced this new headquarters, and it was built without any decision being taken over here.

Mr. Roy: Before you could say "Moog."

Mr. Nixon: Before you could say "Moog" it was up. It was built even without a tender.

I wish the Premier were here. He may be listening, and he probably is, because I think he listens to all these things. It irritates him so much when we talk about this, but it is the absolute truth. The decision should have been made to sell the property down here in the heart of downtown Toronto and put the headquarters of Ontario Hydro where it would do the most good, out at Pickering or even some place up in the Bruce Peninsula. Why do they have to be on the most expensive real estate in Canada with the most elaborate building in Canada? It just doesn't make sense,

but that is the attitude which got Ontario Hydro into trouble.

We now have the Minister of Energy (Mr. Welch) guarding our interests, and I feel that is kind of a weak reed. He is in trouble with his deputy minister, Malcolm Rowan, who seems to be moving the levers and pulling the strings down there at Hydro and in the Ministry of Energy. It is still very much operating on its own, but that is typical. I do believe when the government of the day sees that Ontario Hydro is in real trouble, it solves that problem by appointing the Premier's personal campaign manager as chairman of Ontario Hydro. I brought the figures to your attention, Mr. Speaker. They concern me. The debate tonight is about the budget, so I thought I should mention it.

Just before leaving the budget, I want to refer briefly to some of the revenue aspects. I notice it is expected that personal income tax this year will net \$3.4 billion. The Minister of Revenue (Mr. Maecck), as he is almost always, is in his place tonight doing his duty. I appreciate that. But many people who pay their income tax figure that money goes to Ottawa. In many respects that is true. If they don't like paying income tax, they curse the people in Ottawa, Joe Clark and those people. Most taxpayers don't realize that a cheque for \$3.43 billion comes back. Is it monthly and is it made out to the Minister of Revenue in person?

Mr. Breithaupt: Or occupant.

Mr. Nixon: Or occupant. It comes back and is actually a cheque for that money. We deposit it into the bank and it forms part of the consolidated revenue fund. In addition to that, down at the bottom it says, "Payment from the federal government, see table C-6, \$3.4 billion." Now that is for half of the cost of education, including half the cost of grade 13. They pay half of the cost of medicare and a large percentage of our social and family services and so on.

If we add that federal income tax, which most people think of as a federal tax, to these shared programs of an additional \$3 billion, we get \$6.5 billion, really no strings attached, from a rich uncle up in Ottawa. It comes back here, forming almost 42 per cent of the budget of this province, which is close to \$16 billion. This has been worked out over a number of years.

I say to you, Mr. Speaker, it is probably one of the weaknesses of our democratic process that the government over there can open all the Tom Longboat schools and the William G. Davis schools and can put ads in

the paper to say, "Happy hospital day. We're building you new hospitals."

Mr. Breithaupt: Simple justice.

Mr. Nixon: Right. They can give us legal aid, build new courthouses and take full page ads with a gavel, which somebody says is never used in our courts. Is that right?

Mr. Roy: That is right. It is never used.

Mr. Nixon: No gavel in our courts. It is some damned American thing they are talking about. These full page ads say, "Look what we are doing for you." Yet the money that pays for these programs has not even been taxed by the government over there. It comes floating in in a Brinks truck from Ottawa. These guys go in there, wallow around in it a bit and say, "Now what are we going to do with this money?"

I believe it is undemocratic. It is an oversimplification, of course, to say that the government which provides a service and, therefore, gets the gratitude of the electorate should also have to carry the ashcans for taxing the money to pay for the service. That is the only kind of democratic balance. When I think of all the William G. Davis schools in this province—there has to be a whole lot of them—they were all bought by Pierre Trudeau. That is the thing that concerns me.

Interjections.

Mr. Nixon: When we are looking at the revenue side, the next important one is corporation taxes, \$1.27 billion. I should just pass that over because I don't want to sound too much like a democratic socialist, but I really do not believe those figures are high enough. I lent a publication, Profit Centre, to my leader who was about to use it this afternoon in question period. It is a publication put out to attract American industries into Ontario. On questioning it, we were told the publication cost \$9.50 a copy. It urges companies to come to Ontario because the labour is cheap. I think that was raised by the member for Sudbury East (Mr. Martell). It says, "Come here because we have cheaper labour than anywhere else." Isn't that something?

8:30 p.m.

The thing that concerns me—and I wish I had it here, but I will use it when we are discussing corporation taxes some time next week—is that the publication says clearly our corporation taxes are lower than corporation taxes in Texas, which is the Vatican of the free enterprise system, lower than in New York and lower than in Michigan. I can't understand why we should be having such high income taxes, retail sales taxes, OHIP

premiums and LCBO profits when the corporations are getting off scot-free.

That is typical. I am glad the people in the *Globe and Mail* caught this because at the bottom of that Winsor column they now have that little cartoon. It showed the Treasurer making that comment about the banks. I can't quote him verbatim but he said, "The way the interest rates are falling, the profits of the banks are being reduced." We can all remember because we were very sympathetic on this side! If the bank profits fall a little bit or the energy companies' profits fall a little bit, that is a disaster.

I don't think our corporation taxes are high enough. We ought to be soaking the banks that do business here. Their head offices are down here. As a matter of fact, the Leader of the Opposition said to the Treasurer, "You can find them. They are just down the street." Find them? We can see them in the sky. There isn't a corner in this town or any other town where there aren't four banks right there. They are the best buildings in town except for the LCBO outlets.

Mr. Roy: Or the Albany Club maybe.

Mr. Nixon: The Albany Club looks a little seedy. As a matter of fact, one can't tell it from the King Eddy.

The retail sales tax is going to net us about \$2.67 billion. While we were discussing that, I pointed out to you, Mr. Speaker, that amounts to \$7 million a day. Mind you, we are paying \$4 million a day in interest. Talk about easy come, easy go. That is a classic case.

As to the other revenues, there are over \$1 billion in OHIP premiums, I personally feel we ought not to have premiums at all. In my former capacity as Leader of the Opposition, I even had the temerity to say we should abolish those premiums and make OHIP universal, which is what it is supposed to be.

I can tell members, as soon as one says that, then these people crank up the Treasury experts, the \$50,000-a-year employees of the Treasurer—I don't mean Cathy—who then say, "Oh, if you do that, you would have to raise taxes by \$1 billion." The premiums are \$1 billion. People write out cheques four times a year and send those in.

The government so readily misleads the taxpayers—and the NDP, I am sure, understands this since that party is still talking about the same thing—that it means one can't put the point across since those people over there throw up these showers of sand and pepper in everybody's eyes so that one

can't rationally discuss the alternatives. The galling thing is they use their high-priced help in the Treasury to make these statements.

If we follow the Liberal proposal to abolish OHIP premiums, it means taxes will go up \$1 billion. It also means that premiums go down \$1 billion.

An hon. member: They rarely see it.

Mr. Nixon: I'll say they don't. There is no point in saying it is unfair, but it is unfair.

LCBO profits this year were \$423 million.

Mr. Roy: That is sinning a lot.

Mr. Nixon: The figure is very impressive until one looks at the cost to the Ministries of Health, of Community and Social Services, of Transportation and Communications, of the Attorney General and of the Solicitor General. There was a study that indicated the social cost, which is the phrase people were throwing past my ear a minute ago, was in excess of \$600 million. From my position as a teetotaler, I feel quite secure in lecturing members about that, but this is hardly the occasion for that.

The only other point I want to bring to your attention, Mr. Speaker, is the Ontario lottery profit of \$67 million that has been estimated for 1980. Way back in 1977, we were making \$71 million from the lotteries. Once again, I am not going to give members a lecture about the thing. I voted for it to begin with, and we had many discussions in our caucus before we actually went that way.

It has been handled in just about as amateur a way as it possibly could have been handled. There is nobody now, including the Minister of Culture and Recreation (Mr. Baetz), under whom, in our backward system the management of lotteries lies, who could list the many different lotteries and games we play now for profit. It really is appalling that we have got to this point. We have made a huge investment in capital equipment in order to allow people to play some sort of a game where they pick out some lucky number.

We look at all the billboards around the province that indicate the attractive young people who are playing the game and indicating how it should be played. Talk about the law of diminishing returns; here is a clear example of it.

Mr. Breithaupt: And not a peep from the moral leaders of the community.

Mr. Nixon: I have not heard much from the Lutherans.

Mr. Breithaupt: I was more concerned about the United Church.

Mr. Nixon: If the member were to read the United Church Observer as assiduously as I do, he would know that our moderator is concerned. It concerns a good many people. It really is turning into a fiasco and it is something we will have to talk about on many occasions.

I want to deal specifically with a matter that is certainly just as important to me. I shall deal with it briefly since it has to do with a decision by the government to spend \$5 million in my constituency which, having been in opposition now for 37 years, does not normally have this kind of largess from the government of the day. They do not put themselves out to put facilities in my area, but there is going to be a \$5-million storage dump for polychlorinated biphenyls there.

It is going to be put in what I consider to be the most beautiful rural township in Ontario, Onondaga. By the way it is named after the tribe of Tom Longboat who was an Onondaga Indian. They are going into this beautiful rural area and spending \$5 million to build a storage dump for PCBs.

I have become somewhat of an expert in these materials. I will not take up your time, Mr. Speaker, in discussing in detail all I know about them. The last time I did they almost threw me out of the hall. They are extremely interesting. Many of them are right in these buildings. For example, every fluorescent bulb has a small amount of PCB in it. The main source of the chemical is in large power transformers. Although it is now illegal to use PCBs in the new transformers, there is no thought that the ones presently in use will be replaced and the old ones cracked open and the material stored. It will probably be 40 years before the PCBs presently in use are gradually phased out as they are replaced by other materials.

The PCBs themselves have the advantage of having the physical property of electrical insulation. Also, they have a very high flash point—they do not burn readily. So they are very good for the purpose of moderating fluid in transformers. For many years, people would keep a bucket of this stuff because it was very good to clean grease off one's hands. There are many workmen today who have cleaned the grease off their hands and arms every day for many years without any ill effects that anyone can determine.

But it has been determined by experts that PCBs can affect reproductive facilities, particularly the chromosomes. They are not a violent carcinogen, but they are definitely a

very negative factor in the environment as far as health is concerned.

8:40 p.m.

They are found everywhere in the environment of earth, that is, in the atmosphere, on the earth's crust and in the oceans. They can be detected by modern equipment on the polar ice cap. They can be detected in the middle of the Pacific Ocean and, naturally, in the air we breathe. With every breath, we are breathing in a certain number of molecules of PCBs. The point is government feels they should be destroyed, and we cannot question that decision.

The Minister of the Environment (Mr. Parrott) is deeply concerned about this, and that is obvious. I have no doubt whatsoever about the sincerity of the minister. He is so sincere and concerned I sometimes wonder that he can carry the heavy responsibility he does because it is an extremely tough job. He has decided that these PCBs have to be gathered together and stored safely, although he has assured us that the storage will only be for five years. By that time, there will be a way to completely obliterate the polychlorinated biphenyl molecules, probably by pyrolysis, which is the word they use for burning them.

There have been experiments in the city of Mississauga. The whip of the Conservative Party represents a part of that city. He has discussed this before. There is a plant there called the St. Lawrence Cement plant which uses high-temperature kilns burning fuel oil to make cement. The idea is to feed the PCBs in small amounts into the ordinary fuel oil as it goes out into the roaring inferno of the kiln. The temperature is high enough and dwells long enough to destroy the dangerous molecule. This has been done experimentally but, unfortunately, it was not possible for the testing to be precise and official enough to persuade everybody, i.e., mayor of Mississauga, that the PCBs were permanently, totally and safely destroyed.

In its wisdom, Mississauga passed bylaws which said that the materials could not be burned in the municipality. As a matter of fact, this is a real problem since the Ontario Research Foundation is located in Mississauga and the bylaws, as I understand it, even restrict the experiments that might be done by the research foundation for the good of the whole province.

I do not criticize Mississauga for passing the bylaw. The bylaw was tested in the Supreme Court of Ontario and upheld, although the Ministry of the Environment wanted it quashed. It was upheld, which

really means that any other municipality, for example, Onondaga, might very well pass a similar bylaw saying that these chemicals cannot be transported within its boundaries.

Mr. Hall: Tell them where they are now.

Mr. Nixon: My good friend the member for Lincoln (Mr. Hall) has just reminded me that without any kind of decision at all a special repository of the PCBs was established in Smithville in his constituency. I well remember that when this came to light he raised the devil with the ministry and everybody else, saying that without a public hearing one could not bring these materials into a community. It was completely improper, unjust and certainly unfair.

Mr. Hall: Two years later they are still there.

Mr. Nixon: Right. He reminds me they have been there for two years. We are both on the same side of this. I am sure that is obvious.

We have a solution which will get them out of Smithville, nor will they have to go to the little community of Middleport in Onondaga township.

The solution is one that I and others have referred to in question period on more than one occasion. There has been research carried out at the Royal Military College in Kingston using a high-temperature, electric flame called a plasma arc. They have developed a furnace into which this stuff can be dribbled at about a gallon an hour. There is no doubt that the molecule can be obliterated and destroyed. The effluent from it is carbon dioxide and water. So far, those have not been designated carcinogenic. So we are looking at a light at the end of the tunnel.

In my questions to the Minister of the Environment, he indicated that the research at the Royal Military College is complete. They have run out of funds, but they have been successful. My view, very strongly expressed and felt, is that this government, in conjunction with the government of Canada, should provide the \$750,000 that is needed—I want members to compare that with the \$5 million the government is going to spend in Onondaga just to store them for five years—and spend it to make one of these electric furnaces which would be portable, which could be taken around the province, and which would burn them completely safely under all of the tests and supervisions that are necessary. We can thus get rid of this problem once and for all.

I have a feeling the Minister of the Environment agrees with me. In answering my

questions about this he indicated there is some problem about jurisdiction. Royal Military College is not a provincially assisted university, but is entirely funded by the government of Canada. It is very hard for this government to go in there and say, "We want you to do this," without co-operation from the federal government.

I have written to the federal Minister of the Environment, John Roberts. I hope it will be possible for co-operation between the two levels of government to bring about a solution that is clear and obvious. It is effective and cheap and a solution which we must surely undertake in this province.

I wanted to bring this to your attention, Mr. Speaker, so that the members of the House who are present and who have been reading about PCBs, probably peripherally, will know that at least one member believes there is a ready solution to the problem in hand and that we should not delay in making use of that solution.

I didn't know much about PCBs until I found out they were coming to my constituency. I can sympathize with other members here who are not saying, "Thank God it is in Nixon's constituency," but are saying, "That is one of the problems that doesn't bear too heavily on me at the present time." We have the solution, I believe, within our grasp at the present time.

There is another matter I want to refer to briefly that has to do with an article which was headlined in the *Toronto Globe and Mail* on Saturday, April 12. The headline reads, "17,000 Jailed Needlessly in Ontario, Study Finds." I think many members will remember the two or three-day wonder that the headline caused here. I simply want to read the first paragraph of the article written by Ian Mulgrew:

"About 17,000 people needlessly spent time in Ontario jails awaiting trial over a six-month period last year. And the problem is costing taxpayers millions of dollars, Corrections Minister Gordon Walker said yesterday.

"Mr. Walker blamed Ontario's legal system for creating the problem and lawyers for compounding it by using ploys that kept people in jail for extensive periods of time."

I should say immediately that the lawyers in the province, and in this House, including the Attorney General, reacted strenuously to this serious charge. The group of lawyers in the city of Brantford, the ones chiefly appearing in court, made a formal statement indicating their substantial and violent disagreement with the views of the minister.

At the meeting of the justice committee some weeks later, I raised it in the presence of the Attorney General because it seemed to me strange that such a charge made by a minister of the crown would sink without a trace.

Mr. Breithaupt: The Provincial Secretary for Justice.

Mr. Nixon: It was the Provincial Secretary for Justice, my colleague from Kitchener reminds me. It used to be, and I suppose it still is, one of the major concerns of the members of this House that the rights of the individual must be maintained and observed. For a minister to say this and nothing much to happen, except for a number of people learned in the law to say that is wrong, and then for it to disappear is just simply not good enough.

I suggested and the member for Riverdale (Mr. Renwick) suggested to the committee that since we were doing the estimates of the Attorney General or the Solicitor General we should call the policy secretary to come to the estimates so he could indicate why he had made the statement and the basis upon which he had made the statement. The minister declined to attend, but he did send me the following letter. There is certainly nothing private about the letter. It is dated April 24 and says:

"Dear Bob:

"On Tuesday you indicated to me you would like to receive our reports relating to the remand problem. Enclosed are three reports:

"1. Stanley, outside consultants, entitled "Prisoners Remanded In Custody;

"2. Madden, of the planning and research branch, entitled "A Description of Ontario's Jail Population";

"3. Distillation of a computer printout for 18 months ending June 30, 1979.

"These reports form the basis of our concern over remanded accused who subsequently do not receive a sentence of incarceration at a trial. More recently our computer has produced very accurate statistics.

"In a cabinet submission last fall which led to the creation of an interministerial committee studying this problem, I stated that a recent survey of jail admissions, for the 18-month period from January 1, 1978, to June 30, 1979, revealed that there were 39,733 remanded admissions that generated 634,301 days' stay.

"Of these admissions, 65 per cent were eventually released without a sentence of incarceration. This group generated 313,783 days' stay or one half of the total days' stay on remand." Then he closed the letter.

In other words, although at those estimates the Attorney General was critical of the statement made by his colleague who is also, in a sense his superior, the justice policy secretary persisted in indicating that the reports, which I now hold in my hand and which are public documents and are available, indicated that what he said in his statement was true. His statement again was that 17,000 are jailed needlessly in Ontario.

I am very much concerned about this. I felt even at the justice committee there was almost a closing of ranks of those learned in the law. There is nothing improper about this, but simply the assumption that the minister was all wet, and that is probably the kindest phrase that I can use in that connection. Yet he sits on the front bench of the government. He has provided me with the statistical material that indicates what he said is right. I don't know what further can be done about it. I don't believe that the discussions in that committee were sufficient to put the problem to bed. Perhaps a committee of the House should review it.

There may be a chance in some other debate for us to discuss it. Certainly I intend to go to the estimates when the Minister of Correctional Services is responding to the money that is spent in the policy area because I frankly believe he should have a chance to defend himself. But I suppose, superficially, I don't see how those two men, the Attorney General and the Provincial Secretary for Justice can stay in the same cabinet. I do not know how the Premier, whom I questioned directly on this, can lead a government in which two such opposite points of view are expressed, particularly when the Attorney General, as I quoted in the House two or three times, so I won't do it again, indicated in those estimates that the justice policy secretary certainly does not speak for him.

8:50 p.m.

I just find it strange indeed. The press doesn't seem to give a damn about it. Nobody in here seems to care about it. The Provincial Secretary for Justice is still in the cabinet and the Attorney General is still in the cabinet. The statement—it is not a charge; it is the minister simply making a statement—remains on the record. I intend to pursue it, as I am doing tonight, on other occasions. I am not at all sure what the result of it will be, but I would say I am concerned about it.

I should also in this connection quote from three people of unimpeachable backgrounds. This is from a publication of March

1980, called News Update, put out by the Ontario Legal Aid Plan. The first is a quote from Mr. Justice Willard Estey of the Supreme Court of Canada. He said at a recent meeting of the Nova Scotia bench and bar: "Legal aid will be the single most important issue of the 1980s. Legal aid cases are plugging the courts in all 10 provinces, and the decade ahead must see some restrictions on universal access of the common man to the common law."

I find that deeply disturbing on two counts. First, Mr. Justice Estey says that legal aid is plugging the courts and that governments, therefore, are not making accommodation for justice to be done. Secondly, he says we have got to see some restriction on universal access of the common man to the common law. That is almost a sin for a person learned in the law to say. One wonders what the devil is in his mind.

Willard Estey—when we knew him downtown he was Bud Estey—is a very brilliant person indeed. He used to do a lot of work for the government. As a matter of fact, he used to show up at Liberal meetings in his previous incarnation. It does not sound very liberal, it seems to me, to say we have got to find some way to restrict access of the common man to the common law. Fortunately, that is not his responsibility. It is ours, not to restrict access, but to say there are enough facilities for the common man to have access to the common law. I thought, Mr. Speaker, you would be interested in what he said.

The second quote from the same publication is from Chief Justice Gregory Evans of the High Court of Justice of Ontario. I remember meeting him on other occasions as well. He made some remarks concerning the court system, and I want to quote one: "I think we are legal aiding ourselves right out of business in the sense that so much stuff is legal aid that the ordinary guy just can't afford to go to court. If he could afford it, he can't get his case on because of the impact of legal aid. Legal aid is open-ended; there is no cap on it; and some lawyers just go merrily on their way and not at a very great speed. The cash register rings continuously if the lawyer gets hold of a good legal aid case."

I think we have the best legal aid system I know of anywhere. I have always been somewhat attracted to the concept of a public defender ever since my television-watching days. There was something about that square-jawed man who would go into the courts to defend all these people who were improperly bound up in the coils of

justice. I felt at the time it might be better to hire a public defender, just as we hire crown prosecutors, and let it go at that. But the same philosophy that led us to pay the doctors on a fee-for-service basis undoubtedly led us to our legal aid system. I really do not like it, but I can see it is justice. We have got it anyway. If we are going to use that system, I guess that is the system we are going to use.

I do believe we have a good legal aid system. While some people may have thought otherwise, I have not objected to its cost. I have objected, however, to some practitioners milking the system, and I think inherent in Chief Justice Evans' comments is a similar criticism.

It is interesting to talk to people who have been active in the courts as lawyers, have moved on through and have been elevated to the Olympian heights where they have experienced it all. Then they look back down on it and are not in all respects positive as to what the profession is doing now. In essence, they are saying some professionals are ripping off the system. That is what concerns me. I believe we cannot restrict access to the courts and we cannot restrict access of individuals to a legal aid certificate, but we have to be aware of the problems that occur.

The last quote from this publication, which I found to be a fascinating one, is from Police Chief John Williamson of Windsor. He said on February 20 that legal aid was to blame for the city's 44 per cent crime rise in the last decade. In past years, the chief has blamed lenient court sentences for increasing crime.

Mr. Bounsall: He was criticized by everybody for it though.

Mr. Nixon: But in presenting statistics to the Windsor Police Commission this year, he commented: "I am concerned about a person who lives a life of crime who can get continual legal aid and come back again and again. One or two bites of the apple and that's it. That would stop the backlog."

I don't agree with what he said. I don't agree with Willard Estey that we have to restrict it. I don't agree with what Greg Evans is saying.

Ms. Gigantes: But.

Mr. Nixon: My good friend, who always knows what is in my mind, has said it for me—but. But why should we be paying for a system which, in my view, does not have sufficient supervision? I cannot say it in any other way. I believe that here is an instance where, if there was the kind of utilization in

the medical field, we would certainly have a review panel that would be stricter than that which is applied in the legal system.

9 p.m.

I heard an interjection from one of the Windsor members that everybody criticized the police chief in Windsor, and that is probably true. Yet we know of cases, in most jurisdictions where people return again and again under criminal charges with legal aid certificates. I suppose one thinks these people will always be with us. We used to worry about the poor, but this is a very bothersome situation.

I wanted to mention that in conjunction with the statement made by the minister and I want to pursue it when I can. I have a feeling my colleagues and friends, the lawyers in the House, are too quick to dismiss what has been said by the minister. I can't identify myself with what he said because I am not professionally qualified. I can read the reports which seem to verify what he said. My most learned colleague and friend is laughing.

Mr. Roy: When I look at the source of the comments, I can't get too serious about it.

Mr. Nixon: All right. I have said that. He happens to be a minister of the crown and my colleague's deprecation of him is identical to the approach taken by the Attorney General, by his own colleague. It just infuriates me that they could sit in cabinet together under those circumstances, while the rest of us, who are supposed to be unlearned in the law and never to approach those sacerdotal tabernacles, have got to keep out of the robing room and never even look that way. We are assured that everything is okay. Well, I do not think everything is okay and I have made that about as clear as I can make it.

I am very glad indeed, that my colleague the member for London Centre (Mr. Peterson) in the conclusion of his address on the budget presented an amendment which is essentially a no-confidence amendment. I regret our procedure in dealing with the budget means that will not be voted upon until near the end of 1980. I personally believe we ought to tighten up our debates on these subjects so that they are concentrated with the leaders and others taking part, with some provision perhaps similar to the one we used in our constitutional debate so that people can not only take part, but perhaps listen to what other people say, and then end up with a vote upon which the government stands or falls.

I believe the province needs an election. We need only look at the Order Paper to see

the government has nothing in mind. It is daring nothing. We spend all our time debating the most fatuous and irrelevant amendments to minor statutes and struggling around in various committees dealing with estimates, which is just grinding through old straw. I believe it is time this so-called minority government was recognized after three years as not working effectively in the province.

We have had lots of shots taken at our NDP friends for supporting the government. When the time comes, they will not support the government. My own feeling, having observed the leader of the government for a long time, is that he is canny enough to have the election when he wants it, not when the opposition people want it. It might well be that in the future we are going to have to co-ordinate our approaches more closely than we have in the past because for 37 years now the Tories have simply laughed at us as we have divided in the opposition, which the Acting Speaker, the member for Humber (Mr. MacBeth), knows from his days as a Liberal is a far larger group in this province than the group which supports the government. I don't know what the answer is to this, but there probably is an answer.

I notice that the Premier has said clearly he will not call an election until 1981. I have never known him to go back on a publicly stated word in any way at all. But I have known him to contrive to have circumstances and events make decisions for him that he wants to occur. We don't know what the future holds, other than the sureness, as sure as I stand here, that the Liberals will form the next government and my friend the member for Hamilton West (Mr. S. Smith) will be the Premier.

Interjections.

Mr. Nixon: There are those who feel the Tories are praying for a yes vote next Tuesday so that the Premier, who tends to play perhaps to some extent on issues like this, which he does with consummate skill, will then call for the kind of majority that would let Ontario take part in the difficult days that lie ahead. He would say how much he has done for the French community and then add parenthetically, no doubt without even using words, "However, you know where I stand."

It looks as though that is not going to happen, thank God. It may even be as a result of his own visit to Montreal. It may have been as a result of our debate here last week. Who knows what caused it? It looks as if Claude Ryan is going to win and the no vote is going to win. That problem may recede, although in another sense it is going to come

on us very heavily. Our first move in that direction is the appointment of a select committee on constitutional reform which is going to be an extremely important and interesting one indeed.

We don't know what is in the mind of the Premier. He may engineer something for the fall. The rumours are starting to come from over there. They are going to get their house in order. They are going to make some cabinet changes and throw out some of the dead-wood. I wish there were some more cabinet ministers here so that they could turn pale. That could happen. There could be some general changes in the cabinet over the summer.

Back in the Robarts days, the Premier used to call an election in August, and the province wouldn't even know the election was called for three weeks. We would be out thrashing around, having these great Liberal rallies with 30 or 35 at them, and nobody would even know there was an election on until the kids would go back to school. Then there would be about three weeks of good campaigning and we would be back at the same old stand.

There is real pressure on the Premier. The fact, as I go back to the budget, is that the 10-year spread begins at its earliest end with his first budget. Even the Tories must be thinking if it is not time for a change in government it is going to be time for a change in leadership. He has one more election in him. We all know how desperately he wants to pass the party on to his successor in the good shape he received it. I don't believe that is possible, but we know he will make every political effort to achieve it. We have already had a softening-up in the budget. I think it is called a pause in the move towards a balanced budget—lovely phrase. We have started the advertising campaign. Even today in his answers to the legitimate and moderate questions of the Leader of the Opposition (Mr. S. Smith), I noticed a certain something that sounded to me like the hustings.

I have got my stakes sharpened. I am going to use the same old "Vote Nixon. Vote Liberal" signs that have been so successful in the past. I intend to come back here with many of my colleagues. It will be a great pleasure to occupy those seats over there because there are a lot of changes needed around here after 37 years. I have briefly discussed some of them and I hope to have many more opportunities to discuss them again, not from this side of the House, but from over there.

Mr. Bounsall: Mr. Speaker, I rise tonight to start in a much more serious mood than I usually start my budget addresses because I wish to speak tonight of a city which is grievously wounded and people who are grievously wounded. At the moment, there is still very much uncertainty about the future of that city of Windsor and about how soon those wounds can be repaired, if at all.

9:10 p.m.

I would like to start out by describing the situation in Windsor. Depending upon how one measures it, one could get a different figure for the percentage of unemployment in Windsor. We know those unemployment percentages do not contain all those people who have been out of work for more than a year, have not been able to sustain work and are not any longer listed formally in the job search lists. In spite of that, we are talking in Windsor of 15 or 16 per cent unemployment and a total figure of 24,000 unemployed.

The figures change very dramatically from month to month. There was a compilation made as of April 8 with respect to the two major employers in Windsor, the Ford Motor Company of Canada Limited and Chrysler Canada Limited of workers on layoff there. There were 2,269 on layoff as of April 3 from the three Ford plants in Windsor—the foundry and the two engine plants. Since then, and that is slightly more than a month ago, we have added another 400. The casting plant is to be closed in August which will add another 840. They had already lost over 550 employees from that plant and there are layoffs that have been scheduled since that total 1,500. When we add up the total at Ford in Windsor, there are 5,800 persons that either are unemployed already or are scheduled to be unemployed.

Over the past 16 months, 5,100 jobs have been permanently lost at Chrysler. Those on indefinite layoff, for which no consideration can be given at all as to when they will be brought back, number between 3,500 and 4,000. In the engine plant alone there have been 2,000 jobs lost over the last 16 months. We hear that in August the last 460 workers will be laid off from that plant. In the van and truck plant, there have been 200 layoffs previously and there are 900 on indefinite layoff. Those are absolutely permanent layoff. There are another 900 on indefinite layoffs, leaving 1,300 still working. But 1,300 still working would imply those workers are on the job week upon following week. That is not the case. They work one week here, are off two or three weeks, and work another week. That is the situation pertaining to the

remainder of the workers in that van plant. In the car plant, 900 jobs have been lost, but that does not include the 300 on indefinite layoff. And what did we hear this week? There will be another 850 laid off permanently as a result of the closure of the second assembly shift in that plant.

Again, when we talk about a Chrysler worker working—those that are still left—we are not talking about week-by-week work; we are talking about a week here and a week there. Starting May 5, there was a four-week layoff of the remaining 4,500 persons in that automobile assembly plant, of whom 850 will not return when the four-week prepared layoff ends.

What it all adds up to is that the Minister of Industry and Tourism (Mr. Grossman) was right on when he predicted that unemployment for Chrysler in the next two years would be in the vicinity of 5,000 to 6,000. In the light of what has happened over the past five or six months, we are looking at a situation where those 5,000 to 6,000 do not have week-by-week employment, but again are in their work place only temporarily.

It is hard to imagine the effect this is having upon the city of Windsor. Once every two weeks, on Friday afternoons at 3:30, whenever possible—and it has usually been possible—I attend a meeting of the mayor's committee on the unemployed. It is formed by anyone from the social service agencies, from the business community, who could give any strength at all to a committee to assist the mayor in meeting with the unemployment problems that exist in the city.

One thing emerges from that. In Windsor, people have not yet had to go on a soup line. The increase in people needing food handouts has not occurred. There has been a slight increase but, by and large, it has not yet occurred, because the people in the city of Windsor are putting what little money they have into food for themselves and their families, hoping that something will end that situation. But they are in dire trouble in every other respect. The need for additional moneys, from this province and the federal government, to flow into the services provided in Windsor for people is incredible.

Credit counselling, which is supposed to be able to help people with financial problems by meeting with them and planning how to solve those problems, now has a six-week waiting list, as I understand it, for appointments. They cannot keep up or return the phone calls made to them.

This provincial government has to find some way of getting additional moneys into

those service agencies to help them to meet the needs and the problems they are confronting, the very real needs that people are encountering in the city of Windsor. That situation with credit counselling runs through every social service agency in Windsor.

So much money comes from the province and it is matched by funds locally. Usually those funds are out of the United Way. Yet the United Way funds have decreased. The backbone of the United Way fund has always been the weekly contributions by the men and women in the auto and auto-related plants in Windsor. Those donations are no longer there.

Windsor over the years, to the surprise of itself sometimes but to the envy of all other communities in the province, has always had a higher than 100 per cent success rate in support of the United Way agencies. Every year they have 102, 103, 106 per cent subscriptions to the United Way. It is in very dire circumstances now as the jobs are not there to enable the people of Windsor to give to the United Way. They have no way in which they can get more funds to make up their share of whatever services they have for which the province will give a matching or even a four-to-one share. It is not there. Funds must flow from the province to those services without any matching funds from the city. There are no funds there to match it to meet the services.

9:20 p.m.

When one speaks to the representatives of the ministerial association—to their spokesman, Captain Gillespie of the Salvation Army who speaks for the downtown service agencies that deal with all sorts of family and credit problems—one is told that there has been a drastic increase over the last month or two in the marriage breakup field. As the tremendous financial strains come on families, an additional strain is placed on the normal marital relationships. The disagreements that sometimes occur are causing those breakups all over the place. The demand for housing increases when a family runs out of money and the major breadwinner has to leave either because of straight marital problems or because that is the only way that family can survive. And they cannot survive in their present accommodation. They must find subsidized OHC housing elsewhere, and that OHC housing is now full to overflowing, with growing waiting lists.

It is an awesome situation we have in Windsor, and it is not going to get any better for another couple of years. We are seeing just the start of the misery in Windsor.

One talks to the school principals and asks them if there is any evidence that families are leaving Windsor. They say, "Yes, one or two pupils per classroom per week are going from our schools. That represents four or five families per week leaving Windsor. There are no jobs there; there is no short-term prospect of jobs there, and they go elsewhere to try to find employment.

I know the strain that must be put on families as the major breadwinner, a person laid off by Ford or Chrysler, has gone out west or to some other city in this province to try to find employment. In some instances they are successful and are working four and five weeks at a stretch before they can get home for a weekend to visit their families. That whole problem is very rampant and widespread. Bills pile up; mortgages are about to be called.

One of the activities in which the mayor's committee on the unemployed has engaged itself is to write all the major credit companies and banks in Ontario. The committee asks that when a Windsor person—no matter who they are; they don't have to be an auto worker—has a problem with a bill or a mortgage, that the credit company promise not to foreclose. It asks them to accept a very reasonable minimal payment of interest—something much lower than the full rate, if it is a mortgage—one that shows the person is trying to pay.

There has been a fairly good response to that to date. Before a week from this Friday, we will have met those banking and financial institutions that have not yet responded positively to try to resolve that situation.

A week ago this past Monday, letters went out to all the major gasoline and credit card companies in which the same thing was asked. That is a very critical situation. Our workers in Windsor are putting food on their table but are not able to keep up with the payments on their credit cards. Some companies have already indicated, at the first sign of a phone call, that they would be willing to take that into account. But there are others that have not. Because of the slur which may be put on some company that has not had that opportunity I won't name them.

The week before this week, I ran into at least two instances of someone sitting down and writing a very reasonable letter to a gasoline credit card company, saying, "I will pay this much per month" or "I will pay what I calculate to be the interest per month." In one case, it was even more than that to an oil company. The person said,

"Can you accept this for the next four or five months?" Of course, they got an instant letter back, saying, "You pay up by the end of the month or we will have a collection agency collect it" or "We will garnishee your wages whenever it is you do get back to work." That problem will be solved locally, but it is not allowing the people of Windsor to sleep soundly in their beds knowing this has not yet been reached and this sort of situation can happen to any of those families.

I want to leave for a moment the personal plight of those workers in Windsor as they try to meet these various problems. I don't quite know how they will do so without massive amounts of social service moneys coming from the province to the agencies that are designed to help them. Those agencies, through their normal sources, the United Way or the city of Windsor, do not have sufficient funds with which to operate as they have in the past, even without that kind of problem.

I want to deal with the situation at Chrysler and Ford and the government involvement with them. I have said many times, through questions in this House and in other speeches, that the deal the federal government made with the Ford Motor Company in which Ontario participated as an add-on, was an incredibly bad deal. For \$68 million, \$40 million federal and \$28 million provincial, what did we get? We got an engine plant, but there were no guarantees or conditions laid down with regard to that grant.

Within days of that grant being announced, I was asking here, in the Legislature, were there any guarantees that the construction companies would be Canadian? Was the labour going to be Canadian? Were the materials and supplies used going to be Canadian? Were there any guarantees in this? What about the machinery and equipment to be used in that plant? Was there a condition that machinery and equipment be sourced in Canada if at all possible? It turned out there was nothing in that regard.

It is very clear what has happened since then, as American construction companies and American labour have turned up time and time again on that site. In respect to supplies and materials, I have no firm proof, but there is no doubt in the minds of the people I talked to that in many instances those have not been bought in Ontario or Canada and, as far as anybody can see, there has not been a search for a Canadian supplier for the equipment and the machinery for that plant.

Then we found out the deal was completely and totally without guarantee of any

kind. The federal government—and I quote from a statement which Herb Gray made about a month ago at a trilevel meeting of municipal, provincial and federal members—“assumed there would be no closures of other plants in Windsor.” They assumed there would be no closures, but nothing was written down, nothing was required from the Ford Motor Company.

We found there was nothing written down. The Ford Motor Company could blissfully go ahead and close its casting plant in Windsor. That casting plant was the most efficient of any the company had—it had made money for that company consistently—and it had already been reduced to 50 per cent employment. The one in Flat Rock, Michigan, was down to 50 per cent as well, and the Cleveland plant, doing essentially the same thing, was at 75 per cent employment.

Windsor had already had more than its share of the casting production layoffs, yet that plant was closed and those castings and engines which were assembled in Windsor were shifted completely to the Cleveland operation.

What did we get for our \$68 million? Not very much, and what is a certainty now is something we have feared all along: less net employment in Ford at Windsor than we had before. The federal government should forever stand condemned over the kind of deal and money handout they made to Ford, the federal government at that time being the negotiators.

9:30 p.m.

Then we come to the Chrysler situation. Chrysler needs money. They need loan guarantees from our governments to qualify for the loan guarantees from the US government. We are very concerned, and have talked about this concern for the last two or three months, about guarantees in a whole host of areas which pertain to that Chrysler situation. What did we find out last Wednesday? We found out the federal government was quite willing to make a loan guarantee of \$200 million, and Ontario was expected to add its \$50 million with virtually the same kind of arrangement as the one with Ford, which had no guarantees whatsoever.

There was nothing in the way of research and development. The statement says, “We will do research and development on the van-wagon if it is feasible.” Does one call that a guarantee? We know very well that it would never become feasible. They said: “We will source parts in Canada provided we can source them cheaper than we can get them anywhere else.” That means they are

not going to source parts in Canada or even try to search for them. They are not going to be required to prove that they can do it cheaper in Ontario or Canada than elsewhere. It meant, “Leave us alone on parts sourcing.”

It was an incredible situation, but one should have asked at least that all of the parts associated with the van-wagon plant and product, and the extension of that plant to build that product, be sourced here in Ontario, before we even considered \$200 million in loan guarantees. There was apparently nothing in the deal at that time about an improved auto mix. There was nothing acceptable in the terms of employment in the city of Windsor. What finally came out at the end of the week contained the same problem with respect to employment.

In Canada we have more than 11 per cent of the North American sales of Chrysler products. Each year, those sales figures, as percentages, have become higher. I suspect in this year and next year it will be 13 per cent. Yet, on job guarantees expressed in percentages, which is the only way to calculate it, the federal government said that through 1981 and 1982 our guarantee will be nine per cent. That is three per cent lower than what their sales are here in Canada. In 1984, it will go up to 11 per cent. At that time, I would suggest, it will be one per cent lower than it is now and perhaps two per cent lower. What does that translate into in terms of jobs? In 1984 at two per cent less than the percentage of sales, the total employment in the Chrysler plant would be lower by 2,000 to 3,000 jobs. If it is the present three per cent less, which is what the federal government is willing to negotiate for 1981-82, it represents between 3,000 and 4,000 jobs.

For our \$200 million in federal loan guarantees, what did we get? We got between 2,000 as a minimum and 4,000 fewer jobs than our fair share employment should be. That is what we get for \$200 million in loan guarantees. It is a complete and utter disgrace.

I applaud, as I did when I spoke in this House on Monday afternoon, the Minister of Industry and Tourism (Mr. Grossman) who did not and would not buy into that kind of a deal, as we had been saying all along that he should not so do. I am glad we were saying that to give him the strength to say that in return to his cabinet, to the federal government and to the Chrysler corporation.

I also applaud what the Minister of Industry and Tourism did for Ontario over the

weekend in those final negotiations where he had to come up with something. He said: "We will give, not a loan guarantee. We will give \$10 million for a \$20-million research and development centre." That was to get Chrysler to do something it has never done in living memory—to site its R and D in the Canadian operations.

We didn't know that in the early part of the weekend when we first heard of the announcement. We wondered: "Is that a \$10-million straight grant or did we get some equity in the company, as we have always said on this side we should?" This was of some concern over the weekend. As I answered questions, I said: "The only bad part of that deal I can see is we may not have taken equity." By Monday it became clear that in point of fact we had a mortgage on the building and the equipment for that \$10 million. In point of fact, we in Ontario would get it all back in the event that Chrysler should not continue to succeed. It is a very good equity possession.

When we stood here on Monday and asked the Minister of Industry and Tourism what sort of other guarantees we get on it—whether the construction of that centre would be by Canadian companies, using Canadian labour, Canadian supplies and materials, and whether the equipment for that research and development was to be built or purchased here—he stood up and said, "Yes, indeed." That was all part of the guarantees that would go into that deal when it was finally signed.

This is the kind of deal we should continue to make with every corporation in Ontario when we give them any money or loan guarantees. We should have that sort of equity position and those sorts of guarantees with respect to jobs uppermost in our minds. We have succeeded in doing that in this particular \$20-million research and development centre for Chrysler. Any government that does not do that, as the feds still are not in any mind space to do, is not a proper husbander of our taxpayers' money. The deals they sign are a disgrace. A deal of any kind is perhaps better than no deal at all, but one wonders how much of a bad deal one can get without it being better that that deal had not been consummated at all.

I am very concerned about what is going to happen over the next couple of years, at least in Windsor, until they can have in production some of the changed and new vehicles under the auto pact, as our North American companies go through a changeover to a smaller model which would meet the market requirements in sales for people in North

America. We would like to see a great deal of activity in parts production, which can be instituted almost overnight in Ontario and in Windsor. This government can be very instrumental in going out and talking to the off-shore suppliers, the offshore auto makers, and having them site parts production here in Ontario and in Windsor, in return for the already clear deal of Canada value added, which is a duty remission program they can fall under. Point out the advantages. Get them here. Get their parts production sited here.

I have talked specifically only about the layoffs in Chrysler and Ford. On May 5, a week ago Monday, 850 people at Bendix, which produces brake linings, were laid off indefinitely. So it goes through all the auto parts supply companies right across the Windsor area and right across Ontario. This is a way in which it could be remedied very rapidly, and I call upon the government of Ontario to do just that.

The de Havilland Dash-8 is still to be sited in terms of production somewhere in Ontario. The production for that would swing in effect fairly soon. I suggest Windsor would be a very admirable place for the production of the de Havilland Dash-8. The rest of our de Havilland workers out in Downsview are quite happy to see the production of that elsewhere than the parent de Havilland plant and have no objection to its being sited in Windsor.

I also call upon the Ontario government to put more money than just \$10 million, if necessary, into research in the Windsor area, certainly a lot more money than the \$1 million it has committed to the Ontario Research Foundation for parts production. I would suggest that the difference in moneys they were being asked to provide, that \$50-million loan guarantee, the difference of \$40 million between that and the \$10 million for the research and development centre in Windsor, be put into further auto parts research and facilities.

9:40 p.m.

The one situation that cries out for redress is payment of transitional assistance benefits to workers in the Windsor area. They are suffering from very bad decisions and intransigent thinking on the part of those people who make decisions for the auto companies. Why should they be the ones who suffer? Why should they be the ones who lose their homes? Why should they be the ones who are hassled by bill collectors? There should be a definite federal government program with Ontario help of transitional assistance benefits

until the auto industry turns itself around to whatever level it can.

Under the federal arrangement which took place with respect to job guarantees, it is clear that at Chrysler in Windsor, instead of the 14,000 jobs we had just two years ago, the most we can see ever being produced, if all of the Chrysler products sell well and if all the company's expectations come to fruition, is between 9,000 and 10,000 jobs.

We are still talking about a vastly decreased work force in Windsor for both Ford and Chrysler. We call upon this government to give as much assistance as it can to those workers who stand in danger of losing their houses today, but who are going to be part of that work force, however decreased it is, who will be working overtime two years from now, as is the pattern in the auto industry. We call upon the government to help those and other workers so that they do not have this extreme situation. They have worked overtime before. They know what it is like. They all hate it. They can see they are in a transition period where they are not making anything. They are losing their houses, only to be working overtime again in two years.

It is an incredible situation I am describing. These governments have to remedy that situation and see there is an assistance benefit paid for this transition period to all of those workers.

I could go on forever on the auto industry in Windsor. If I could just make one last comment on the federal negotiations, the loan guarantees are mainly in return for an expanded van-wagon plant, for the present van plant to be expanded to accommodate the production of the van-wagon. In order for Chrysler to remain under the auto pact, it had to build in Canada something other than a car which would have been all it had the facilities left to do.

They had to build a truck. The pact requires that they build a range of products. It was even stretching the imagination to call the van-wagon a truck. Having called it a truck in order for it to qualify under the pact and for Chrysler still to stay qualified, in negotiations the federal government said to Chrysler: "Your van-wagon production must be done in Windsor in order to qualify under the pact. If you don't, you are out and the duty-free remissions and transfer of parts and vehicles cease because you are not part of the pact. What are you going to do for us in return for keeping you under the pact, for the \$200 million we are going to give you? The van-wagon production must

be in Windsor if you stay under the pact. If you don't, your corporation closes its doors tomorrow. You are asking for \$200 million. We have done enough for you by classifying it as a truck. For the \$200 million, what are you going to give us?"

That is where the negotiations should have started, and we could have then talked about parts, about research and development and about a fair share of employment between the United States and Canada, rather than those incredible results which took place federally. All of the aces were in our hands at the time, in the hands of the federal negotiators. Herb Gray, the minister during those negotiations, frittered them away, for what reason I don't know. Here again, just as I would have liked to have been Ford and played poker with the federal government when that deal was made, it is very clear there is a government I would love to play poker with again if I wanted to win money for myself at no cost to myself. The deal that was negotiated is a disgrace.

Finally, the mayors of the auto towns approached the Premier on Monday of this week and the Treasurer replied to a question on it. They approached the Premier with a program with two interesting suggestions. I am not sure I would completely support one of them, but it was an interesting proposal none the less. The suggestion was that for the foreseeable future, for some months anyway, on North American cars there would be no sales tax collected by the province as a stimulus to buying North American cars. I am not so sure I particularly agree with that, but when the Treasurer replied he talked about all the problems with it. He said it was impossible for the province to limit sales tax incentives to vehicles covered by the auto pact.

That is not right at all. We know what vehicles are covered by the auto pact—vehicles of the Big Four here in North America. What he is really saying is he doesn't want to exclude foreign cars from that sales tax rebate program. There are some of those offshore manufacturers, such as Volkswagen, that do have some of their parts produced here in Canada; they do have what they call Canada value added to their vehicles. They do have a specific number; it is quantified. Duty is remitted; they don't pay the total duty, but only a part of that duty. It is all quantified and updated month by month.

The government could even say to those offshore companies that have Canada value added they therefore would get a portion of

their duty remitted—something that is very quantifiable: "If you get 40 per cent of your duty remitted, we will give you 40 per cent off the sales tax on all your company's vehicles for which you have that duty remission." It is very easily quantified.

The Treasurer may not have wanted to do it for other reasons, but it wasn't because it was impossible to do. They were talking about North American vehicles so those corporations stay healthy as well as produce employment. I happen to know the kind of suggestion being made, because I came down on a plane, on the subway and the bus with the mayor of Windsor, Bert Weeks, who was about to go into that discussion with the Premier. I know exactly what he was saying. It is possible to do this for all the North American vehicle producers, and it is possible to easily quantify and calculate what percentage of the sales tax would apply to only those foreign producers who have the duty remission program and the Canada value added.

The Treasurer of Ontario should not have tried to sweep the problem under the carpet in quite that easy way. It just doesn't stand analysis. He may not have wanted to do it because of budgetary concerns but, if he wanted to see that North American cars sold and that employment held up, this is one thing which the Treasurer should have well considered and it is easily calculable.

One other thing that was asked in that meeting on Monday was that the Ministry of Industry and Tourism give a couple of staff persons to support the "Buy the cars your neighbours helped to build" program, which has been so successful in selling North American vehicles in Windsor. Windsor people know exactly what model cars are produced in the Windsor plants, and Windsor happened to sell quite a few of those models—the small Chryslers, which are very fuel-efficient vehicles, the Cordovas and the Miradas. A considerable number of those have sold. This is a very good program which I would suggest should be extended to all Ontario cities and, one would hope, to all Canadian cities.

Buy the cars your neighbours helped to build, meaning North American cars. One will get the inevitable question: which of these North American cars are actually produced in Canada? It is a short list which could be provided as part of that program. Don't say just "Buy these North American cars," but for those who want to know which ones are assembled here, "These are a few models in the auto, truck and other vehicle areas that are assembled here."

9:50 p.m.

This was not commented upon in the House by the Treasurer. I guess he was leaving it to the Minister of Industry and Tourism. I would say to the Minister of Industry and Tourism that, if I were he, I would go wholeheartedly into that program and give it a couple of staff members who could help the program, which would cause it to be spread to all Ontario and, one would hope, to all Canadian cities.

I am tempted to go on for a very long time about the problems of the auto industry in Windsor and its various impossible solutions and what we should be doing to help, but I am sure this will come up day by day as we progress through the life of this parliament, certainly this spring and for the rest of this year.

I would like to turn to one other major area that has always interested me since coming into the House, and that is women's issues. I think it's deplorable that the government has not seen fit to call my private member's bill about equal pay for work of equal value for further discussion in this House. The speakers who appeared before our committee in January made even the most reluctant person of that committee understand the need for equality of pay on the basis of sex around this province.

We had a couple of the answers from the Minister of Labour (Mr. Elgie), when he finally came on the last day to address us, not even having paid attention to or read the comments that were given to us. We asked him, in turn, a couple of questions. It was evident that he hadn't even bothered to follow it. He said he wanted some experience in other jurisdictions in this area before he could anticipate seriously considering the problem, or words to that effect.

In this morning's *Globe and Mail*, there was a report of two jurisdictions in Canada which are doing it, the federal government and Quebec, through their human rights commissions. We now have experience in the federal field, the actual first case of the application of that principle to federal civil servants. The federal government has been found to be in violation of the equal pay for work of equal value laws in relation to 3,000 people, most of whom are women. The group included food service workers, 60 per cent of them women; 82 laundry workers, 52 per cent of them women; 319 personnel service workers, 60 per cent of them women; and gatekeepers at our national parks. It was found that they were paid considerably less than their equivalent coun-

terparts in other site categories whose work was certainly of equal value. They found that their work was equal in value to work performed by persons in four other categories of general service workers, who were primarily men, and that the rates for the female-dominated groups were much lower. Ninety per cent of them were men in these other categories.

If we take the example of food service workers in Vancouver, there was a difference of \$1.79 an hour between the women's group and the men's group. The gap differs as you go from city to city across Canada. In Ottawa it was \$1.50 an hour, and in the Atlantic provinces there was a \$1.20 an hour difference between the men's category and women's category. Those categories were deemed to be of equal value by the Canadian Human Rights Commission.

We now have a very clear-cut case before us. The Canadian Human Rights Commission has been able to determine equal value and to identify who is short in value, and says those values must be made up. We have enough evidence in that case alone, which is rather a complicated case involving categories on both sides, for the current Minister of Labour to say there is enough experience to apply this principle in Ontario. There is not a fair-minded person in Ontario who agrees with the Minister of Labour when he says: "Equal pay for work of equal value is a good idea whose time has not yet come." It's long overdue, the first example of it having come up in a strike in Toronto here in 1866.

In the whole area of women's rights, we definitely need this kind of legislation, accompanied by legislation in the affirmative action field, so that jobs are open to women in our province and women have a chance at those jobs. The two concepts go hand in hand; one needs the other. There is no point in having affirmative action when what you are doing is getting women into low-paid jobs or jobs of equal value to jobs occupied by men, except for pay.

Both pieces of legislation are needed, and this government should be bringing in my private member's bill, as amended by the committee, and legislation in the affirmative action area. One could spend a whole evening talking about the things this government does not do on behalf of women.

To bring in another point, without any detail, on day care, this government does not have any intention of providing adequate day-care facilities for working women in this province. It is a disgrace, the small number

of places and how they are funded. If this government were being fair at all to 53 per cent of our population, it would be providing day-care facilities adequate to the need.

As education critic, there are always several areas in education that I am tempted to speak on whenever I get to my feet. Having just gone through this year's set of Education estimates, ending yesterday, and that set of estimates coming so few months after the 1979 estimates, which we dealt with in mid- to late November, I am almost talked out.

What we need very drastically in this time of declining enrolment in Ontario is encouragement by this ministry for the continuation and operation of small community schools and small classrooms in those schools.

The ministry made a very feeble first step this year in financing rural schools, which are small in numbers. But it does not touch the urban school situation, those community schools which are so needful to the life and viability of a community and which school boards continue to close with gay abandon right across this province. We need much tougher procedures for small school closings than the ministry has laid down which the boards must comply with.

I could go on about how the province continues to find a smaller and smaller percentage share of elementary and secondary education costs in this province. We are down from 61.5 per cent in 1975 to what I suspect is less than 50 per cent—or just about the 50 per cent mark—in this current upcoming year. The NDP would restore that grant to 60 per cent of the funding immediately and, over the next four or five years, put it up to 80 per cent. This is our policy. The funding would come from adequate taxes in the resource and corporate sectors.

We are about to have a special-education bill. When we talked yesterday, we might have had the bill today. We hear from the House leaders' meeting today that it will be next week. We hope that there is not too much delay of that kind. We heard from the minister yesterday that it could be today. We heard from the House leaders' meeting today that it will be next week; we hope that it will, in fact, come next week.

Our concern there is that the programs will be adequate, the teachers trained and the boards properly financed. We look forward to that debate, and the clause-by-clause discussion on that bill, to see that all those criteria are met, particularly the funding.

We continue to be concerned about trades training. This government, with its so-called desire to see that trades training is supported

across the province, has not yet sat down with the six or seven very good—in terms of programming—and very well equipped technical schools in this province to see that graduates from those schools are given their proper partial credit towards their certification as tradespersons.

10 p.m.

We have been talking about this need for a year. Are we going to have yet another whole year of students, those in the 1980-1981 classes, graduating from those very good technical schools without proper credit towards their trades training at a community college?

Another matter was brought to my attention which I truly believe to be important. My colleague from Carleton East (Ms. Gigantes) has a concern over the occasions that Ontario Hydro and Atomic Energy of Canada Limited are taking to provide seminars in teaching material for teachers with an interest in science. When dealing with energy, there is no doubt that training is a pro-nuclear discussion.

My colleague from Carleton East, in writing to people about her concern on this, said it may be difficult for some of those teachers to resist that kind of teaching pressure, particularly if it is transmitted by the school principal that they should do this. It seems that the teachers should resist this. The federation might well consider drawing up guidelines for balanced information to which those teachers could refer. That is a very good suggestion. I hope the teachers and their federations would look at that program that is being given, because they have no confidence that the government will look at that program being offered by Ontario Hydro and AECL, to see that that material is balanced and to give out counterbalancing material so the children in our classrooms receive a balanced and not just a pro-nuclear course in science and energy.

There are several other things that are of widespread interest to me. Very recently I received a letter from an employee of the Liquor Control Board of Ontario from my riding. He indicated that the union and the LCBO have been meeting to try to bring about a new collective agreement in the province. They have been negotiating for quite some time. The contract expires on June 30, and yet the management side, the LCBO, has tabled a two-year agreement containing increases of 6.5 per cent in the first year and six per cent in the second year of the two-year contract they are talking about.

You and I know, Mr. Speaker, what percentage increases we got in our salaries this particular year in the bill which was passed last Tuesday. We know the cost of living has gone up nine per cent in this past year in this province. It is quite identifiable. The government of Ontario has given increases to many of its other employees of 12 per cent and 12.5 per cent, recognizing that some catch-up is required in percentage increases above the normal nine per cent increase in the cost of living. Yet the Liquor Control Board of Ontario is talking about six and 6.5 per cent per year in each year of that two-year contract. I would say to the Minister of Consumer and Commercial Relations (Mr. Drea) that he should talk to that board and get those negotiations going properly. In my terms, that is a bad-faith proposal on the part of the Liquor Control Board of Ontario.

The writer goes on to say: "If this offer was brought to the table in private sector negotiations, it would either have been updated or would have led to a strike but, unfortunately, we are classed as civil servants and not allowed to strike. The denial of the right to strike for liquor board employees is ludicrous." I agree with him 100 per cent. He goes on to say: "No intelligent, living human being would ever consider us as providing an essential service."

Mr. Ziembra: Absolutely right.

Mr. Bounsall: Anyone in this House, not just the member for High Park-Swansea (Mr. Ziembra), would agree with that. I think we all would. There is nothing essential about the service of a liquor control board employee. That is the term used to deny public servants the right to strike. He goes on to say: "Doctors can opt out of OHIP. Nurses, teachers and employees of the Brewers' Retail stores can all strike—and what is the difference between them and the employees of the Liquor Control Board, who sell alcohol as opposed to beer?"

The membership has been frustrated enough and they want that right to strike in order to move negotiations along and not wait, as they did last time, for 21 months to pass before getting their 24-month agreement. They have no authority or way in which to help their negotiation demands.

Before I quit, there are a couple of other points I want to mention. One of the first things I dealt with when I became a member was in answer to a rather curious call, as I thought at the time, and a rather detailed one, from the person involved with the government document section at the University of Windsor library and at the

downtown city library. There happened to be the same person doing both jobs for a short period of time. He let me know that only about half of the government documents that were produced were received, and they were supposed to be full-depository libraries. The documents often were as long as six months late, and he asked if I could do something in this regard. I spoke and I wrote letters and two or three years later, slowly but surely, the full-depository libraries were getting a full range of documents sent to them. The time of receipt was rather shortened; some of them came within a couple of weeks and most of them were there within two to three months, rather than the very common lapse of six months before they got them. In that whole period, and I still continue to so do whenever I can find additional documents within the limits of \$100 per year that is allowed to a member for additional government documents, I sent a copy each to the main Windsor library and to the University of Windsor library in order that they have copies early and to ensure that they get a complete set of everything.

Those documents are used very widely by the people of Ontario and, in this case, the people of Windsor. When a report comes out in the *Globe and Mail* or any newspaper, or on the radio or television, that a report has been received that says thus and so, you can count on every librarian in Ontario getting three or four requests for the document that very day, a line-up of people wanting the document, which in some cases never comes at all.

I haven't had to correspond with respect to the provision of documents for these depository libraries for three or four years now. From time to time, I check to see whether they still want my extra set, and they tell me how useful it is to have a second set of things around: "Yes, please; keep sending them."

I had a communication this week asking if I knew that, in the reorganization of the printing services branch of the Ministry of Government Services, the bibliographic centre had been eliminated. The centre was responsible for producing the Ontario government publications monthly checklist and the annual catalogue, both tools which were used by those libraries to see that their government documents section was complete and what was available that hadn't been sent out in the normal way to provide them with their full-depository holdings. They wanted to express some real apprehension about that

because they now had no checklist with which to compare.

Any proposed changes in this depository system would be of real concern to them, as it should be to all of us here, to ensure that government information on those documents gets widely circulated.

I hope they are all going to the minister responsible and if the member for Lanark (Mr. Wiseman), who is the Minister of Government Services, wants to talk to me later, I hope he can assure me there has been no change in the depository publications sent forth. I want to say, if it is true that the checklist and the annual catalogue have been cancelled, this is causing them some concern, because that is their way of checking to see whether they have a full set of all government documents.

10:10 p.m.

I would like to conclude with a few remarks about the city of Windsor and that area. I won't make them too detailed or too long. The equalization factors have still not been properly equalized in the absence of market value assessment coming in. I say that Windsor is again going to fall some \$5 million to \$7 million behind in equalization grants in this current year. That is a very heavy burden in the context of the year. It is a burden which over the last four or five years has amounted to a net loss in grants by the province to the city of in excess of \$20 million. I say to this government that this can no longer continue.

Some other cities, not as large as Windsor, are in the same relative position. I understand Sarnia is in the same relative position. Figures of losses on a yearly or cumulative basis are not as large, but they are in the exact same ratio. Other cities are disadvantaged too. I say to this government that discrimination should be ended immediately by a proper equalization factor coming into effect so that proper equalization takes place. The city of Windsor, which at normal times cannot afford that kind of drop in provincial grants, should receive at least its fair share of the provincial grants relative to other cities in the province.

I say to the Minister of Natural Resources (Mr. Auld) he will have received or is about to receive a detailed submission from the Essex Region Conservation Authority about the funding it will so very badly need if its conservation programs are to continue. This authority was established only three or four years ago and is well behind many other conservation authorities which have been established 15 and 20 years ago and more.

We do not have much recreational land in Essex county in comparison to other areas. There is a very desperate need for these lands to be purchased now and for a parkway, which is one of the authority's proposals to be established starting at Lake St. Clair and running through Windsor and down to the Detroit River and the Lake Erie sector. A parkway should be established there linking the various parks which it hopes to acquire and develop. I will be talking to the minister and to this House about the very real need for the provision of funds to sustain the Essex Region Conservation Authority in its plans for acquisition and building that parkway.

I would like to end by pointing out one other problem area in the Windsor area; that is, the provincial court and the building there. It is clear now that it is woefully inadequate. Talk to people on the street and they will comment on how inadequate it is. The odd lawyer will talk in an awkward way about its inadequacy. I wonder why I don't hear about it officially.

I will say, "Why haven't I heard much about it?" They will say, "It is under the jurisdiction of the senior provincial court judge there to do that. But Judge Stewart isn't paying any attention to the lack of facilities there. One of the problems is Judge Stewart. We can't get him to focus on it at all."

Then one inquires around a little bit more and finds that some funny things have happened. The telephones have been removed from the provincial court building. If one is there awaiting a summons as a witness, or if one is appearing oneself and things run overtime, as they often do, and one wishes to make a phone call, one has to walk out of the building two blocks away to the nearest pay phone, I am told. The facilities are inadequate and some strange decisions are being made. Proper submissions are not coming forward for expansion or about the woeful lack of facilities in that court building.

I say to the Attorney General that something must be done with respect to seeing the needs of that provincial court building. He must see they are met even if at the moment there is not much leadership being taken by the judges themselves through their senior provincial court judge.

While we are on that topic, I want to point out that we are at least two judges short in Windsor in the provincial court area, and that those judges should be appointed as soon as possible. There was the unexpected death of one judge recently. He, of course, needs to be

replaced, and we were slated to get a second. With two provincial court judges shy, the minister can imagine the way the cases are piling up in the Windsor area. It is a matter of immediate concern to the people of Windsor and to those who work in the whole legal, court, probation and parole community that this be resolved as soon as possible.

The time is getting on and I don't want to go on unduly, but I want to say that I too was rather upset by the Premier's remarks on May 13 to the Ontario Chamber of Commerce on prices and wages. He talked about high interest rates and chronic inflation representing an unfair and cruel tax on business. He said, "Price and income restraints must again become a matter of urgent and frank public discussion," "We as Canadians must try to restrain ourselves in terms of income and price increases" and "Most Canadians have come to expect their income will always rise at least as much as the consumer price index." That is not a bad expectation, I say myself.

According to the Premier again, "In my view, an anti-inflation policy must be established and must establish and explain new norms of reasonable and responsible social behaviour in this regard."

I am concerned about it particularly because of the Premier's attitude that perhaps we shouldn't expect our incomes to match the cost-of-living increases. It looks as if he is going to be willing to return to a price and wage control situation that would be as bad as the one we had under Prime Minister Trudeau. That was one that controlled wages and not prices, one that saw the cost of living outstrip the size of the wage increases; it also provided in the people of Canada a large measure of feeling that they were being hosed by that program, that it was unfair—which it was—and that redress should be made when those controls were lifted. Here it seems we have the Premier of Ontario looking for a return to that inequitable situation.

I would not be opposed to controls on prices if wages were allowed to keep pace with those prices. I suggest that wages are behind the price increases that have taken place since 1975 and that we should allow catch-up there in addition to letting them match the price increases which have occurred. That is the kind of program I wouldn't be opposed to. But if the Premier is thinking about any other kind of program in which wages do not at least equal the price increases in any sort of control situation, we in this party, and I in particular, can be counted upon to object most strenuously to that kind of program. There will be a disagreement in this House

the likes of which we have not seen for quite some time should that be the intent of this government and the Premier.

On motion by Mr. Cureatz, the debate was adjourned.

The House adjourned at 10:19 p.m.

ERRATUM

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No. 51

Legislature of Ontario Debates


Official Report (Hansard)

Fourth Session, 31st Parliament

Friday, May 16, 1980

Speaker: Honourable John E. Stokes

Clerk: Roderick Lewis, QC



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Published by the Legislature of the Province of Ontario.
Editor of Debates: Peter Brannan.

LEGISLATURE OF ONTARIO

FRIDAY, MAY 16, 1980

The House met at 10 a.m.

Prayers.

STATEMENTS BY THE MINISTRY

CITIZENSHIP DAY

Hon. Miss Stephenson: Mr. Speaker, I would like to draw to the attention of all honourable members that today is Citizenship Day. Citizenship Day was first proclaimed in 1950 by the federal government. The intent was that it would be a day for special observances by schools and by public spirited organizations, observances to make us "more deeply conscious of our own citizenship and all that it implies."

The government of Ontario wholeheartedly supports the marking of a day on which Canadians make a special effort to reflect upon the privileges and liberties we enjoy as citizens and the responsibility we have to protect and to preserve what our forefathers fought so long to achieve.

The government urges everyone, irrespective of ethnocultural heritage, to reflect together on the rights and duties, the institutions and benefits which we all share as members of the Canadian family. Since 1973, this government has awarded the Ontario Medal for Good Citizenship. In establishing the medal seven years ago, the Premier (Mr. Davis) defined good citizenship as "the quality of an individual's response to membership in a community." On this day each one of us will want to take some time to consider our own response to membership in the Ontario community. At a time when there are forces at play that could divide us, our common citizenship takes on an even greater meaning.

To enhance understanding of the importance of citizenship, my ministry provides materials to schools to stimulate their Citizenship Day observances. Further to that, in the past year this government has reconstituted the former Advisory Council on Multiculturalism into the Advisory Council on Multiculturalism and Citizenship. By changing the council's name and broadening its mandate, the government seeks to stress

that its multicultural policy is a citizenship policy that applies equally to all residents of the province, whether newcomer or native born.

The policy embraces distinctive cultural groups sustaining their own identities and, at the same time, sharing those things we have in common and living together in harmony. That formulation was made by my colleague, the Minister of Culture and Recreation (Mr. Baetz) to assist all residents in our multicultural society to participate more fully in the life of the whole community that is Ontario.

I take great pleasure in acknowledging, on behalf of the Premier and the government, the occasion of Citizenship Day. It is an appropriate day on which to reaffirm our commitment to a policy which seeks to ensure full, equal and responsible citizenship for every man, woman and child in our province. On May 16, 1980, it is a compelling day on which to reaffirm our deep commitment to our country and all of its people.

Canada, God bless her.

AID TO SMALL BUSINESS

Hon. Mr. Grossman: Mr. Speaker, since their inception in 1967, the Ontario Development Corporations have been a major vehicle for government assistance to further the development of small business in this province. In the past year alone, the corporations have committed more than \$50 million in support of small business. The activities of the Ontario Development Corporation, the Northern Ontario Development Corporation and the Eastern Ontario Development Corporation have added substantially to our province's industrial and tourist potential and have contributed to the creation of thousands of new jobs for Ontario residents.

Last Tuesday I announced Export '80, a revitalized, better financed and more comprehensive trade strategy for Ontario. A major component of Export '80 involves increased financial assistance for exports through the Ontario Development Corporations. The corporations will double their overall financial support in this area from \$12 million to \$25

million annually and will double their line of export credit to individual firms from \$500,000 to \$1 million. This assistance will be available to finance production for export markets and export receivables. Further, the development corporations will provide specific support to co-ordinate access to the federal government's Export Development Corporation and private sector lending institutions.

This morning I would like to outline additional new initiatives our government is undertaking through the Ontario Development Corporations to strengthen our financial support of the small business sector of the economy. The first initiative involves a broadening of the range of industries which will be assisted under the financial programs of the corporations.

10:10 a.m.

In the past, financing has been available only to small firms involved in secondary manufacturing and tourism-related activities. Loan programs were directed primarily towards the financing of production-related plant and equipment and tourist facilities. As a result, assistance was not often available to small businesses in a number of important sectors where the very real opportunities exist for the employment of Ontario's highly skilled work force.

I am pleased to announce that we are expanding the mandate of the Ontario Development Corporations in order to allow them to provide financial support in a number of key new areas, including service industries which offer export potential, or where imported services can be replaced; industries which have an important place in the economic infrastructures of less developed regions of the province; and industries which can have important spinoffs in the secondary manufacturing and tourism sectors of the economy.

The second initiative I would like to outline this morning involves an increase in the corporations' normal lending limits. Over the past year it has become apparent that normal credit limits would have to be increased if the corporations were to continue to fulfil their mandate to assist small business. This was particularly evident in the northern and eastern parts of the province, where assistance provided by the corporations is often necessary to ensure that an otherwise viable project goes ahead.

In addition, the cost of new job creation in a number of industries is relatively high. Experience has demonstrated that if the corporations are to be successful in leveraging new

investment among many small businesses, the need to go further than existing limits is frequently required. Accordingly, we have decided to double the normal lending and loan guarantee limits of the development corporations. Effective immediately, the corporations will be in a position to provide, on a selective basis, up to \$500,000 in direct loans or \$1 million in guarantees, to assist small business ventures. Both of those figures are double the previous amounts.

The expansion of the corporations' lending limits will ensure that they continue to provide assistance to small businesses involved in viable investment opportunities. Moreover, it will integrate more fully the services available to small business through the development corporations with the support provided to medium and larger firms through the Employment Development Fund. In this way, the selective assistance programs of our government will be available to a full range of businesses in Ontario, with the major emphasis of our resources and manpower placed on assisting and promoting small business development and expansion.

The development corporations are an important part of our program to assist small business across Ontario. They play a major role in providing financial support and advice to local entrepreneurs. They are not simply another option to private lending institutions but, rather, they are a catalyst to lever private sector financing. The corporations will continue to emphasize private sector participation and encourage banks and other lenders to expand their financial assistance to this important sector of our economy.

I expect the three development corporations will commit more than \$80 million this year in support of small business in Ontario. The assistance provided will encourage private investors and lenders to extend more than twice this amount to ensure that viable small business projects go ahead across this province. I am confident that ODC, NODC and EODC will continue to play an important role in fostering and assisting entrepreneurs in all parts of this province.

ASBESTOS HAZARDS

Hon. Mr. Elgie: Mr. Speaker, when, on April 21, 1980, I announced the appointment of a royal commission to investigate all matters relating to health and safety arising from the use of asbestos in Ontario, I advised the House that the commission's appointment did not mean other activities would be suspended or otherwise delayed.

Members are already aware of our continuing school inspection program, the monitoring program in the Toronto Transit Commission subway system and our inspection program aimed at locating asbestos exposure sites which may warrant further inspection. In addition, we have responded to certain individual requests for investigation and sampling.

One such request was received some weeks ago by my ministry from the Ministry of Government Services. The request was to carry out visual inspections and air sampling in the Macdonald Block and in the Legislative Building.

The inspections and tests have now been completed by the occupational health and safety division of my ministry. Neither the visual inspections nor the air sampling tests revealed any grounds for concern. In the Macdonald Block, a total of 37 air samples were taken. In 34 of these, the fibre counts were below 0.03 fibres per cubic centimetre, the lowest reliable detection level. The highest of the remaining three was 0.28 fibres per cubic centimetre.

The results of air samples in the Legislative Building were similar to those found in the Macdonald Block. Nineteen of the 20 samples taken in the Legislative Building were below 0.03 fibres per cubic centimetre and the 20th sample, which related to a maintenance worker cleaning an elevator pit, was 0.09 fibres per cubic centimetre, far below the occupational health guideline.

Our conclusion is that in areas of the buildings normally occupied, airborne values of asbestos are consistently low—in fact, in most cases, below the detection limit. In some areas where staff are performing maintenance functions, airborne fibres increase slightly, but in those cases the increased levels were again well below any occupational health guideline.

I might add that the inspections and sampling to which I have referred were carried out after consultation with representatives of the Ontario Public Service Employees Union. The detailed results of the tests have been supplied to the union representatives and I understand there will be a subsequent meeting with them to discuss and explain the result.

I think those who work within these buildings should be reassured by the test results. I shall, of course, keep the members informed of any further developments.

AUTO INSURANCE SURCHARGES

Hon. Mr. Drea: Mr. Speaker, it is my pleasure to announce some results from a study being conducted by the office of the superintendent of insurance as part of the joint effort by government and the insurance industry to develop a new method of rating and classifying drivers for automobile insurance purposes.

The results justify the ongoing effort to establish a fairer system of rating both good and poor drivers. However, the study indicates it is essential that the insurance industry continues to have access to the conviction records of all drivers insured in Ontario. I would like to go on record today to say that I will defend the right of the insurance industry to have access to these records, provided they are used fairly.

Until today, the insurance industry could and has been criticized for its method of surcharging drivers according to the number of convictions they had accumulated, even if they had a claim-free record. The greatest criticism was that the system of surcharges appeared to be unjustified. There were no satisfactory statistics to demonstrate that a relationship existed between drivers' convictions and their chances of being responsible for subsequent insurance claims, independent of the fact that drivers with a poor claims record are known to be high risks.

The select committee on company law raised this point in its deliberations. They also suggested that if the principle of insurance surcharges were to be justified, then in fairness all drivers' conviction records should be checked, not just the records of those drivers who had just had claims or those who chose a new insurer. May I say now that the principle applied by the insurance industry of surcharging drivers with a record of convictions was justified.

For example, our study shows that a claim-free driver with a record of demerit point convictions is an accident waiting to happen. The study, conducted by the department of insurance during the past 18 months, was based on a survey of the driving records of 38,000 insured motorists in Ontario. We examined the records of these drivers for three years prior to the survey, then monitored their claims records for the next 12 months.

The results show that in a group of more than 21,000 five-year claim-free drivers, approximately 35 per cent have a record of demerit point convictions. According to our statistics, these drivers have a 50 per cent greater chance of having an insurance claim in the next year than a claim-free driver with-

out convictions. However, they are not paying their fair share into the insurance system.

The study destroys the myth that nearly every driver has traffic convictions. Less than 40 per cent of all drivers have any traffic convictions recorded in the last three years. Only 16 per cent have two or more convictions; less than eight per cent have three or more. The vast majority of convictions recorded for the high risk group of drivers were those minor speeding and traffic offences subject to demerit points.

The 65 per cent of claim-free drivers surveyed who did not have a record of demerit convictions could benefit from a modest decrease in rates if all drivers with convictions were surcharged fairly. If the insurance industry was denied access to conviction records, the two thirds of Ontario drivers who avoid convictions would have to subsidize the higher risk minority who have a record of breaking traffic laws.

Obviously, this study, together with major studies being conducted by the insurance industry, will play a major role in the design of a fairer insurance rating system. My staff is already working, together with the insurance industry, to try to develop an economical system of retrieving the necessary information at a reasonable cost to all concerned parties.

I feel we are well on the way to developing a system where good drivers will see their rates reduced or at least stabilized and high risk drivers will assume their fair share of the cost of the insurance system.

10:20 a.m.

TOILET TISSUE

Hon. Mr. Drea: Mr. Speaker, I would like to respond to a question regarding the price of toilet tissue in New York state raised recently by the member for Welland-Thorold (Mr. Swart).

Following an in-depth study by my ministry of the tissue product market in both Canada and the United States and E.B. Eddy Forest Products Limited in particular, I can say the charges of ripoff made by the member are entirely unfounded and misleading. I am tabling a report on paper tissue products which examines closely all of the aspects of the issue. There are, however, several points regarding the charges made which I wish to deal with separately.

First, I would like to comment on the charge that a claimed 13 per cent increase in the retail price of bathroom tissue in Ontario in the last nine months is attributable

to a ripoff by the E.B. Eddy company. I wish to report that in the nine-month period between July 1979 and April 1980 the E.B. Eddy wholesale price of Swan's Down tissue rose only five per cent. In that nine-month period the E.B. Eddy wholesale price in the United States for the same product, under the trade name Soft and Pure, rose 8.8 per cent.

The fact is that the member's claim of a 13 per cent increase in the retail price during that time in two distinctly different marketing areas has absolutely nothing to do with the E.B. Eddy company. It is largely due to circumstances which relate to retail marketing competitive variables at a given time. For example, in July 1979 the three-store-average price for Swan's Down in Toronto was \$1.37 and on April 2, 1980, it was \$1.28, a decline of 6.6 per cent, because of a special feature price in one food chain.

A further example of comparative wholesale pricing of the two E.B. Eddy products in question is the difference in the wholesale price between Canada and the United States —3.9 per cent for a case of 96 rolls. In terms of one roll of tissue the cost difference is one solitary penny.

Finally, with respect to the charge that the amount of tissue in the E.B. Eddy package is less by weight now than it was nine months ago, I am assured there has been absolutely no change in the manufacturing specifications of the E.B. Eddy product. The more recent criterion and expressed consumer preference in terms of bathroom tissue relates to softness and lightness. Weight is clearly no measurement for value in bathroom tissue. If one were to ask any housewife, the heavier the roll of toilet tissue, the louder the outburst.

The facts on this matter are contained in the document I have tabled today and I trust the member opposite will in future use careful judgement and more complete data when charging our Canadian companies of ripping off Ontario consumers.

COPIES OF STATEMENTS

Mr. Swart: On a point of order, Mr. Speaker: I have not received that statement or report at this time. I should have received it before. Those are the orders of this House. The report won't stand up, that's the reason.

Mr. S. Smith: I got the impression from the minister if it were heavy tissue the problem wouldn't be in standing up, it would be in sitting down.

Mr. Warner: Mr. Speaker, rule 26(b) is quite specific. It says that two copies of

ministerial statements shall be delivered to opposition party leaders or their representatives at or before the time the statement is made in the House.

The Minister of Consumer and Commercial Relations made a statement with respect to the tissue issue, and we still do not have a copy of the statement. We would appreciate receiving it. Also, Mr. Speaker, I would ask that you again draw this rule to the attention of all ministers so that the rules can be lived up to.

Hon. Mr. Drea: Mr. Speaker, just at the outset there are two things: It was the answer to a question, just to save some time; and secondly, I tabled the report, it's over there on the desk.

URANIUM CONTRACTS

Ms. Gigantes: Mr. Speaker, pursuant to standing order 33 (b) of the Legislative Assembly, I am tabling with the Clerk a petition that the annual report of Ontario Hydro for the calendar year 1979, tabled in the House April 24 as sessional paper 72, be referred to the standing committee on public accounts for such consideration and report as the committee may determine.

The petition is signed by 20 members of this Legislature. I am hoping that the standing committee on public accounts will review and report recommendations on the uranium contracts of Ontario Hydro.

ORAL QUESTIONS

NATURAL GAS CONVERSION

Mr. S. Smith: Mr. Speaker, I would like to direct a question to the Minister of Energy.

The minister will recall the questions we ask time after time about the substitution of natural gas for oil in the heating of homes in Ontario. Instead of blaming workers for causing inflation, does the minister not recognize that one of the causes of inflation is the high price of imported oil?

That being the case, and it being six months that we have now been discussing this with him, precisely what is the minister doing about the fact that there are a million homes in Ontario using mainly oil and not gas? What is he doing about the fact that 250,000 of these are in areas already served by gas mains and 400,000 are within existing gas franchise areas? Precisely what has the minister done to get these people to convert from oil to natural gas?

Hon. Mr. Welch: Mr. Speaker, if the Leader of the Opposition had joined us during estimates time, his colleague from Halton-

Burlington (Mr. J. Reed), the Liberal energy critic, would have told him there was a fairly full discussion on this whole question of substitution. We have done a fairly extensive survey of the province along the lines which he has already indicated, those areas now served and the rate by which the present franchise holders can accommodate requests for substitution. Literally thousands of people are being accommodated by the gas companies.

I think it is fair to say that most of the franchise holders throughout the province are really swamped with applications with respect to the conversion program. I could provide the honourable member with some specific figures, all of which were documented during the consideration of our estimates. Indeed, as I pointed out to the standing committee at that time, what we were waiting for was some further information with respect to the natural gas incentive program. Our friends in Alberta have really not developed this yet, until such time as the current negotiations with respect to oil pricing are completed.

I am encouraged by reports in the morning paper which carry the account of the speech of the federal minister in Montreal showing the keen interest of the government of Canada in this whole program. We have discussed this and we welcome it, but hopefully we will be able to add to the situation here some incentive program that will make it possible for further penetration of natural gas in areas not now served.

If I can summarize, in the areas now served by natural gas and by the franchise holders there is certainly every indication, on the basis of the requests for substitution, of a very ambitious program under way now to accommodate people in those areas. Indeed, the companies have made it quite clear that there are many other areas that could be accommodated if the natural gas incentive program were in place.

Mr. S. Smith: By way of supplementary, dealing for the moment only with those where there is an existing gas franchise area and people could easily be hooked on to it, what is the limiting factor? Can the Minister of Energy tell us, right here and now, why it is that all the people haven't shifted from oil to natural gas?

I know there are a lot who want to shift; I told him that six months ago. But the question is, why do we not have everybody shifted? What's the limiting factor? Does he know? Is it the lack of personnel to dig the holes in the ground? Is it a lack of people to

do the connections? Is it a lack of the burners?

Mr. Deputy Speaker: The honourable member has asked the question.

Mr. S. Smith: I like to help the minister so he might be able to give us a pertinent answer.

Hon. Mr. Welch: Mr. Speaker, I don't want to be discourteous but I don't need any assistance from the Leader of the Opposition in discharging my responsibilities.

The honourable member will recall that several weeks ago, if not months ago, he stood in his place and suggested that one of the reasons this program was not proceeding was the lack of skilled workers. Following that question, about what we were doing to make available more personnel who could do this, within an hour or so of that comment I had letters from all the companies indicating that a supply of skilled workers was the last problem they had. They had all kinds of people.

As far as I know, the companies are working at full speed to accommodate people who have requested a gas installation. It's a matter of the sheer size of the job. Certainly if the honourable member would call them he would find the companies are attempting to keep up with the requests for conversion. There certainly is no lack of interest on the part of the companies, and there is no lack of skilled people to do the job.

What is the limiting factor? I suppose, is something called time—how many they can do in a day.

10:30 a.m.

Ms. Gigantes: Supplementary, Mr. Speaker, can the minister tell us whether his staff has done any background work which would indicate a need for incentive pricing, as the federal government has so far conceived of it, and if there has been such a study can he table it in the Legislature?

If there has not been such a study, why should we be walking into an incentive pricing arrangement which may be of inordinate financial benefit to existing distributors in Ontario, when it should be the consumers of Ontario who would be getting the benefits of large amounts of cheap natural gas in Canada?

Hon. Mr. Welch: Mr. Speaker, as the honourable member will perhaps recall, although we don't have the details, because at the moment Alberta is awaiting the outcome of these particular negotiations, it was my understanding the incentive program that

was being discussed at that time—that is, the reduction from 85 per cent to 65 per cent—was in fact to be used by the companies in order to help defray the cost of expanding into areas which were not now serviced.

Ms. Gigantes: What proof do you have that it is required?

Hon. Mr. Welch: The point is whether this is even going to be the program, and I'm only trying to be helpful in giving the member some background with respect to what was being considered as an incentive program to encourage companies to go into areas which otherwise would not prove economic on the basis of those tests.

I might point out to the member there have been discussions with the federal minister, the details of which have yet to be discussed at some further meetings. We really are waiting for some further details about the plans which he, in general, announced in Montreal yesterday as to where the benefits might be.

I think the important point to emphasize to the House this morning is there is no disagreement that one of the ways in which we can meet the national commitment of crude oil self-sufficiency is to get large numbers of people off oil. Substitution to natural gas, as far as home heating is concerned, is obviously one of those particular programs.

The member, being my critic for that particular party, will know there was a very full discussion with respect to where we were in Ontario at this time with respect to this matter.

Mr. S. Smith: Supplementary: Would the minister please answer the question in a straightforward way? Is he admitting, in fact, that his ministry has done absolutely nothing to bring about the substitution of natural gas for oil except to ask the distributors, "How are things going?" The distributors say, "Well, we're pretty well swamped," and the minister now comes in and tells us "Boy, are they ever swamped." I take it that's the limit of what the minister has done.

If he has done something else would he please tell us? Would he please inform this House, from his studies on this matter, since there are a quarter of a million people on the gas main who are not using gas to heat their homes right now and should be, what is preventing it? It's not good enough to say time and that the number of people who can be changed over will depend on how many people are assigned to the task. What is the problem, burners, the number of people to dig, trucks? What is the limiting

factor and why do we not have a massive program of substitution across Ontario right now?

Hon. Mr. Welch: Mr. Speaker, I am quite satisfied that the people in Ontario in areas that are now serviced, as the Leader of the Opposition refers to, are being accommodated at an accelerated rate within the capacity of the present companies to look after those who opt to have that substitution.

Mr. Peterson: Supplementary, Mr. Speaker: Could the minister tell this House the result of his discussions with the various gas companies and installers, and what he has done to make it easier for those people who want to convert, in terms of assisting those people with salvage on their installed oil tanks and present oil furnaces, et cetera?

He is aware—because it has been pointed out in this House—

Mr. Deputy Speaker: Order. The question has been asked.

Mr. Peterson: What has he done to make it easier?

Hon. Mr. Welch: Mr. Speaker, the last time this question was raised—which was some months ago—the honourable member took a personal interest in this matter because he was having some difficulties with one of the franchise holders with respect to his own personal installation. I took it upon myself to find out whether there was anything I could do to assist in that area. I found that the company and the member were in negotiation, and I felt the member was quite able to look after the matter himself.

10:40 a.m.

CHILDREN'S AID SOCIETY FUNDING

Mr. S. Smith: Mr. Speaker, I have a question of the Minister of Community and Social Services, with regard to the matter of prevention in the work of children's aid societies.

The minister rose on a point of privilege yesterday to correct certain items that were in a newspaper. Does the minister recall his ministry publishing a policy paper a couple of years ago in which prevention was said to be the first priority of the ministry?

If he does, how does that square with the statement in the newspaper, attributed to a ministry official, which said bluntly, "Prevention isn't easy to sell politically," as a way of explaining why it is that \$700,000 a year has been assigned out of what was reported as a \$30 million budget?

The minister rose on Thursday to say that this article, which suggested that 2.3 per cent of the budget went to prevention, was wrong. By the minister's calculations—since the budget was quoted wrongly—0.6 per cent has gone to prevention. How is that the minister's top priority?

Hon. Mr. Norton: Mr. Speaker, I don't know to what the Leader of the Opposition or the article are relating the funds that were specifically earmarked for the prevention initiatives. I don't know why they try to look at that as a percentage of provincial allocations to children's aid societies. I think it is a totally irrelevant relationship they are trying to draw.

In my opinion, and I think in the opinion of most of the people involved in working with children's aid societies, much of the work they do, and much of the \$116 million that the province will transfer to children's aid societies this year goes into work that could fairly be described as prevention. The specific money that I presume is being referred to by this very confused journalist is, in fact, money which we have allocated specifically for projects from which we hope to learn more about preventive techniques and programs. In fact, it is a research oriented initiative.

The projects currently under consideration for approval are being considered specifically on that basis. They have been evaluated from a research approach, in terms of the design of the program, and they are time-limited. They will be for specific periods of time, most of them for approximately two years, at the end of which time we hope to learn something more about preventive techniques.

One of the things we learned soon after we began, following the initial announcement, was that among professionals in the field there is very little consensus as to what prevention really is and what can be fairly described as preventive. We had a committee of professionals sitting for about six months and one thing they couldn't do was to define prevention. We do have a great deal to learn in that area.

Mr. S. Smith: By way of supplementary, does the minister not recognize that the societies that are operating with severe budgetary constraints at the moment are really in no position to carry on with much in the way of new preventive programs and that really the only prevention money that is available is the \$700,000 for these demonstration grants, which the minister correctly described to the House?

10:40 a.m.

It is my understanding, for instance, that the Hamilton Social Planning Research Council grant has been turned down, which is the best I can make out from talking to people in his ministry. I am not sure why it has been turned down, but how could the minister argue that prevention was his first priority when his own officials say that it is not easy to sell politically?

Does he not think that 0.6 per cent of his budget is pretty weak as far as a research or demonstration component is concerned? Does he not recognize that the individual societies will not be able to find funds for prevention because they are pretty well strapped to find funds to carry out their mandate of responsibilities?

Hon. Mr. Norton: Mr. Speaker, there are several questions there. First of all, I do not know who the mysterious official from my ministry is who claims that selling prevention is difficult politically. I certainly do not rely upon that statement for its accuracy or even know for sure whether it comes from my ministry. Obviously, I can't be responsible for it. I don't have to be. Within the government, if that is what they mean as far as selling it politically is concerned, it certainly has support.

The member talked about the research allocation of my ministry. There are considerably more funds than that allocated within my ministry for research. That is only one particular component of the ministry's research allocation. We have, at the moment, a commitment from the Provincial lottery—I think it is for a period of the next three years—of about \$4 million which will be going into research. That is another component. I don't think the member can focus upon only one small part of the activities of the ministry.

With respect to the children's aid societies and their ability to do preventive work, I think they are and they have been doing prevention work. It depends upon what the member specifically means. If he is talking about new prevention initiatives then the only limitation upon them is really the limitation of their own imaginations.

I would point out to the member that the society which was the subject of that article in the newspaper just the other day will this year have a budget probably in excess of \$30 million. They have greater flexibility in the allocation of their funds than they have ever had historically, at least ever since they became recipients of provincial public funds. They have the opportunity to move money from very high cost things that they have been doing, perhaps against our better judge-

ment in the past, into new areas as they have never been able to do before. I think the Metropolitan Toronto Children's Aid Society has a golden opportunity to demonstrate creativity with the \$30 million the taxpayers are giving it to do the job.

Ms. Gigantes: Supplementary, Mr. Speaker: In the line of preventive research, has the ministry research turned up the fact that lack of adequate family income has a direct adverse effect on the welfare of children, which we can witness now in the number of cases that are coming to the attention of officials in the Windsor area; also, witness the very personal testimony of demonstrators outside our building in the last few days who talked about the effects on their children of lack of adequate income under the family benefits payments?

Hon. Mr. Norton: Mr. Speaker, I don't know any research that has demonstrated that. I do recognize that it is commonly a simplistic, ideological explanation.

NANTICOKE POLLUTION

Mr. MacDonald: Mr. Speaker, I have a question of the Minister of the Environment. Since Dr. M. Lusi, head of the special studies unit of the air resources branch, in a workshop last March pointed out that Nanticoke is the largest polluter in Ontario with 300,000 tons of sulphur dioxide per year and, in addition, some 100,000 tons of nitrogen oxide, exceeding even that at Inco Limited, would the minister explain to the House why he has approved the emission levels of this based only on the local air quality?

Hon. Mr. Parrott: Mr. Speaker, if I remember correctly, those are potential and not actual figures. I think if the member would double check he would find those are potential figures and we are not, at this time, at all sure that is going to become a reality.

Mr. MacDonald: Mr. Speaker, the minister is correct that these are projected figures, but surely all we can operate on for the moment are the projected ones.

Since the air systems in Ontario move from the southwest to the northeast, and the pollutants of Nanticoke become acid rain in Muskoka, and since Ontario Hydro at its Nanticoke plant has spent only \$22 million for anti-pollution devices as compared with \$36 million spent by Stelco Inc. and \$40 million by Texaco Canada Inc., has the ministry done any study as to why we should not proceed with the installation of scrubbers at the Nanticoke generating plant in order to reduce these projected emission levels?

Hon. Mr. Parrott: Mr. Speaker, we have not only thought of scrubbers, we have thought of other technologies that may very well reduce considerably the amount of emissions from that particular installation. I repeat that these are projected figures. I do not expect they will become reality. If there is anything we can do to reduce those figures to more acceptable levels, that is exactly what we will be doing.

Mr. Gaunt: Supplementary, Mr. Speaker: Is the minister giving any consideration to putting control orders on Hydro plants like Nanticoke and others that are big emitters of SO_2 to deal with them in an adequate way, rather than dealing with the situation piecemeal, particularly since the ministry has come in with a new control order on Inco, albeit a very inadequate one?

Hon. Mr. Parrott: Mr. Speaker, that is a rather interesting comment. First of all, yes, we are considering controls that will affect Ontario Hydro. I think I made that clear some time ago. Just this very morning one of the participants from either Vermont or New Hampshire—I am not sure of the state, I think it is Vermont—called our office. I am sorry I did not speak to him, but I shall later today. He did speak to my executive assistant.

His comment about this "inadequate" control order was rather interesting. He thought it was one of the best things he knew of that had happened in the fight on acid rain. He was encouraging us and was making a public statement that he only wished some jurisdiction in the US was following Ontario's lead.

Mr. MacDonald: Final supplementary, Mr. Speaker, as far as I am concerned: The minister says he is studying this matter. If he is faced with the prospect of Nanticoke becoming an even greater polluter than Inco, and allegedly he is really concerned about Inco, what is he doing about the studies? What is going to flow from these studies? Is the scrubber approach the answer or is there an alternative? When are we going to find out about it? After the pollution has begun?

Hon. Mr. Parrott: Mr. Speaker, I have said many times in this House, and I wish members would fully comprehend the significance of it, that a federal-provincial task force has been established to deal with all these studies. We are of course, looking at that particular installation, and so is the federal government. Those studies will all be co-ordinated. We expect to have some very definitive statements on those particular instal-

lations and others in the comprehensive study we are doing this coming year.

Mr. G. I. Miller: Final supplementary, Mr. Speaker: Is the minister keeping the local people informed and is he working along with the region of Haldimand-Norfolk in this regard?

Hon. Mr. Parrott: I do not think there is any doubt, Mr. Speaker, that the local people are well aware of what is going on in their own community.

ASBESTOS HAZARDS

Mr. MacDonald: Mr. Speaker, I have a question for the Minister of Labour: Since the bottom line of his statement this morning was that the result of the test was that the people working in the Macdonald Block and the Legislative Building should be reassured, may I get the minister's comment on a memo which, by the brown paper envelope syndrome, has come into our hands, a memorandum to Mr. G. Kellner, chief mechanical engineer, dated April 16, 1980? It says the Ministry of Labour used a mechanism for testing that does not test small particles.

The memo states: "The size of the particles which create a hazard are those less than five microns in length and three microns in diameter. Asbestos particles of this size or less can pass through the respiratory tract and lodge in the lining of the lungs."

10:50 a.m.

The minister used an optical test, which does not test the small particles. The final paragraph of the memo says: "Another method of testing called the electron microscope technique will measure both the size of the particle and its identity. However, the Ministry of Labour is not making use of this method in the tests." How can the minister be reassured, since he has used a less efficient and a less effective method of testing?

Hon. Mr. Elgie: Mr. Speaker, just so there will be no suspicion about any brown envelopes, I would like to take this opportunity to table all of the reports that deal with that sampling carried out at the Macdonald Block and the Legislature.

Mr. Peterson: Very forthcoming of the minister.

Hon. Mr. Elgie: I would rather be that than back-coming. The tissue issue has gone to the member's head. Settle down.

The member has raised an issue and clearly it is an issue that is common internationally, because if he will review the literature and review standard setting throughout the world

he will see that standards and the evaluation of sampling is carried out everywhere by the optical technique.

If he reads the recent National Institute for Occupational Safety and Health statement which came out about a month ago, he will also see that NIOSH has recommended optical testing as the only practicable method available at this time to evaluate asbestos in the air.

He knows and I know that electron microscopes are not in great supply. As a matter of fact, it is anticipated that the Ministry of Labour will have one in its new facility up on Resources Road, but let me say to him, having used an electron microscope—and he shouldn't talk about it until he has used it—it is a very long and protracted technique.

Ms. Gigantes: If it works. What is the use of something that is practical but doesn't tell you what you need to know?

Hon. Mr. Elgie: It is such a problem—for the member for Carleton East—that no jurisdiction uses it. It is just impracticable. Let us analyse what we are talking about when we are talking about optical samplings. We are talking about using the optical microscope to see all fibres, never mind whether they are asbestos or not. Any counts done with the optical microscope record any fibre that is there. When we say there are 0.03 fibres, we can't assure anyone that they are asbestos but we can say we are going to call them asbestos just to be on the safe side. That is the procedure and standard that is used throughout the world.

I don't say that the electron microscope isn't superior; all I am saying is the use of the optical microscope is recognized as the only practicable method at the present time.

Mr. MacDonald: The method we are using does not detect the small particles. By way of supplementary, may I draw to the minister's attention the fact that Dr. Selikoff has estimated that for every one fibre over five microns the mechanism is registering, an individual can breathe 100 short fibres? If one takes the maximum count that the report this morning indicated, 0.28 fibres per cubic centimetre, that means that in an eight-hour day a person could be inhaling 89.6 million fibres. How can the minister dismiss the mechanism which will get the smaller fibres, which are the more dangerous ones?

Hon. Mr. Elgie: Mr. Speaker, what I am really trying to tell the member is that in the sampling that has been carried out in other nations, such as Australia for example—

Mr. MacDonald: Why doesn't the minister lead for a change, instead of just dragging behind?

Hon. Mr. Elgie: The member should listen for a minute. He might want to hear something so he can understand it better.

All right, what I am telling him is that in other buildings in other countries where sampling has been done it has been found that the levels in the ambient air outside the building are the same as the samples of ambient air taken inside the building.

I would assure the member that if samples were done outside the door of the Macdonald Block they would probably be the same. What I am saying to him is that within the scope of techniques available throughout the world today, everybody has found it only practicable to use the optical microscope because of the time and the complexity of using the electron microscope. I am not arguing with him that it is a more effective and more reliable instrument in terms of the size of fibres it can see. All I am telling him is that it is acknowledged that the optical microscope is the only practicable method available to us today.

RUST PROTECTION CLAIMS

Mr. Breithaupt: Mr. Speaker, I have a question of the Minister of Consumer and Commercial Relations. The minister is no doubt aware that American Motors Corporation is advertising its 1980 models including Concord, Spirit, and Eagle, as having the added feature of Ziebart rust protection and that these cars are being imported into Ontario.

Is the minister aware that the Attorney General of Illinois has filed for an injunction against American Motors pursuant to its Consumer Fraud and Deceptive Business Practices Act on the grounds that this "Ziebart factory rust protection" is not similar to the Ziebart rust protection process offered by independent Ziebart dealers and that therefore this constitutes consumer misrepresentation?

If the minister is aware of the issue, and if these cars are sold in Ontario or the American Motors products made here are also built under this approach, can he advise the House whether the director of business practices division has or will investigate this matter pursuant to the Business Practices Act?

Hon. Mr. Drea: Mr. Speaker, I was not aware of that action in the state of Illinois. The director of business practices will investigate.

I think it would be imperative, on the basis of the auto pact, as I understand it, the bulk of American Motors—and I don't see the Minister of Industry and Tourism (Mr. Grossman) here—passenger car models sold here are primarily produced in the United States. He will investigate it.

Mr. Breithaupt: I will be glad to send some material that may be of use to the minister. I would like to point out to the minister that—

Mr. Deputy Speaker: Would you like to ask a question?

Mr. Breithaupt: Yes. I have to do this first, Mr. Speaker. In an exhibit of testimony, the president of Ziebart International has stated that "Ziebart factory rust protection offered by AMC is not the same as the Ziebart process offered by the dealers and, further, we fully realize that while the consumer buying the AMC passenger car may to some degree be confused with regard to what rust protection he has purchased, this will be far outweighed by promotion generated by AMC on the balance of the 10 million car buyers in 1980."

Accordingly then, would it not appear on the surface this is a deliberate attempt to mislead? Would the minister ensure that the director investigates the representations and, if necessary, issues a cease and desist order if vehicles brought into Canada or made here are involved? I will send some material to the minister.

Hon. Mr. Drea: Mr. Speaker, as I said, he will investigate it. But bear in mind, too, that the whole issue of rust and rustproofing, regardless of whether the manufacturer does it in the normal course of the assembly or production of the automobile, as is the case with General Motors, Ford and Chrysler, or whatever arrangements the smaller companies have made, is subject to the regulations of the Department of Consumer and Corporate Affairs and its celebrated rustproofing agreement.

One, I will have the business practices division investigate that. I appreciate the information. Two, I will share the information with or obtain whatever information is available from, the federal minister, Mr. Ouellet. Three, because of the present hiatus in the court interpretation of who enforces standards, I will consult with Mr. Ouellet as to which is the proper jurisdiction to take primary responsibility in the field, and thus avoid the context of yet another test.

DEPENDENT TRUCKERS DISPUTES

Mr. Di Santo: Mr. Speaker, at Nelson Crushed Stone and Dufferin Aggregates, the dependent truckers have been on strike since April 10 and April 22. Since the issue at stake is job security, and in view of the fact that the companies are circumventing the collective bargaining process by massive use of strikebreakers, I would like to ask the Minister of Labour if he is aware of the tense and explosive situation developed at the two strike sites? What is he going to do to protect the rights of the strikers and, above all, to avoid the continuation of a most serious conflict?

Hon. Mr. Elgie: Mr. Speaker, I wonder if the member could repeat the name of the company. I got Nelson. Was it Nelson Crushed Stone?

Mr. Di Santo: And Dufferin Aggregates.

Hon. Mr. Elgie: Mr. Speaker, I must say I do not have any firsthand knowledge at the moment of that particular issue, but I will review it and report to the member.

Mr. Di Santo: Supplementary, Mr. Speaker: I would like to ask the minister whether he is also aware that several strikers have been arrested? Yesterday five strikers were arrested and the management threatened the other strikers that all of them would be arrested. Is he also aware—

Hon. Miss Stephenson: He just told you he didn't know about it.

Ms. Gigantes: He is telling the minister about it.

11 a.m.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: Order. Does the honourable member have a supplementary question?

Mr. Di Santo: Yes, Mr. Speaker. I understand the attitude of the former Minister of Labour but I am trying to bring the present minister up to date.

Will the minister investigate the role of the police, which is perceived not to be neutral, and whether the centralized dispatching set up by the company doesn't contravene the Labour Relations Act? Will the minister, when he gets knowledge of the situation, finally decide to bring in under strike legislation and—

Mr. Deputy Speaker: Order. I think the member has asked his question.

Mr. Di Santo: Yes, Mr. Speaker. I was going to ask whether he will—

Mr. Deputy Speaker: Order, order.

Hon. Mr. Elgie: Mr. Speaker, I am not aware of the particular strike incident that

the member referred to, but I will review it and report to him. With regard to the matters he has raised relating to the police, those are matters within the competency of the Solicitor General (Mr. McMurtry).

Mr. Lupusella: Supplementary, Mr. Speaker: Given the fact that certain charges have been laid, would the minister also investigate accusations by the union that frivolous charges had been laid by the police against the workers? Would the minister consult the Solicitor General about those allegations and about the validity of those allegations?

Hon. Mr. Elgie: Mr. Speaker, as I have said, that's a question that should be properly directed to the Solicitor General, but I will be pleased to draw it to his attention and discuss it with him.

PENSION LEGISLATION

Mr. Peterson: Mr. Speaker, I have a question for the Minister of Consumer and Commercial Relations. A year or so ago we had a discussion in this House about the disclosure legislation for private pension plans. At that time, there was some desire to wait for the outcome of the Haley commission. In view of the fact that nobody knows when the Haley commission is going to report—it has been put off several times and God only knows when it is going to report to this House—and in view of the fact that Quebec has taken the initiative and has brought in some very stringent reporting regulations for private pension plans, is the minister prepared to move now or very quickly, as a first step in cleaning up the pension mess in this province, to bring in some stringent disclosure provisions and regulations?

Hon. Mr. Drea: Mr. Speaker, when the honourable member asked that question, and I think it was about a year ago, if I recall correctly I responded that I would shortly be taking some initiatives. I had what I consider to be interim legislation pending the report of the Royal Commission on the Status of Pensions in Ontario, which contained two small remedial things as well as a disclosure package.

At that time it was decided, as the member has suggested, that in view of the commitments that had been made at the time of the establishment of the commission there would be no significant changes in pension legislation pending the report, and that the particular legislation, which I regard as remedial—incidentally the industry regards it as remedial—would not proceed at that time.

I give the House a commitment. It is my understanding that the royal commission will report in the fall. If it does not report in the fall, I will introduce the disclosure legislation. I want to be very fair and frank and inform the House that the mere passage of the disclosure legislation only starts a chain of events, that realistically the first impact upon the individual, and that is the reason for the disclosure, would be approximately 12 months later. I cannot wait longer than beyond the fall session, because otherwise it would be two years and we would be very far down the road.

Mr. Peterson: Supplementary: I welcome that commitment, but I suggest there may be even a trifle more urgency than he would see in view of the comment, for example of Mr. J. W. Bentley, the Ontario Pension Commission superintendent. He told a seminar of the Canadian pension conference a little while ago the terms of some private pension plans are presented so vaguely that he is hard pressed to understand them himself.

Surely if he has those problems, a number of people in the province have those problems. As the minister says, the industry welcomes it; everyone would welcome it. Isn't it time to bring in legislation even this spring and we will move with dispatch on it?

Mr. S. Smith: Why wait for fall? Why not now?

Hon. Mr. Drea: For one reason, and I have already explained it, Mr. Speaker. If I brought in such legislation tomorrow or I bring it in in October, the practical impact to the individual will be at the same time. It would be preferable, quite frankly, if the royal commission report were down, because neither I nor Mr. Bentley claim to have all the ideas in the world. There might very well be additional suggestions contained in that royal commission report.

I have said if the report isn't down by the fall, I give the commitment that we will introduce the disclosure and a couple of other minor amendments—which are only house-keeping, remedial amendments—to the Pension Benefits Act. The real impact would take effect on the first reporting time, which would be the first quarter of 1982 for one's status as of 1980.

Mr. Peterson: Can the minister give this House assurance that Mrs. Haley really exists? If we were sure of that then I would probably be more comfortable with the response. I have yet to see for sure that she even exists.

Hon. Mr. Drea: Mr. Speaker, yes, she exists. I just want to phrase this correctly—I want everybody to have a happy weekend.

I would draw to the attention of the member that in terms of asking the status of that royal commission, when it is going to report and so forth, notwithstanding the jurisdiction of my ministry in the pension field, that is solely the responsibility of the Treasurer. That is why, when I give a commitment, it's stated very simply that if it does not report—I don't care for what reason, because I am not responsible—then I will do what I said I would do.

TRANSPORTATION OF HAZARDOUS GOODS

Mr. Germa: Mr. Speaker, I have a question of the Solicitor General in his capacity as minister responsible for public safety. Could I preface my question by saying that I understand it is in the federal jurisdiction?

What can the minister do when I advise him that Canadian Industries Limited in Nobel is endangering the town of Parry Sound when, in an effort to get around the picket line, it is transporting explosives in an unmarked vehicle on the public highway, contrary to law? They are transferring the load from this unmarked vehicle to a tractor-trailer in a location outside of a powder magazine, contrary to law. They are transferring this load in a built-up area, contrary to law, and they are transferring this load on a public street, contrary to law. What can the minister do to stop Parry Sound from getting blown off the map?

An hon. member: Find out whose riding it is in.

Hon. Mr. McMurtry: Whose riding did you say that was again? It's your riding.

Mr. Germa: No, Lorne Maeck's.

Hon. Mr. McMurtry: Mr. Speaker, I am unaware of the situation that the member for Sudbury has raised. I would like to take it under advisement, possibly seek further information from the member and discuss it with my colleague, the Minister of Transportation and Communications (Mr. Snow). Then I would decide whether it would be appropriate for us—it may well be—to make representations to the federal government.

11:10 a.m.

Mr. Germa: Supplementary, Mr. Speaker: This incident has happened on at least four occasions in the past and I have reason to believe it is continuing. I think it is a dangerous practice. Would the minister consider getting an injunction to contain the management of CIL from continuing this dangerous practice?

Hon. Mr. McMurtry: I don't think I can be specific at this time as to what the appropriate action might be, but I'm certainly prepared to look into the matter and advise the honourable member as to what we think might be done by the province of Ontario, assuming that some action is warranted.

COLLINGWOOD TOURISM STUDY

Mr. McKessock: Mr. Speaker, I have a question for the Minister of Industry and Tourism, just before he leaves. In view of the fact that his ministry and the government of Ontario have designated the Meaford-Thornbury-Collingwood area a four-seasons recreational area, and are at present carrying out a study there, can the minister tell me at what stage the study is at? Is it completed or is it nearly completed? Can he give us, at this time, some statement as to what his findings are in that area as to the effect the four-seasons recreational area is going to have on tourism in Ontario?

Hon. Mr. Grossman: Mr. Speaker, I expect it to have a fairly dramatic impact on tourism in that part of the province. Having said that, may I tell the House that I haven't seen the report. I am expecting the report to be in within the next couple of months.

Mr. McKessock: Supplementary: In view of the fact that it will be obvious, when the report is completed, that there will be a great lack of services in that area, especially for water and sewers, to allow the area to expand, will the minister then be prepared to provide the necessary funds? Would he agree that a \$12-million shot in that area would have a much greater impact on tourism in Ontario than that same amount would have in Minaki Lodge?

Mr. J. Reed: That's sensitive, eh?

Hon. Mr. Grossman: I know the honourable member might be, but we might not be.

We're not in the business of playing off one part of the province against another. We think we've treated many parts of this province quite well. We have, as members know, been very generous in the Collingwood area of this province. I don't think anyone there can suggest that we haven't been terribly helpful; we've been terrifically helpful in that particular part of the province.

As a result of that study, I think we'll identify many more opportunities to assist in that area. I could stand here and enumerate the various things we've done for Collingwood in the past year and a half or two years, and I think they're quite substantial.

With regard to servicing, servicing is an overwhelming problem there still. I convened

a meeting of the Minister of Housing (Mr. Bennett), the Minister of the Environment (Mr. Parrott), myself, and the people from the area's three or four municipalities, in an attempt to bring together all the ministries and all the jurisdictions responsible for solving the inability to get on with the servicing there.

With that initiative, I'm satisfied that if we can get the municipalities onside and willing to contribute in some way to the resolution of the servicing problems, we will be able to find a way to help finance that problem. I have communicated that to the various mayors up there; they are aware of that.

TOILET TISSUE

Mr. Swart: Mr. Speaker, I have a question to the Minister of Consumer and Commercial Relations, concerning his report this morning. I want to say that my quick perusal of that report shows it's nothing but a sham and a coverup, except to admit that E.B. Eddy Company increased its profits by 117 per cent.

I would like to ask the minister how he can say his report is accurate when, in the comparison of transportation costs, in the comparison of the price of E.B. Eddy's tissue in the United States and here in Ontario, for the US he used transportation costs of only 60 cents, which in the report is their cost to Buffalo, even though they distribute it to other points much farther than Buffalo in the US, while in Canada he used transportation costs of \$1.60, which is the average cost for all of Canada. We were comparing Buffalo and Toronto.

Hon. Mr. Drea: I did that for one very simple reason, Mr. Speaker. The allegation by the honourable member was that the E.B. Eddy company—and I want to read this, because this is his own thing—"E.B. Eddy, one of the major producers of bathroom tissue, is a classic example of the price exploitation of the Ontario consumer." If the honourable member was a man, he would apologize to them.

The freight rates were used because we were comparing the cost of the production and the final price to the retail outlets. The Canadian price was used, which is the average for here. We used the available figures, which were the average to the American border.

Interjection.

Hon. Mr. Drea: I know the member's toes are twinkling and he is ready to shuffle off to Buffalo, so he can come in on Tuesday with another package of goodies and we can start this all over again. I know the governor of

the Bank of Canada is quivering; he does not know the impact upon the balance of payments. I am going to be a nice guy.

Mr. Swart: The minister makes a joke out of it, but consumer prices are not a joke.

Hon. Mr. Drea: Wait a minute. I am going to be a nice guy, and I am not going to alert Canada Customs or do my duty as a minister. I am quite sure it can be for the edification of the press on Tuesday, which will be a dull day, waiting for the referendum result. If the member wants to pursue the subterranean supermarkets of Buffalo, that is fine by me.

The member raised three allegations in this sheet that he turned out on April 24. The first one, about the E.B. Eddy Company, I have read. The report demonstrates conclusively that is not true.

Second, without using the word "ripoff" or "exploitation," he drops in a product called Cottonelle made by Scott Paper Limited. He says that is being sold for less in the United States than it is here. Sure it is. The Scott tissue sold in the US is produced there at a much lower cost than tissue can be produced in Canada. There is no interchange of product. The Scott tissue that is sold here is from New Westminster, British Columbia. The price is based on BC costs. If the member wants to read the report, he can see the actual cost.

Third, the member says it is time I stopped the ripoff, or, in his words here, "be flushed out of his ministry!" I do not want to impute any motives on the basis of that, or take a look at the mentality that produces that kind of statement with an exclamation point.

This report was prepared by a distinguished professional economist, Dagmar Staff. It seems extremely odd to me that every time something comes up in here, and I have our chief economist, Mrs. Staff, go through it and produce an exhaustive report, even with pictures this time, her professional qualifications are called into question. The rest of the year, for some peculiar reason, the honourable member is constantly striving to get closer to Mrs. Staff. What this love-hate relationship is, I know not.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: Does the honourable member have a brief supplementary?

Mr. Swart: Yes I do, Mr. Speaker. I would like to ask the minister if he has checked the comparative weights. If he has, would he table them? Did he check the comparative quality in his report? If he did, would he table that?

How can he dismiss the difference in weight, which I have checked—it was 610

grams for a four-roll package last summer and is now down to 570 grams—when he himself used weight last fall in the report as the sole criterion for comparing toilet tissue, and when E.B. Eddy, itself uses weight as the comparison in its letter to the minister?

Hon. Mr. Drea: Mr. Speaker, my one regret is that I was not fed things like that 25 years ago, because I would have been a ball player of great renown. I would be hitting 1,000.

It is a very sensitive and delicate area. Bearing in mind one constant—there are the same number of sheets in the toilet roll—the less the roll weighs, the better off one's anatomy is going to be.

11:20 a.m.

USE OF TRILLIUM LOGO

Mr. McGuigan: Mr. Speaker, I am not doing an encore.

I would like to ask a question of the Chairman of Management Board of Cabinet. Several of the marketing boards have been asking the cabinet—I believe this falls under the minister's jurisdiction—for the right to use the trillium logo on packages that are used for Ontario-grown food products. They have been asking the minister this for several months and the decision seems to have been delayed. Can he tell us when this decision will be rendered? Also, what are his apprehensions? Why is it being delayed?

Hon. Mr. McCague: Mr. Speaker, I am not sure I heard what the honourable member said. Was it the Foodland Ontario logo he is talking about?

Mr. McGuigan: Yes.

Hon. Mr. McCague: It is our intention to keep that logo for the exclusive use of the government. I think what the member is referring to is a variation of the logo, a change in it for use by other people. I am not aware of the specific one he is referring to unless it was one that was made for the apple growers some two years ago. I think that request was turned down at that time. I don't think it was the logo as is, it was a variation.

INQUEST ON FIREFIGHTERS' DEATHS

Mr. Philip: I have a question of the Solicitor General. Has the minister yet had an opportunity to review the recommendation of the coroner's jury into the inquest into the deaths of the three Etobicoke firefighters at Kimberley-Clark of Canada Limited? Has he or his staff met with the senior adminis-

tration of that company? Can he assure us that the recommendations for additional smoke detectors, fire alarms, and TV coverage of the main aisles of the north warehouse will be implemented by that company?

Hon. Mr. McMurtry: Mr. Speaker, I have reviewed the recommendations. I am arranging to have a meeting with the fire marshal to get his views as to what can be done in relation to these recommendations.

Mr. Philip: By way of supplementary, will the minister use his personal influence on the company to see that those recommendations are implemented? Is the minister in agreement with the recommendation that regional committees be set up consisting of representatives from the local council of the Ontario Professional Fire Fighters Association, the Fire Prevention Canada Association and a lay person, that this committee should meet on a quarterly basis to discuss firefighting hazards and precautions, and that there be consideration at these meetings of fire hazards in particular areas? Is that one of the recommendations that he will be implementing as Solicitor General and as the chief firefighter in Ontario?

Hon. Mr. McMurtry: I think the recommendation is a very interesting one and is certainly one that will have to be given very serious consideration. I don't wish to make any commitment until I have had the opportunity of reviewing the matter not only with the fire marshal personally but also with representatives of the Ontario Association of Fire Chiefs and the firefighters. I think I should have the benefit of their advice before I take any further specific action.

REPORT

STANDING COMMITTEE ON ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE

Mr. Philip from the standing committee on administration of justice reported the following resolution:

That supply in the following amounts and to defray the expenses of the Ministry of the Attorney General be granted to Her Majesty for the fiscal year ending March 31, 1981:

Law officer of the crown program, \$3,146,500; administrative services program, \$39,008,100; guardian and trustee services program, \$6,929,200; crown legal services program, \$18,380,600; legislative counsel services program, \$2,285,600; courts administra-

tion program, \$86,475,900, and administrative tribunals program, \$8,588,400.

ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS ON NOTICE PAPER

Hon. Mr. Wells: Mr. Speaker, I wish to table the answers to questions 80, 128 and 151, and the interim answers to questions 148 and 154 standing on the Notice Paper. (See appendix, page 1991.)

ORDERS OF THE DAY

THIRD READINGS

The following bills were given third reading on motion:

Bill 45, An Act respecting Tom Longboat and the City of Toronto;

Bill 56, An Act to amend the Territorial Division Act.

BUDGET DEBATE

(continued)

Resuming the adjourned debate on the amendment to the motion that this House approves in general the budgetary policy of the government.

Mr. Cureatz: Mr. Speaker, may I say how pleased I am to see the number of members in attendance in the House—about the same number as there were last night around 10:20. It is for me a great privilege and opportunity to make some comments about the budgetary policy of the government of Ontario. I don't know if my speech will be as high-profile as the previous questions in regard to toilet tissue, but I will make an attempt to keep the members of the House interested as best I can.

I would like to make a few opening remarks centring on the effects of the budget in regard to the great riding of Durham East. I will look first at energy conservation and the effect the budget may have in that regard.

There has been great discussion over the last six months in the riding of Durham East concerning the expansion of the GO train system from Pickering to Oshawa and possibly to Bowmanville. Under today's constraints in regard to energy conservation, this is a very important issue that has been debated back and forth, not only locally but now in the provincial arena.

Before we centre in on the topic of the feasibility of the extension of the GO train system east of Pickering, I want to talk a little bit about the existing most-easterly station at Pickering. I am sure the member for Durham West (Mr. Ashe) would be very

appreciative of this. We are very pleased to see a new station has been completed there and the opening will be taking place in the middle of June. I know the facilities will greatly accommodate the thousands of daily users there at the Pickering station.

Mr. Speaker, I don't know if you are familiar with the Pickering GO train station, or if you have had the opportunity of using that facility. I know you are a great user of trains, going up to Huntsville periodically from Toronto to your cottage, but I know you will appreciate that you have to get to the train station.

I have spoken personally to the member for Durham West on this matter and I have made no headway. I have not been pushing it very much because it is not my riding, but I think there is still a bit of an inadequacy there at the Pickering GO train station.

For members who are not familiar with the situation, there is a parking lot on the north side of the tracks, and on the east side of Liverpool Road. There are virtually hundreds of cars that are parked there daily, and when one wants to get out of this parking lot, one has to travel west, coming into Liverpool Road. If one wants to go north on Liverpool Road, there is a bridge immediately to the south that comes over the railway tracks, and one cannot see any oncoming cars which are travelling north on Liverpool Road. This makes it extremely dangerous for the large volume of cars trying to get out of that parking lot.

11:30 a.m.

Likewise, if the member for Durham West (Mr. Ashe), wants to attempt to go south on Liverpool Road, it is even worse, because not only does one have to contend with vehicles coming up over the bridge and the railway track, but one also has to contend with south-bound vehicles on Liverpool Road. That bridge comes over Highway 401. In addition, one must contend with traffic coming off Highway 401 on a collector lane right at that point. I must say it is extremely hazardous, and I cannot understand why there has not been more attention paid to this problem.

I do my best to use the south parking lot, but quite often it is already full. I know my wife uses the train at least two days a week. We like to think that a woman's intuition is of great value, and she is an ordinary person using that facility and she finds it extremely dangerous. The Durham regional police have very considerably taken the option of putting on a patrol officer during the rush hours. That alleviates a lot of the problems, but I

do not think it alleviates the overall problem of the dangerous, hazardous situation there.

On Wednesday, I happened to be in the committee considering the Ministry of Transportation and Communications estimates, and I brought this to the minister's attention. He indicated to me that the ministry is planning an overpass to the west of Liverpool Road. They termed it the White's Road overpass. I asked very blatantly when he anticipated that new overpass would be put in. He said, "In the fullness of time." If I have heard that phrase once around here I have heard it a thousand times. In other words, the minister was not in a position to make a commitment to alleviating that hazardous situation. I do hope the member for Durham West is cognizant of it, now that I have brought it to the floor of the House. I am sure he will bring it to the minister's attention and we trust that very hazardous situation will be resolved somewhere down the line in the future.

Notwithstanding the problems existing at Pickering, we are very appreciative of the GO train service. There have been some new innovations in regard to the service, and I am thinking in terms of the two-tier cars. I know they are extremely comfortable. I know a lot of residents from the city of Oshawa and constituents from the town of Newcastle use the train and find it extremely useful.

My next point is centred on the possible extension of GO Transit service to Oshawa, Bowmanville and beyond. It is my understanding, interestingly enough, that over a number of years the city of Oshawa council has not been overly sympathetic to the extension of the GO train system to Oshawa because it is feared that would create a bedroom community. As fate would have it and as attitudes change, it is my understanding that a great majority of the city council of the city of Oshawa now is thinking in terms of extension of the GO train system to the city.

There has been much correspondence about it. Well over a year ago, when I first brought the feasibility of such an extension to the attention of the Minister of Transportation and Communications, he indicated to me that the cost would be around \$56 million. One of the difficulties was that right at Liverpool Road was the beginning of the heavy freight traffic between Toronto and Montreal. As a result, there could not be an immediate accommodation of the commuter rail system at that point.

The other difficulty was that possibly some of the overpasses on the various roads along the rail line between Pickering and Oshawa could not accommodate the two-tier cars.

That was why the cost figure was in the range presented to me by the minister. He was thinking in terms of construction of a new track and of upgrading and fixing the various grade levels to allow the trains to pass under the overpasses.

Since that time, the minister has had increasing numbers of inquiries from myself and, I must confess, from the member for Oshawa as well as from concerned councillors in the region of Durham. As a result of those inquiries, the Toronto Area Transit Operating Authority was requested to take a look at the commuter program for the city of Toronto and including the possibilities of extension of the GO train system to the Oshawa area and beyond.

We are under the impression from the minister's comments that the solution to the problem may be forthcoming within a very short time. I understand from what the minister said in his estimates that we now are thinking in terms of next spring. That is a little disappointing, because we all know the lead time required for such a large development. If we are thinking in terms of only receiving the report next spring then we are thinking in terms of another year to follow in regard to the final construction and extension of the system.

Interestingly enough, I had a phone-in TV show last night, with myself, councillor Cy Elsey from the city of Oshawa and Mr. Calder, who has been instrumental in preparing and giving me a petition signed by residents in the region of Durham with some 22,000 signatures, expressing their concern and interest in expansion of the GO train system. We had some very interesting phone calls. Generally speaking, they were all enthusiastic about the possibility of the expansion. It seems to me the expansion is inevitable. There is no doubt, when we are thinking in terms of rising costs for gasoline, that more individuals are going to be prohibited from, or at least will be conscious of, driving their own vehicles from the city of Oshawa area and the region of Durham, and they will be thinking in terms of commuter traffic. I think the government of Ontario should take the responsibility of making commuter traffic available to residents so we can encourage people to use a massive transportation system instead of their individual cars.

I hope the Minister of Transportation and Communications is cognizant of the concerns we have out in the region of Durham. It is my understanding that the government policy for a number of years has been to go east,

in an attempt to attract people and industry to the region of Durham. One method by which they can stimulate that kind of impetus is the expansion of the GO train system.

In connection with the GO train system, we have a task force headed by a colleague of mine, the member for St. David (Mrs. Scrivener). Her task force is taking a look at the utilization of the various rail services in Ontario. We are very pleased to see that such an investigation is being done. Her task force is currently receiving delegations with regard to the problems or the anticipated future uses of the rail systems in the province. Happily enough, I presented a brief to the task force in relation to the GO train expansion but, more specifically, pointing out to the task force the possibility of electrifying the GO train system.

The member for Durham West last year presented a resolution in this House with regard to the possibility of electrifying the train system between Toronto and Montreal. Am I not correct? The member is shaking his head. Where was it?

Mr. Ashe: Windsor to Quebec City.

Mr. Cureatz: Windsor to Quebec City. Thank you very much. As I recall, the member's resolution was passed unanimously. Is that right?

Mr. Ashe: Sort of.

Mr. Cureatz: Sort of. For the record we will say it was passed unanimously, overwhelmingly, in the House. With regard to that resolution, and thinking in terms of electrifying the railway system, the first step would be to take a look at electrifying the GO train system. We can dovetail that with the fact—we have to face up to it—that there is an excess of electrical capacity in the province. We should not be embarrassed about that overcapacity; we should be utilizing it to our best advantage. One of the best ways would be to think in terms of electrification of the GO train system.

I know these things do not happen overnight. I am appreciative of that. But if we are thinking in a progressive way, and of having some self-sufficiency in our commuter traffic and in our energy resources, we should be thinking along this line.

With regard to the excess capacity, I want to bring in under that heading some of the activities currently taking place in the select committee on Ontario Hydro affairs. As of yesterday we had another debate about another budget. That was the budget of the select committee on Ontario Hydro affairs.

Interestingly enough, the budget was turned back by the Board of Internal Economy to be rediscussed by the committee.

11:40 a.m.

I do not have to point out that the select committee on Ontario Hydro affairs has been very worthwhile. I have not been a member of the committee from its inception, but in the time that I have been there the committee has been looking at the safety of nuclear reactors and waste disposal, and I consider it to be a very important committee.

It is my understanding that at the time the committee was looking at the capacity of Ontario Hydro there was great concern about budgetary restraints, and the all-party committee pared down that budget as best as possible, being cognizant of the cost factors involved in select committees. As a result, it is my understanding, that budget was as low as possible.

After that budget in regard to electrical capacity, we then had the budget regarding the safety of the Candu reactors in Ontario. It is my understanding that second budget was fairly close to the budget concerned with the investigation of electrical capacity.

We have not quite finished the report, but we are looking at the draft report regarding the last investigations of the disposal of nuclear waste, and the budget for that investigation was very similar to the previous two budgets. Now we are anticipating an examination of the front end of the nuclear program; that is, an investigation of the uranium mining industry. The budget that was presented to the committee some two or three weeks ago was very similar to the previous three budgets and now, finally, when we present the budget to the Board of Internal Economy, they turn it back.

I understand we have some new members on the Board of Internal Economy and they want to show some muscle. They want to come and say to the select committee: "Listen. We are in charge of the show. We are in charge of the money. We are going to cut you back." I am sure the Minister without Portfolio, the member for Cochrane South (Mr. Pope), wants to show the Premier that the members from the north are made of hard stuff, that he can put his foot down when he wants to; not to mention the whip for the Conservative party.

I would say it is a little too late to try to cut the budget by a third or a half. If they were at all cognizant of budgetary restraints, they probably should have taken a look some three or four years ago when the committee was originally struck, but it's very difficult

now to pull the rug from under the committee and to request them to cut back the budget drastically.

It goes without saying, the committee is very important. We have examined a number of interesting topics about the nuclear industry, and I am confident that our own Minister of Energy (Mr. Welch) has been very appreciative of the reports that have been coming from the select committee on Ontario Hydro affairs to give him some direction with regard to policies on nuclear energy. I am very confident that when the Board of Internal Economy again receives the budget of the select committee for review it will be approved, just as the budget for the province will be approved by this assembly.

On the subject of the select committee on Ontario Hydro affairs, we are very pleased with the government's continued commitment in the budget for nuclear power. Of course, I greatly appreciate the construction of the Darlington generating station in the wonderful riding of Durham East. This station is scheduled to come on stream in the late 1980s. Many of the residents in the community, contrary to popular belief being circulated at the anti-nuclear demonstrations taking place, are very appreciative of the construction of the Darlington generating station because of the spinoff benefits with regard to jobs and opportunities in the area. We are also pleased about the government's commitment for the continued construction of the station and are looking forward to the time when that station comes on stream and trust we will be able to co-ordinate the production of electricity at Darlington with the electrification of the GO train system.

Interestingly, there is always great debate from the parties opposite about who is or is not in favour of the construction of nuclear stations. This Friday, I am meeting with Mr. Jack Tressider, president of the district labour council and presidents of other local labour councils in the community. They want to discuss with me and emphasize to me the need for a continued program at Darlington. Further, they want to have a little discussion about their own demonstration to promote the construction of the station, in the light of the anti demonstration that will be taking place very shortly. I am very pleased to see we have residents in the community from all walks of life who are appreciative of the kind of construction that is taking place in Durham East, namely in Darlington.

The budget of the select committee is only one area that has proved to be of some difficulty for the Board of Internal Economy.

I want to bring to the members' attention the fact that there is another budget on which I have had some input, and that is the budget of the standing committee on regulations and other statutory instruments, which we debated yesterday morning in committee.

After three meetings, it was decided that a budget of a twofold nature should be presented to the board. The Australian government has invited Commonwealth nations to the first meeting of various statutory instruments committee members to discuss mutual concerns about regulations.

That's a very mundane topic, I am sure, to members of the assembly who are present, but I want to tell them that the Globe and Mail reported quite recently on the effects that regulations have on all of us in Ontario. Many of these regulations pass through without recognition or debate in the House. The main legislative process transpires here, but the underlying rules and regulations are not discussed whatsoever.

This is a very important matter, and the all-party committee on regulations and other statutory instruments decided it would be worthwhile to send a delegation or representation to Australia. The problem was, in recognizing the constraints with regard to government these days, deciding the kind of delegation; so the committee decided to propose two budgets. The first was to ask the Board of Internal Economy about the possibility of sending just the chairman of the committee. The second was to consider the possibility of sending a representative from each party, for a total of three members, to Australia for this convention.

The Board of Internal Economy decided it would be worthwhile under today's constraints to send just the chairman. This was brought back to committee, and I think all committee members were appreciative of that decision. But there was an underlying thought that the difficulty with that is there seemed to be no specific policy by the Board of Internal Economy. There was some question about whether their policy was a random decision, since an all-party delegation of one committee will be going to Westminster this summer or this fall, whereas our committee was instructed to send only the chairman.

Looking at the principle of the matter, the committee on regulations and other statutory instruments instructed its chairman, the member for Oriole (Mr. Williams), to approach the Deputy Speaker (Mr. Edighoffer) to try to strike up again the ad hoc committee. Apparently there is an ad hoc committee of the House composed of all chairmen of various committees who get together from time to

time. The last time they got together, interestingly enough, apparently was a year ago in June.

We have instructed our chairman to speak with the Deputy Speaker about the possibility of getting all chairmen of all committees together to express mutual interests and concerns, and possibly to try to devise some kind of policy with regard to committees and whether there should be underlying consistent principle that the Board of Internal Economy should be following. We are looking forward to the ad hoc committee being struck if the member for Oriole is successful. Since I am the chairman of the general government committee, I am very anxious to have some input.

With regard to the provincial budget in so far as restraint goes, I want to bring to the attention of the member for Durham West the fact that I had an unusual situation in my riding. About a year and a half ago, the Minister of Community and Social Services (Mr. Norton) approached me and indicated he was having difficulty with the continuation of what was referred to then as the Pine Ridge Training School. This training school was operated by the ministry for juveniles across the province. With the declining enrolment, not only in schools but also in such institutions, the minister was finding it increasingly difficult to support that institution.

11:50 a.m.

I acknowledge that he courteously asked me to make some input and, after his explanation on the cost of operation of the school, I submitted to his wishes that the school should be closed. However, I did so on the condition that, as far as possible, all employees there would find suitable employment within the immediate area. Happily enough, most of them have been able to be placed at another training school in Cobourg referred to as Brookside.

The understanding in the back of my mind was that, with the agreement to the closing of Pine Ridge School, there would be some accommodation for the utilization of the vacant site. That site, interestingly enough, was donated by a resident of the then town of Bowmanville. Now, of course, we are in the town of Newcastle under that wonderful institution referred to as regional government, which is a topic I won't get into this morning. That 300-acre parcel was donated to the province in 1912 by a resident of the town of Bowmanville for the utilization of juveniles.

It turns out, after the closure of the training school about a year and a half ago, the

easterly 100 acres have been given to the Ministry of Agriculture and Food for research purposes, which I think is a very worthwhile project. In addition, the westerly 100 acres have been given to the Ministry of Housing for utilization at some future date, and I am confident that is a worthwhile endeavour, thinking in terms of future years.

The problem, Mr. Speaker—and I want you to listen very closely; just pretend this is the Muppet Show, because I want your full attention—is with the middle 100 acres, where all the buildings are located.

It was my understanding, when speaking with the Minister of Community and Social Services, that my views would be given some consideration with respect to the total utilization of that 100 acres. The 100 acres contains an administrative building, a number of smaller buildings where the juveniles were housed, a swimming pool, soccer fields, baseball diamonds and the like.

The time has come for the Minister of Government Services (Mr. Wiseman) to think in terms of disposing of the last 100 acres. Indeed, he laid a heavy hand on me in my municipality. For a cool sum of around \$2 million, the town can have the property. I say to the minister, thanks very much. After the way I co-operated originally with regard to the closing of the school, he is now coming back to me and my municipality and saying, "For \$2 million, you can have that 100-acre parcel." Some bargain indeed! It's very disappointing.

We had met with the previous minister, now the Minister of Agriculture and Food (Mr. Henderson), and he indicated then to the municipality and myself that if the municipality could indicate that the middle 100 acres would be used only for municipal purposes, there would be some due consideration. I must confess there was no monetary comment, but due consideration would be given the transfer of the 100 acres at a nominal cost. We have come a long way now, from the nominal transfer of \$2 to \$2 million.

The situation at present, happily enough, is that the minister visited the site two weeks ago today. He capitulated a little and indicated that in regard to finances the government and his ministry would be in a position to have reasonable negotiations over long-term financing.

At the moment, that's not good enough to me. Within two weeks, the ministry, the town of Newcastle council and I will be meeting again for a final disposition of this property. We do hope that through the good efforts of

all concerned there will be a very happy and successful ending to this.

But I cannot stress more that this property cannot be moved from the municipality. Of the 100 acres, 50 acres are in a flood plain zone as it is, 25 acres are used up as soccer fields and baseball diamonds—a very park-like atmosphere—and the other 25 acres are used up with various administrative and housing buildings.

The buildings and the site are very conducive to long-term planning for the town of Newcastle. I think it's incumbent upon the government, especially in view of the fact that it got the land for nothing in the first place, to give at least due consideration to transferring a third of the land back to the municipality, which would undertake to use the property only for municipal purposes, so that the municipality might to the best of their ability co-ordinate the various community functions in the town of Newcastle for the full utilization of that 100-acre parcel.

Speaking of various other budgetary restraints, I have another little problem in the riding of Durham East. It concerns what I refer to as the Wilmot Creek basin. I am very sympathetic with the present government's policy, and we appreciate what they have been doing in the city of Oshawa. I know the member for Durham West is very happy that he has a large building being built for the Liquor Control Board of Ontario.

I am appreciative, and I am sure the member for Oshawa (Mr. Breaugh) is appreciative, of the government for constructing the Ministry of Revenue building in downtown Oshawa. It is my understanding that the tenders are in, and within about a month we will know who the successful bidder is. We are all very anxious and pleased to have the Ministry of Revenue moving to the region of Durham.

On the restraint side, I am a little disappointed with the Ministry of Natural Resources. Let me tell a little story as a leadup to this. The Wilmot Creek basin, for those members who are in attendance and do not know, and for those members who are fishermen—there must be a fisherman somewhere here; are there no fishermen in attendance? The Wilmot Creek is one of the best, if not the best, trout and salmon fishing streams in the province. Every year we have virtually thousands of people in attendance who fish regularly at Wilmot Creek.

I am sure members are wondering where it is. When you drive along Highway 401 and get east of Oshawa, the highway branches off to Highway 115-35, and just east of that branchoff is Wilmot Creek. You would not believe the thousands and millions of vehicles that travel to the creek, but it is one of southern Ontario's best fishing streams.

There have been a great number of people using the stream, and hundreds of people have been parking their cars along the shoulder of the road on Highway 401 and Highway 2. This has resulted in a very dangerous situation.

The Ontario Provincial Police have told me we have had three deaths as a result of this parking over the years. People are driving on to the shoulder of Highway 401 to get to the creek bed. Later, they are pulling on to the highway from the shoulder of the road; when cars are travelling at 80 kilometres an hour and people suddenly pull onto the highway, inevitably there are accidents.

As a result of my meeting with the Ministry of Natural Resources official from Lindsay, Mr. Phil Smith, who has been very co-operative, the local councillors in the area—regional councillor Bill Clarke and local councillor Keith Barr—and mayor Garnet Rickard, we came up with a stopgap solution.

There would be no-parking signs along the shoulder of the road on Highway 401 and Highway 2, and a small parking lot would be made available on one of the side roads. It will hold only about 20 cars, but at least it is a start. Government at all levels being what it is, unfortunately the lot is not finished yet. But I am very happy to report we have got the culvert in. So we have started.

I am sure the member for Durham West, when he was mayor of Pickering, would have been much more successful in getting a culvert in a little sooner than that. We have got the culvert in, and I am sure ministry officials will be in there tearing up a bit of the property to accommodate some of the parking.

That is only a stopgap solution. I have had the opportunity of touring the creek basin at the opening of the trout season and since then. The first day of the trout season is not indicative of the problem, because a massive number of people come out. Looking at the time frame since opening day there are still a large number of people using the Wilmot Creek basin. This is causing some great problems in that particular part of my riding.

12 noon

First, the natural habitat is slowly being destroyed. There is no uniform, orderly process taking place of accommodating visitors who are outside the area. Second, those visitors—not all, but some—are a little discourteous, and there is litter strewn about that wonderful creek area. Some of the incoming people are a little disrespectful of private property which, in turn, makes the residents in the surrounding area a little concerned about what is happening to their property. After an investigation by myself and Sergeant Elson of the OPP, there is no doubt that the small parking lot is only a stopgap solution.

We have to be thinking in terms of an overall plan, an overall study that has to be done on that Wilmot Creek basin to make sure we do not lose its natural habitat and environmental conditions and to make it available to the people of the province and the residents of the surrounding area in such a manner that it is not hazardous to them.

I have had the opportunity of meeting with Ontario Hydro, which owns a fairly large parcel of property of 20 or 30 acres close to the creek basin as a result of the Hydro corridor that traverses my riding. Hydro was sympathetic with my concern that it would be nice to accommodate a parking area, but in its wisdom it is also thinking in terms of dollars, which I appreciate.

The Minister of Natural Resources (Mr. Auld) is not here today. I understand he is in Europe. I forwarded him a letter in which I specifically stated—and I am going to be following it up with him—that we have to have a meeting with his deputy minister and his staff in Lindsay so we can take a look at an overall program with regard to the Wilmot Creek basin.

I want to tell you, Mr. Speaker, and the few members opposite, it is sometimes a little disappointing when one sees \$20 million being plunked into Minaki, which no doubt a few hundred people will be visiting. But, boy, when one takes a look at my particular area, where thousands of people come from all parts of southern Ontario to fish in Wilmot Creek, there is no accommodation whatsoever being provided there by the government of Ontario.

I am very confident that the Minister of Natural Resources, after listening to my plea, is going to be able to convince his cabinet colleagues to provide some necessary funding for a preliminary study and plan of this area so that we can alleviate some of these problems. I am looking forward to meeting with him. I am very confident that in the

near future we can start working on resolving a very serious problem that is taking place in the riding of Durham East.

Those are the few comments I have with regard to the spinoff of the budgetary program that affects the great riding of Durham East. I thank members very much for listening so intently. I will recline for the next hour.

Mr. G. I. Miller: Mr. Speaker, it is nice to rise this nice, bright, sunny morning of May 16 and take part in the budget debate for 1980. As I look around the House, I think the members must all be wanting to enjoy this particular day. They are going to miss some good comments.

I do appreciate the debate that took place last night. My colleague from Brant-Oxford-Norfolk (Mr. Nixon) gave a good speech early in the evening, and the member for Windsor-Sandwich (Mr. Bounsall) indicated the depressed area in his riding in the Windsor area. As we come into the 1980s, the economy is very difficult and it is certainly going to be a year that will be very trying for many of us and many of our constituents. The member for Durham East (Mr. Cureatz), who just completed his budget debate speech, indicated that Minaki Lodge was unneeded in Ontario with the expenditure there and that the province should be changing its priorities. I would have to agree with him on those comments.

Mr. Cureatz: It is not unneeded, but we are looking forward to funds coming my way.

Mr. G. I. Miller: After 37 years of one government, it would be nice for all the people of Ontario if we could come up with a change of government. I would like to think the Liberal Party under the direction of our leader could give the leadership this province really deserves.

I would also like to indicate in my opening remarks that I am proud to represent the riding of Haldimand-Norfolk. It is an area that has changed considerably over the past 10 years with the development of an industrial park where Stelco has located. They are about to produce steel, which we have been waiting for 12 years to take place. It is to be hoped it will contribute to the economy of Ontario in these very difficult days. Almost \$1 billion has been spent on that plant, and it has created a lot of jobs over the past 12 years on behalf of all of Ontario and Canada, and probably spreading as far as Europe and many other countries.

The Hydro plant is working, and the generating station is producing about 70 per cent

of its energy. I think there were some comments made this morning in the House in regard to the sulphur dioxide pollution which can contribute to the environment. It is time again that was looked at more closely.

Texaco Canada are in operation and they are producing at full capacity. They spent something like \$400 million developing that plant, and Hydro spent in the area of \$800 million; so you can see that area has had a lot of money put into it which has stimulated all areas of Ontario, as I indicated before.

Another controversial issue coming up at the present time is the development of Townsend town site. It is a new town site, and the Ministry of Housing is moving forward with it. I have already said, I support the principle of it, if there is a need for the town site, because I think we should make sure our young people have the opportunity to own their own homes. I think they do have a good plan concept on it at the present time. The only question I am concerned about is whether it is needed now.

As I tried to point out to the Minister of Housing (Mr. Bennett), there are 1,100 housing lots available in the riding of Haldimand-Norfolk, and many of them in that particular area are in Jarvis, Simcoe, Port Dover, Hagersville, Caledonia and Cayuga, which are within range of the industrial site. I question whether we should be moving ahead at this particular time when the houses and lots that are there are not moving very swiftly.

All the labour force is in Stelco. As I indicated, the plant is going to start up within the next week or so, and it may even be producing steel now. I indicated the work force is there in all areas, for Texaco, Hydro and Stelco, and there are still houses that aren't moving. Some of the subdivisions have been sitting for several years. Do we need it now or should we let the existing municipalities get some growth? When that pressure is being applied, we could then move over into Townsend.

The province hasn't accepted that. They are continuing to move forward. Before they do it, I indicate to the minister that they should provide water to the towns of Jarvis and Hagersville, because there is a definite need there. Jarvis's water is at the limit now and they can't grow unless they have it. Hagersville water comes from drilled wells, which is very hard on the water pipes. We do have a hospital there, a high school and the public schools and, with the type of water we have now, it is

very costly just for the upkeep of the system.

I hope they do proceed with the water lines so they can have a good, adequate supply of water. I would hope this government does not use that as a lever to get Townsend going while holding back on the supplying of this much-needed facility.

12:10 p.m.

I do have some prepared comments that I would like to give, to point out the problems with this government in putting more expenditures back on the municipalities. We do have a regional government. It has received considerable flak because it is so expensive, but I think this government has to take some responsibility by not providing the grants. They have been withdrawing grants instead of moving forward and I will give some examples to point up this fact.

We were trying to provide a home in Dunnville for our mentally retarded adults. The ministry indicated, back in 1978, there would be money available. Yet, when they had the lot and the groundwork done, the government withdrew and indicated the money wasn't available. Consequently, they had to make other arrangements. A lot of dissatisfaction in Dunnville itself was created with people not willing to accept the location of the adult housing centre. It certainly caused a lot of debate, discussion and hard feelings in the community because the money was not made available.

Another area is that of equalized assessment and I would like to read one of the headlines on this: "Equalized Assessment not so Equal, According to Many of the Local People." First, I would like to raise the question of tax increases in my riding of Haldimand-Norfolk. One result of implementing market value assessment in the city of Nanticoke is the very severe hardship to the farmers of Walpole township in particular. Individual tax increases in excess of 100 per cent and some as high as 200 per cent have been reported. I have had numerous letters of complaint on this subject, and I am sure the Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs (Mr. Wells) has also had many letters and submissions.

I would like to quote from a letter sent to the minister by the Haldimand Federation of Agriculture, with a copy to myself:

"The implementation of market value assessment coupled with the lingering effects of the creation of regional government in this area has resulted in a unique situation

that requires your special attention and consideration.

"We understood funds have been made available for this purpose and we would also like to point out that a substantial amount of assessment has been lost by the farming sector to the towns and townsites and the industrial development at Nanticoke.

"Our calculations of farm taxes across the old county of Haldimand now show a substantial increase in Walpole over the rest of the former county of Haldimand. Municipal taxes will be 53 per cent and 35 per cent higher than in the neighbouring municipalities, the town of Dunnville and the town of Haldimand respectively, for properties of equal market value. Yet municipal taxes on industry will be lower by 78 per cent and 58 per cent compared with industrial property in adjoining Haldimand and Dunnville.

"Therefore, it would appear that industry is not paying its fair share of municipal taxes in the city of Nanticoke and we urgently request an immediate evaluation of the financial affairs of the city of Nanticoke."

I have asked the minister to carry out this request and his response indicated there doesn't seem to be much that can be done at this particular time. This is the first time the city of Nanticoke has pooled its resources and it is because of regional government that it has all come about. I feel there should be some recognition for this particular problem.

It appears that in Nanticoke the tax on a \$100,000 assessment in three categories is as follows: On the industrial assessment, the tax, if it had applied in 1979, would have been about \$1,548; on residential it would have been \$1,053; on agriculture it would have been about \$1,639.

One can see that agriculture is being assessed on the same assessment considerably higher than industry. Therefore, equal assessment does not produce equal taxation, neither does it reflect equal payment for equal services provided by the municipality.

Again in 1978 this government didn't move forward with the property tax reforms as it had indicated it was prepared to do 12 years earlier. It came in with a piecemeal solution, bringing in section 86, which gave the right for the municipality to pool each class of its assessment. This is certainly creating many hardships in my particular riding.

I would like to take this opportunity to remind the government, as one person expressed it recently, "Hell hath no fury like a farmer up against his tax bill." I would point out that in the Nanticoke area that fury is

rising into white heat as farmers watch their tax bills go out of sight under market value assessment.

We have had a number of very lively meetings on this matter of tax increases in my riding. One farmer in the Hagersville area pointed out: "When Stelco and Hydro came in, everybody made out that we wouldn't have to pay anything. Now we are paying it all." He also expressed the view of many people when he charged that farm values in the area have been inflated by provincial land buying. I know of one 100-acre farm that was sold for \$280 one year. Then the province came along the next, and it was sold to the government for \$2,000 per acre. "What was the value of that?" he asked. The question is frequently asked, "Who wants to farm the land when it can be sold to the province for \$2,000 an acre?" This was the case with 12,000 acres in the Townsend town site.

On the subject of Townsend, I would like to remind this House that although these 12,000 acres were bought in 1974, the province has only recently begun to develop it. In the meantime, it is good class one and two agricultural land—it is certainly good farm land. As the local member there, I would like to make sure that we protect that agriculture industry. I hope we can have industry and a place for the people to live and to work, and also provide agriculture along with it. I think it has to be that way, and I will maybe make some points on that as I go along.

Mr. McKessock: The government aren't very good farmers.

Mr. G. I. Miller: They certainly aren't. They are just concerned about justifying the expenditure they put into these town sites across Ontario. These total up to tremendous amounts.

I think it was \$280,000 they put into Pickering—the figure given in answer to a question of our financial critic, April 3, 1980. The interest on that property alone is as much as they paid for the Townsend town site and almost equal to that for the South Cayuga town site. It just points out that the minister of the day, at that time, made some bad decisions and overestimated the need for land to provide housing facilities.

Mr. McKessock: Give the farms back to the farmers.

Mr. G. I. Miller: They certainly should, as my colleague from Grey points out. He brought his bill forward only a few weeks ago indicating that this province is not providing adequate support for the agriculture industry. One per cent of our overall budget goes towards the Ministry of Agriculture and

Food. That is down from the 1979 budget, which indicates what this government really feels about agriculture. They only give lip service to it. They can put out good brochures indicating what their intent is, but they never follow through and carry out.

As my colleague the member for Brant-Oxford-Norfolk (Mr. Nixon) pointed out last night, it is time for a change. It is our job as members of the opposition to sell it to the people of Ontario. I have hope we can do that whenever an election may be called.

Some rural residents are also up in arms because they believe they are getting raw deals when they are made to pay for street lights and fire hydrants in the urban areas. This is another complaint arising from the regionalization of the area. I very strongly urge the Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs to give urgent and serious consideration to this question of taxes, specifically tax increases in Haldimand-Norfolk.

With the region's move to implement equalized assessment based on market value, revenues collected from land taxation within each municipality will not change, according to the chief assessment officer. Residents are now paying taxes based on market value as of 1975, with readjustment to be made every two years in land value.

12:20 p.m.

Farmers believe that new equalized factors are causing a shift on to them. I have raised this matter with the minister in a letter read in this House. Once again I bring it to his attention in the hope that something can be done, bearing in mind the vital importance of maintaining a viable farming community, putting aside questions of simple justice.

When the Haldimand-Norfolk regional council finalized its budget in 1980, the taxpayers were hit to the tune of \$5.8 million, an increase of something like 17 per cent. The Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs indicated in his opening statement this past week that taxes would not go up in 1980. Yet we can see by the results that the taxes in the region of Haldimand-Norfolk are going to increase 17 per cent.

As I pointed out earlier, this government brought in regional government, and the elected municipal people have spent a lot of time trying to bring in a budget that would be acceptable to the residents. Originally it was up around 26 or 27 per cent. They did bring it down to 17 per cent, but if this government wants to make regional government work, it has to keep pace with the payouts to

those municipalities so that the local taxpayer is not carrying the whole burden.

I would like also to make the point at this time that education costs are the big factor. Fifty-two per cent of the property taxes goes to the educational budget, and that only leaves 48 per cent for the other services of the local municipality, the area municipality and the regional municipality. While the regional council is taking the benefit, the province is making the region look bad because it is not providing the proper funding. If regional government is so good, my argument has been that if they can accept the responsibility, and I know they have good people, why do we need the services here at Toronto or Queen's Park? Why can that money not be transferred, along with the responsibilities, to provide the services? I do not think this government has followed through on that.

Getting back to the budget of \$5.8 million, there were a number of reasons for this. There was some misplaced information. A figure of \$34,000 in debt charges for the Caledonia Dam has been mentioned. I would like to point out that it was a needed facility in the Grand River at Caledonia because the old dam had broken down. It let the water down so that it would not regenerate the wells. It had to be replaced. It is under construction now at a cost of something over \$2 million, and again the municipality has to pick up almost 50 per cent of the cost of that dam.

I remember, as a member of the conservation authority at the time the dams were put in to provide a holding area or holding supply, that 80 per cent of the cost was picked up by the conservation authority and 20 per cent by the municipality. That is another area where the region and the local municipality are paying more than their fair share. A dam of that size is a long-term investment. It not only provides a service for the municipality, but also provides a recreation area for Hamilton, Brantford, even as far away as Toronto. They come down to fish off the Caledonia Dam in the Grand River.

While I am talking about the Grand River, only last week there was a cancer drive. I have always wanted the opportunity to canoe down the river. Because it was requested that the member participate in a special occasion, my wife Shirley and I canoed from Caledonia to Cayuga in the morning. It was a beautiful morning, exactly like this. If anyone wishes to take that trip, he could not spend a better weekend.

I have lived there all my life and I did not realize the Grand River had so much to offer. It is the largest river in southern Ontario and there are about 15 to 20 islands on the way down where you can stop. The water is not deep; the river has a rock bottom and there may be only a few deep spots. As a matter of fact, in some places you may have trouble when the water is running lower, but you can canoe all the way from there to Lake Erie and from Cayuga on. The larger boats, the motor boats, can navigate the stream from Dunnville to Cayuga.

It was a beautiful morning and I was certainly glad to have the opportunity to do it. We also made some money on behalf of a worthy cause.

Getting back to the Caledonia Dam, I mention the \$34 million of debt charges that had to be picked up by the region. Services had to be cut from the budget of Haldimand-Norfolk to make up this omission. There were other departments and services which they were reluctant to cut from their estimates.

Other matters have contributed to the increase such as contractual obligations for wages and benefits, the growing staff in some departments, and new programs and changes in service. To these factors must be added the lower assessment growth, a provincial freeze on grants, and a 1979 deficit of \$317,220. While there was a deficit, it wasn't a huge deficit, but a lot of this was the responsibility of this government, which didn't provide adequate funding for the programs that were carried out. They put the responsibility back on the municipality.

All in all, the situation has been described as calling for a crisis level. Many people place the blame squarely on regionalization itself and I have indicated it's not all the region's responsibility. I think if the province wants to make regional government work, it has to provide adequate funding and the region has to know where the money is coming from at least one year ahead.

I would like to mention that in our submission to municipal finance and property tax reform, the Ontario Liberal Party accepted the farmers' argument that productivity value assessment, based on the ability of the farm to produce, provides a more logical basis for assessment. In our view, productivity value assessment need not conflict with market value. If we adjust the definition of market value for farms to represent the market value of the farm for farming purposes only, based on the farmer-to-farmer sale rather than its highest market value, then the con-

cern over the impact of market value on the urban fringe is lessened.

I think that is the key to it if we want to maintain a viable agriculture industry along with urban development, because there is no way under the present prices paid to farmers that they can compete with industry. Food is going to be a basic need for generations to come, and I think that is important, particularly to Ontario and Canada.

Before leaving this topic I would like to read an advertisement that has appeared in two papers in our region. The heading is "Land Wanted." The advertisement reads:

"Canadian corporate groups forecasting population growth and requirements for development land for the next 30 years is creating \$100-million land bank. Our group seeks to purchase for cash, land anywhere in Canada in the following categories:

"(1) urban residential building lots, any quantity; (2) rural residential building lots, any quantity; (3) recreational or vacation building lots, waterfront or back lots or acreage, any quantity; (4) farm land with or without buildings, any quantity, minimum 20 acres; (5) bush acreage, any quantity, minimum 50 acres; (6) environmental land, swamp, marsh, et cetera, any quantity, minimum 50 acres; and (7) commercial and/or industrial lots or acreage, any quantity, but must have correct zoning now.

"Note: Any quantity means one lot, or partial or more with no upper limit. Principals only, but realtors protected. Please forward particulars of category of land you have for sale, number of lots, size of acreage, exact location and price expected. Airport Building Corporation Limited, 239 Sheppard Avenue East, Suite 300, Willowdale, Ontario, M2N 5S2."

As I indicated before, this ad has appeared in two papers in this region.

Mr. McKessock: I thought they were only going to buy Grey county but they are going to buy yours too.

Mr. G. I. Miller: I say we have a job to do to keep our young people on the farm, and I think we certainly have to protect them.

12:30 p.m.

There is another article I would like to read now in connection with agriculture to point out the need in the future. This was an article in the *Globe and Mail* dated November 9, 1979, I believe. I'm not sure of the exact date. It reads:

"Developing countries were warned in the UN yesterday that mass starvation could oc-

cur in some parts of the world as early as 1985 if they did not quickly move to increase their food production.

"Geoffrey Bruce, Canada's deputy permanent representative to the UN, told the economic committee that 'it has become clear that the current increase in population is outpacing the increase in food production in the Third World. Canada has made huge amounts of food available for the struggle against hunger, contributing more than \$100 million this year alone.'"

I would like to point out that at the present time it is particularly dry in the western parts of Canada and it could come to be a serious situation, perhaps even resembling something back in the 1930s. People are not planting because of the dry conditions. That has been the bread basket of Canada. It is a tremendous area, but if it does not get moisture it certainly could affect the world supply of food.

It may come about quicker than we think, although in southern Ontario we have a very good water supply and we can use irrigation if necessary. In the tobacco area, in the former county of Norfolk, we are using irrigation. We have a lot of potential there. All we have to do is harness it and utilize it.

While we may say we don't have co-operation with the west, we received a call the other day from a friend of ours, from whom we bought cattle before, indicating he wanted to know if we were in the market to buy stocker cattle. Because of the drought in the west, the price has dropped from \$1.20 a pound to an asking price of 75 cents. I think we are going to try to finance it under the difficult high interest rates in order to load these cattle and feed them here. We have the facilities to do it. I'm just pointing out that means we can help our neighbours to the west, which is the strength of Confederation in the great country we have. It indicates, too, how vulnerable we are when it comes to weather conditions.

I would like to take this opportunity to pay tribute to our farmers and to mention that technological advances, combined with the ever-increasing efficiency of our agricultural community, have given North American consumers the most abundant and reasonably priced food in the entire world. We met with the food processors yesterday who indicated that very clearly.

Each farm worker in Canada and the US now produces enough food for more than 50 people. This compares to 10 for Western Europe and fewer than 1.5 in the USSR and China. This indicates how much progress has

been made in agriculture in Canada and in North America. This has clearly come about because of the energy and the technology we have, but this may well change in the years ahead.

Clearly, the efforts of our farmers to provide reasonably priced food for consumers are being made increasingly difficult. Energy prices are a big question mark, not to mention energy supplies. Government at every level is going to have to be increasingly mindful of the importance of our agricultural community and the new difficulties which are arising to join with the farmer's traditional enemies, the pests and unfavourable weather conditions.

In the last 30 years or so, the food industry has been able to take advantage of comparatively cheap energy supplies. Mechanization has been an important factor as tractors and other machines have taken over. We have to bear in mind that a great proportion of farm fuels, such as gasoline and diesel fuel for tractors, cannot be readily substituted. Fuel for tractors must be easily portable and highly concentrated.

We must develop sufficient supplies of alternative fuels. The Ontario Liberal Party's paper on methanol production should be effectively followed up by this government. I think our candidate for the riding of Parry Sound has been producing alcohol to fuel his automobile. I think he produced 300 gallons of alcohol from an acre and a half, and he estimated the cost of that alcohol was 30 cents per gallon. He has been down to Toronto in his car. It's an ordinary car. He has driven to Toronto on the alcohol made on his farm in the district of Parry Sound.

There is potential in the north to open it up and utilize that agricultural land to produce crops; that could be the salvation of northern Ontario. I think the Liberal Party has shown a lot of leadership in providing this paper on the development of methanol production. It has to be got out to the people. The people have to be made aware of the alternatives, and a little competition in the field is certainly what is needed. There is also solar power, which could be utilized effectively if the government were prepared to provide the necessary facilities and the funding.

I would like to touch upon the question of health services in Ontario. This is another area of real concern. The government has done a tremendous advertising job indicating how much money has been made available to the hospitals and health services in Ontario that could have been better utilized

to provide better services for the communities. We were appalled to read of the prediction by members of the Royal College of Physicians and Surgeons that Canada faces a slow but certain decline in the health care system. It was their view that the initial pride and enthusiasm for publicly financed health care has waned.

How can we help but be seriously concerned to learn that the emigration rate for qualified young Canadian doctors is 600 a year—equal to the total graduating class of Canada's 16 medical schools? I would like to quote from a Texas newspaper, the Plain-view Reporter-News, of January 17, 1980. Let me read the banner headline from this US publication: "Canadian Doctor Prefers US system."

The story is about Dr. Tony Lyons, a doctor born and raised in rural Ontario, who worked his way through college and medical school at Ottawa University to become the first physician in his family. After his post-college training at St. Joseph's Hospital in Hamilton, Ontario, he accepted a government deal to pay for part of his schooling in return for being the only physician in tiny, rural Jarvis, Ontario. That was in 1966.

He intended to stay in Jarvis for a few years and then return to medical training to become a surgeon, but the situation in Jarvis and picking up a part-time practice with two other doctors in nearby Hagersville grew on him and he stayed. Something else grew on him too—Canada's progressively more socialized system of medical care. Dr. Lyons said he was one of those doctors who was caught in the middle of the change, and he surmises that being caught in the middle was one of the reasons he became one of those most disenchanting with the change.

Interviewed by the local paper in his new American community, Dr. Lyons said that with the socialized medical care system nationwide, but with each province having control of the system within the province, the provinces had developed planning agencies that control the distribution of medical facilities, the number of hospital beds and the like. We are aware of this, but his following comments are interesting, however.

One of the problems, he says, is that "these regional agencies have only the authority to recommend and the government usually does what it wants to do anyway." I think that comment is worth noting. He went on to describe practising medicine in Canada as "assembly-line medicine."

12:40 p.m.

As a footnote to this episode, I would like to say that now it is pretty well impossible to get a doctor to come out to our area. There is a hospital for chronic care in Hagersville which was built back in the middle 1960s by public funding, public donations. Yet, this hospital is not providing the service it was designed for and for which the people in the area provided the funding. The work load is being shifted to the larger centres like the Hamilton McMaster Hospital. While it is a fine facility, we should encourage the use of our locally funded, very convenient and well run hospital in the community.

I would like to point out that a steering committee has been formed with the view to setting up a health council. It is headed by the former Conservative member of the federal riding, Mr. Bill Knowles, and we hope their recommendations will bring the medical services in the region together and they will be listened to by this government at Queen's Park.

The hospital for chronic care in Hagersville which, as I said, is publicly funded and is not being used very much, I believe would be more appropriately operated as a clinic-type facility. People would be able to use it more frequently than at the present time.

In this House, we recently debated my resolution on the establishment of a permanent relief program using funds from Ontario lotteries to provide grants and low-interest loans to individuals and communities that have suffered severe damage and loss due to natural causes. I would like, once again, to impress upon the government the urgent necessity of doing something along these lines. I would also like to make it clear that it is not proposed that this fund should be an insurance policy but should be used strictly for the result of natural disasters.

My colleague the member for Essex North (Mr. Ruston) was going to have an extra session with the Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs (Mr. Wells), yesterday on the occurrence that had taken place in the town of Essex in his riding which would, in my opinion, be a disaster. A gas line was broken and the heart of the town was taken out but this government does not see fit, under its present policy, to provide any funding for a disaster of this kind.

My own riding of Haldimand-Norfolk has been singularly unfortunate in this regard in recent years. In this connection, I would like to touch upon the serious lakefront erosion taking place at Port Dover. This is a very serious situation with houses going over the bank, et cetera. Clearly, some provincial

assistance is desperately needed to organize effective planning and protection. About 40 or 50 homes are involved and I think it is up to this government to provide some leadership to co-ordinate a plan to protect that particular area.

I have brought the matter to the minister's attention many times. As a matter of fact, the Treasurer of Ontario (Mr. F. S. Miller), the then Minister of Natural Resources, had the opportunity to tour the area to see the effects of the erosion. That was about two years ago. We have not been able to achieve any correction of the problem to this point in time. I would certainly hope to arrange a meeting in the near future to see if the government had a change of attitude to come up with a clear plan to protect that disastrous area.

We need a clear financial program for the designation of disastrous situations, a program whereby citizens directly affected would have immediate assistance. I think one good example would be Port Maitland, another area in my riding, which has been flooded out five times in the last five years. Yet, they can't qualify for any assistance to protect them from the high water of Lake Erie which particularly occurs when the wind is in a certain direction. This has been going on for many years. Many of the people are older and they cannot finance it themselves so are caught in a bind.

I fail to understand why the federal government has dragged its feet on this issue for so very long. Why have Ontarians been put in the position of having to struggle against tremendous odds to rebuild their lives, which have been severely damaged by natural disasters and circumstances entirely beyond their control, unassisted?

There is absolutely no excuse for the government's delaying tactics on this very important question. I might add too, that we have had resolutions from many municipalities around Ontario, supporting the establishment of a disaster relief fund. The people of Ontario deserve more consideration.

Another issue of great importance in our area is the Middleport PCB site. We have been told that the proposed facility on Hydro property at Middleport is going to be constructed with the most strict safety and precautionary measures. We have been told there are to be special sumps, concrete curbs, drainage checking systems and air filters, to be utilized to keep any possible leakage of liquid waste of airborne PCB material to a minimum.

By this time we are too well aware of the hazards of PCBs. We know they accumulate in human tissues and can be absorbed by babies. We know they have been found to cause birth defects, nervous disorders, changes in liver functions and cancer. The hazards involved in their continuing use were taken so seriously by the federal government that they have now been banned in this country for more than a year.

In spite of the fact that the dangers of PCBs are widely known, we are told not to worry about their storage in the proposed Middleport facility. We are told everything will be taken into account. Frankly, the people of the Middleport area are very uneasy about this whole situation, and government reassurances are doing little to allay these fears.

Finally, I would like to return once again to the Townsend development, which I mentioned earlier in my remarks about tax increases. A development of this dimension envisaged for Townsend is bound to have an enormous impact on local communities. It has always been hoped, of course, that some of the negative effects would be outweighed to some extent by improved employment opportunities at Stelco Inc. and Texaco Canada Inc., for example, which I pointed out in my opening remarks.

These hopes are fast disappearing for many people. For instance, many planners and engineers are to come in from the Toronto area, and doubtless the same will be true for senior technical and managerial staff. It was hoped that work would be created for local quarry operators, but this has not been the case. Stelco is obtaining its stone from a quarry on their site and the work is being done by quarry operators from Toronto.

In the beginning, while the development of regional government and the development of the area was taking place, the local quarry operators and business people were gearing up to take care of the development, but this really has not come about. I have had many complaints from quarry operators that their business has dropped off rather than increased.

Stelco is also going abroad to hire its tradesmen. The company has received government approval to recruit a total of 103 tradesmen from overseas, probably from the United Kingdom. Forty-nine of these workers will be employed at Nanticoke, with the remainder going to Stelco's Edmonton plant and various finishing plants.

We have had many discussions with Stelco on this very same situation. We also discussed it with the Minister of Labour (Mr. Elgie) and the Minister of Education (Miss Stephenson), who was in her seat earlier on but has not seen fit to stay for the complete morning. I just proved that our education system is not geared to take care of our needs, and there certainly must be some adjusting there.

These workers will be craftsmen and tradesmen, including millwrights, machinists, electricians, welders, electrical technicians and toolmakers. Why is the company going abroad? For the same reason as other companies have been forced to do the same thing. We simply do not have the skilled workers in Ontario.

12:50 p.m.

You may be interested to know, Mr. Speaker, that some 800 applications have been made to Stelco for jobs, and few people have been called in for an interview. They have been very selective. When is this government really going to wake up to the fact that, for all our sakes, something must be done about the lack of skilled workers in Ontario?

Our youth unemployment figures are a scandal. Our young people are becoming increasingly uneasy about their future prospects and our manufacturing sector is in serious trouble. Yet the government does virtually nothing effective about improved skills training. I ask the question why? If the Minister of Education had been here this morning, I would have asked her. I hope she and the Minister of Labour take a look at Hansard.

Why can we not be honest with our young Ontarians about the bleak job prospects in certain areas? They must not be allowed to continue to act on the assumption that higher education automatically guarantees higher-paying work. In many areas, the traditional job opportunities just aren't there any more. The need for improvement, improved guidelines, and counselling has been widely recognized for well over a decade, as has the vital necessity of extensive and accurate manpower planning. Surely the facilities and information are available to project future employment needs.

Students wishing to take specific courses should be made aware at the outset of their chances of obtaining a job in their chosen field. Graduation day is certainly not the time to learn that through lack of knowledge of future job prospects they made the wrong choice when they entered university or community college.

Why can't we provide all students with the necessary information on job possibilities in the existing labour market? Why can't we make them aware of their prospects of finding employment in the career of their choice?

Often when we are talking about young people and their education with respect to job opportunities we tend to overlook the approximately 73 per cent—and I would like to emphasize that, 73 per cent—who don't go to university or community college. They are eliminated from jobs such as those at Stelco, Hydro and Texaco. I think that is the area the minister should zero in on, that 73 per cent who don't have the same opportunities to get the money to buy the homes they are trying to build at Townsend. They deserve a home the same as anyone else.

I think the key is the 73 per cent who don't have that opportunity. Perhaps more than any other group they need to have assistance in bridging the gap between school and work. They need to know how to cope with the want ads that say, "experience required." They need a chance to acquire skills which will enable them to earn a living in today's competitive world.

We have been aware for a long time now that by far the greatest proportion of our skilled workers are nearly 50 years old. We have also known that the majority of their skill training was obtained in other countries. I think that is a key statement. Why do we allow this situation to continue, knowing the importance of skilled workers in meeting today's manufacturing and industrial needs? Why do we allow situations to continue that force companies such as Stelco to go abroad for their skilled workers, when we at home in Ontario have unemployment figures that are unforgivably high?

With those comments, I would like to wind up my portion of the debate on the budget for 1980. I support my leader and our financial critic in the position that we are taking on behalf of all the people of Ontario. If the government is forced into an election, I think we are well equipped to go to the people of Ontario and explain our position and the need for a change for the best interests of Ontario.

Mr. Charlton: Mr. Speaker, since it is Friday and five minutes to one, and my remarks are somewhat longer than five minutes, perhaps I could move the adjournment of the debate.

On motion by Mr. Charlton, the debate was adjourned.

The House adjourned at 12:54 p.m.

ERRATUM

No.	Page	Column	Line	Should read:
49	1919	2	21	commission should do so. The commission does not think it has the power to do so under the act; so the contribution limits are still open to very serious abuse, and the government has taken no action either to clarify the legislation or close the loopholes. In fact, no prosecution has ever been instituted under the act.

APPENDIX

(See page 1976)

ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS
ON NOTICE PAPER

ADMINISTRATIVE REGIONS

80. Mr. Conway: Do the following ministries have a policy which divides the province of Ontario into various regions for administrative purposes: Solicitor General, Transportation and Communications, Natural Resources, Education, Health, Agriculture and Food, Community and Social Services, Correctional Services, Environment, Government Services? If so, what criteria are used and what line of demarcation is used to divide northern Ontario from southern Ontario? (Tabled April 2, 1980.)

See sessional paper 95.

OHIP PAYMENTS TO
U.S. HOSPITALS

128. Mr. Warner: Would the Ministry of Health advise the House: 1. In 1979 how much money was paid by OHIP to US hospitals? How many US hospitals were paid by OHIP and which ones were they? 2. What procedure is used to validate the claim by the US hospital against OHIP? (Tabled April 17, 1980.)

See sessional paper 96.

MINISTRY ADVERTISING

151. Mr. Cunningham: What is the total advertising budget for the Ministry of Industry and Tourism? 2. What advertising agency is employed? 3. Were tenders let for the account? 4. What is the total cost for commercial time and production costs for commercial messages featuring the Minister of Industry and Tourism? (Tabled May 2, 1980.)

Hon. Mr. Grossman: 1. Tourism advertising, \$7,120,000; industry division advertising \$1,255,000; industry division publications, \$400,000; tourism publications, \$1,865,000; promotion—Customer Sales and Service, \$535,000; promotion—Tourism Marketing Services, \$2,560,000; travel trade publications, \$255,000; government information/communication program, \$72,000.

2. Base Hamilton Partners Limited, Burns, Cooper, Hynes Limited, Camp Associates Advertising Limited, Continental Public Relations Limited, Billy Edwards Creative Productions, Foster Advertising Limited, The Chris Hughes Company, Robert Ramsay Communications Limited, Scott and Withrow Inc., and Total Marketing Incorporated.

3. All agencies are chosen competitively on the basis of capability and creative ability presentations according to Management Board of Cabinet guidelines.

4. Total cost for commercial time and production costs for commercial messages featuring the Minister of Industry and Tourism: As of May 11, 1980 production costs have totalled \$985.40 and province-wide broadcast costs have totalled \$57,131.50.

INTERIM ANSWERS

148. Mr. Isaacs: Will the minister table the waybills for all shipments of liquid industrial waste that have been delivered to the Upper Ottawa Street landfill site for solidification since January 1979? Will the minister table a compendium of the chemical analyses of all liquids that have been input to that solidification process since January 1979? Will the minister allow public access to all waybills and chemical analyses of substances

which may be delivered to that site in the future? (Tabled May 1, 1980.)

Hon. Mr. Parrott: Additional time will be required to prepare an answer to question 148. The answer will be ready on or about May 26, 1980.

154. Mr. Grande: Will the ministry responsible provide the following information: 1. number of cases that have been dealt with by the College of Nurses for removal of the nursing licence in the years 1977-78,

1978-79, 1979-80; 2. number of licences that have been taken away in the above-mentioned three years; 3. names of nurses who have lost their licences for any reason in the years above mentioned; 4. the name of the hospital, clinic, et cetera, which filed the complaint that culminated in the loss of the licence? (Tabled May 6, 1980.)

Hon. Mr. Timbrell: This question is under review in my ministry. I anticipate a response will be tabled on or about June 6, 1980.

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Legislature of Ontario Debates

Official Report (Hansard)

Fourth Session, 31st Parliament

Tuesday, May 20, 1980

Afternoon Sitting

Speaker: Honourable John E. Stokes

Clerk: Roderick Lewis, QC



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Published by the Legislature of the Province of Ontario.
Editor of Debates: Peter Brannan.

LEGISLATURE OF ONTARIO

TUESDAY, MAY 20, 1980

The House met at 2 p.m.

Prayers.

The Honourable the Lieutenant Governor of Ontario entered the chamber of the Legislative Assembly and took her seat upon the throne.

ROYAL ASSENT

Hon. Mrs. McGibbon: Pray be seated.

Mr. Speaker: May it please Your Honour, the Legislative Assembly of the province has, at its present sittings thereof, passed certain bills to which, in the name of and on behalf of the said Legislative Assembly, I respectfully request Your Honour's assent.

First Clerk Assistant: The following are the titles of the bills to which Your Honour's assent is prayed:

Bill 45, An Act respecting Tom Longboat and the City of Toronto;

Bill 56, An Act to amend the Territorial Division Act;

Bill 202, An Act respecting Occupiers' Liability;

Bill 203, An Act to protect against Trespass to Property;

Bill Pr1, An Act to revive Basin-Jib Mines Limited;

Bill Pr2, An Act to revive Christian Reformed Church of Wallaceburg;

Bill Pr5, An Act to revive Milani Lathing Limited;

Bill Pr8, An Act respecting the City of St. Catharines;

Bill Pr9, An Act to revive John Madronich Limited;

Bill Pr10, An Act respecting the Township of Cumberland and the Township of Gloucester;

Bill Pr11, An Act respecting the City of Brantford;

Bill Pr15, An Act to revive Golden Hope Mines Limited;

Bill Pr16; An Act respecting Co-operative Health Services of Ontario;

Bill Pr20, An Act to revive Fargo Disposal Company Limited;

Bill Pr22, An Act respecting Crossroads Christian Communications Incorporated;

Bill Pr24, An Act respecting the Borough of Scarborough.

Clerk of the House: In Her Majesty's name, the Honourable the Lieutenant Governor doth assent to these bills.

The Honourable the Lieutenant Governor was pleased to retire from the chamber.

2:10 p.m.

STATEMENTS BY THE MINISTRY

SERVICES TO MENTALLY RETARDED

Hon. Mr. Norton: Mr. Speaker, on behalf of the ministers of Education, Health, and myself, I would like to advise the Legislature and the public of the specifics of a major joint initiative of our three ministries regarding developmental programs for mentally retarded people in homes for special care and nursing homes in Ontario. This is the culmination of recommendations made by an interministerial task force set up for that purpose last August and of discussions with the Ontario Association for the Mentally Retarded.

This initiative will affect 2,920 mentally retarded individuals, of whom 237 are under the age of 18, 166 are between the ages of 18 and 21, 1,442 are between the ages of 21 and 55, and 1,075 are over 55 years of age. The project is to be implemented over the next four years and is expected to cost approximately \$29 million over that period. Funding for this fiscal year will be about \$1.3 million. Estimated costs are approximately \$5 million for the second year, approximately \$9.5 million for the third year and approximately \$13 million for the fourth year. It is estimated that the annual cost of providing developmental training and related programs to these clients after the four-year implementation period will be approximately \$13 million a year.

In order to determine the individual needs of the clients, four interministerial assessment teams are being established. Assessment teams will include a social worker, a psychologist, and a physician, with additional consultative resources as required. The goals of the assessment process

are accuracy and objectivity, the end product being an individualized, goal-oriented plan of training and treatment. Areas to be evaluated include behaviour, self-care and basic life skills training; developmental and special education; pre-vocational and vocational training; physical and speech therapy; activation programs and recreational activities.

I am pleased to announce that the first steps have been taken to assess the children in these homes and that all of the individual assessments of the 400 children and young adults up to the age of 21 years will be completed by September 30 of this year. Training programs appropriate to their needs will be introduced as soon as possible after the completion of each assessment. In addition, by March 1981 assessments will be completed for 300 other adults. As this initiative progresses, training programs for adult residents will be introduced as soon as possible, based on the recommendations from individual assessments. Program alternatives, such as social or recreational training activities, will be made available for those people who may not be able to benefit from developmental training.

Funding for this initiative will be in addition to the \$30.6 million which my colleague the Minister of Health (Mr. Timbrell) has allocated this fiscal year to provide residential and health services to mentally retarded people in homes for special care and nursing homes. Operators of the homes will continue to provide these services with the supervision of the Ministry of Health. My ministry will assume responsibility for the administration and general management of this project, together with the implementation and funding of developmental training and social and recreational programs.

The Ministry of Education will continue to be responsible, through local boards of education, for the education of those children and young adults up to the age of 21 already receiving this program and for the education of others identified through assessment as being able to benefit. An interministerial steering committee has already been established to provide overall co-ordination and direction to the project management and to review and make recommendations on such issues as admissions criteria and procedures for the program, as well as the long-term program implications.

Community activity will be stimulated through the involvement of a provincial liaison group representing organizations

such as the Ontario Nursing Homes Association and the Ontario Association for the Mentally Retarded. In addition, local advisory committees, representing service organizations and operators of nursing homes and homes for special care, will play a significant role in both the planning and implementation of programs.

Over the four-year period, approximately 800 new jobs will be created outside the provincial government, producing a significant economic impact. These jobs will be a direct result of the increased demand for programs and services and will enable the mentally retarded people in homes and nursing homes to benefit from the programs thus made available to them. This commitment demonstrates the sincere and continuing desire on the part of the Ontario government to ensure that all mentally retarded citizens in this province are afforded the opportunity to develop to their full potential and live in an environment appropriate to their needs.

FOREST FIRES

Hon. Mr. Auld: Mr. Speaker, I would like to bring members of the House up to date on the forest fire situation in the province. The northwestern region of Ontario continues to be in an extremely hazardous state, even though the number and the spread of fires have diminished since the serious outbreak two weeks ago which threatened the communities of Sioux Narrows, Minaki and Camp Robinson.

Throughout the northwestern region ground moisture is in a drought stage and the potential for forest fires is high to extreme. Because there has been little rain since the first of April these extreme drought conditions are prevailing. Consequently last Friday the ministry declared that the northwestern region will be a restricted fire zone until at least the last day of this month. This means, as the Forest Fire Prevention Act states: "No person shall start a fire outdoors for the purpose of cooking or obtaining warmth except in a portable stove or a charcoal installation." That is, no open fires will be allowed.

The fire risk situation is extremely serious and can be expected to escalate over the rest of the month. The long holiday weekend just past was the beginning of the cottage season with many cottagers wanting to burn debris. The opening of the pickerel season will mean people wanting to build fires for shore lunches and there will be a considerable increase of travel in the dry

bush during this time by campers, hikers and tourists.

The declaration of a restricted fire zone will minimize the risk of man-caused fires and will make the public aware of the severe fire danger in that region. Taking this step also allows my ministry's firefighting force to regroup and gear up for the anticipated fire load over the balance of the 1980 fire season.

On Friday afternoon my ministry advised the news media of the restricted fire zone in the northwest so that people using the woods in that region would be made aware of the hazardous conditions and the ban on open fires.

YORK-DURHAM SEWAGE SYSTEM

Hon. Mr. Parrott: Mr. Speaker, I would like to inform the House that the Attorney General (Mr. McMurtry) has tabled an order in council under the Expropriations Act. This order will allow expropriation of property for rights of way within the town of Vaughan in the regional municipality of York. This land is needed for the construction of the North Maple collector sewer portion of the York-Durham sewage system. The Maple collector sewer has already been constructed from Steeles Avenue to a point about 750 metres north of Langstaff Road in Vaughan. In order to provide service for the community of Maple and the Family Leisure Centre theme park, this sewer must be extended about 2,700 metres northward.

In order to have the project completed and operational on time, it is necessary that construction begin this summer. A delay could mean further lost time as a result of weather and other contingencies and could result in cost increases of as much as 25 per cent. Therefore, it was felt necessary to expropriate the needed property quickly without permitting the usual inquiry procedure which could lead to delays in construction. Although property owners will not have the benefit of the inquiry procedure, this expropriation does not affect their right to have the compensation payable by the expropriating authority. This is determined by the Land Compensation Board in the event that a satisfactory price cannot be negotiated.

These proceedings will involve a total of 11 properties. However, this will not affect the agreements of purchase and sale already negotiated between eight of the property owners and the crown.

ORAL QUESTIONS

INTEREST RATES

Mr. S. Smith: A question for the Premier, Mr. Speaker. On Thursday, speaking to a group in Toronto, the Premier said this: "I also believe it is time for the government of Canada to break away from its lockstep pursuit of the monetary policy dictated by the Federal Reserve Board of the United States." He was talking about interest rates at the time.

In October, when we asked him the same question, the Premier had this to say: "I don't pretend to be an expert in terms of whether this country can dissociate itself from the lending rate in the United States. I confess to the Leader of the Opposition that I don't have this degree of expertise."

Assuming that the Premier has exactly the same degree of expertise now to which he confessed a few months ago, may I ask what it is that makes him feel it is now politically safe and appropriate to say that we should not be following the monetary policy of the United States when, while his friend Mr. Clark was the Prime Minister, he did not have the expertise and did not feel confident enough to make the same statement?

2:20 p.m.

Hon. Mr. Davis: Mr. Speaker, the Leader of the Opposition is reverting to true form again. I only make one observation. I like to think that I learn a little bit every day, and the fact that I know a little more than I did last October is, I hope, a sign of some accomplishment. If the Leader of the Opposition is saying to the people of this province that he does not learn a little bit every day, I would accept that and I would tend to agree with him.

I think it is fair to state that what I was saying on Thursday did not reflect my concern only about interest policy; it reflected my concern about monetary policy generally and that I do not think this country need be lockstep—or whatever term one may wish to use—with the United States of America.

Mr. S. Smith: It is of interest that the term "lockstep" was used by the Premier, but it is exactly the same term we used on October 29. The Treasurer (Mr. F. S. Miller) objected to it and said it was not lockstep when Mr. Clark was in office, because there was a quarter point difference in the rates. Considering that the difference in the rates now is 2.25 points, why does the Premier now feel he can use the term "lockstep" to define a policy when Mr. Trudeau is in office, when he could not use it when Mr. Clark was in office?

On a more serious note, does the Premier not recognize that this feeling free to take shots at the federal government, when it happens to be of a different political stripe, is one of the serious problems throughout this country and one of the reasons for the difficulties we are having in making this country governable generally?

Hon. Mr. Davis: I would only say that whatever criticisms I have of the government of Canada are mild compared to those the member opposite had when the former government was in power. Whatever I have said about other provincial jurisdictions is completely mild compared to how he has described our friends in Alberta and its Premier over the past several months. I say to him, please do not lecture me on what I say until you take a look at what you say, particularly when you happen to be away from this Legislature.

I happen to get reports of those things he says. Does he want me to tell him what he said in Port Credit the other day, and how he was totally unfair to the public service of this province? Does he want me to read that statement to him? Does he want me to lecture him on just how this sort of thing reacts on the public service of this province? It is something he would not dare say in this House.

Mr. Speaker, what was the question?

If the Leader of the Opposition wants to defend the government of Canada and its policy, that is fine. If I feel there are appropriate criticisms or points of view to offer, I will not be inhibited because the leader of the Liberal Party of this province very recently has found some desire to support, in all cases, the government of Canada.

I cannot understand it. He told the world some months ago he would not do it again. He is now reverting to it. God bless.

Mr. Cassidy: Mr. Speaker, since the question pertains to interest rates, may we take it that the government continues to disagree with the Liberal Party of Canada saying that there is no problem of interest rates for home owners? Will the Premier say now, five weeks since the provincial budget was presented, when the government expects to table the paper on interest rates that was promised within a month after the budget?

Mr. Roy: Don't worry. We'll support you anyway.

Hon. Mr. Davis: I would say to the sometime member for Ottawa East—

Mr. Speaker: You really don't have to.

Hon. Mr. Davis: I don't have to, no. It's obvious even to you, Mr. Speaker, I assume.

I think the Treasurer answered that question a few days ago and made it quite clear that it was hoped the documentation of the material we were preparing would be ready within about 10 days. I think that was about five or six days ago. The Treasurer is away until, I believe, tomorrow or Thursday. I am hopeful we will have this information for discussion some time in the next few days—I cannot guarantee it this week, but just as soon as it is ready.

Mr. Sargent: Mr. Speaker, I have a question with regard to interest rates and the Premier's inconsistencies along the line. In view of the fact that the Minister of Energy (Mr. Welch) has at long last told me that they advanced \$187 million, interest-free, to Denison Mines Limited and to Preston Mines Limited, and there is still about \$150 million to go, does the Premier plan to continue the interest-free policy?

When the small businessman is paying 15, 16 or 17 per cent for money, why should this multimillion-dollar corporation, with a guaranteed profit of \$2.5 billion on top of that guaranteed by the province, get this money interest-free? Is the Premier going to continue that policy?

Hon. Mr. Davis: Mr. Speaker, when the honourable member, attired as he is now, appeared in the very excellent eating facility downstairs, I told him then he should be forewarned that when he stood up to ask me a question I would advise him that Woodbine is functioning this afternoon and what he is wearing is very appropriate there.

I shall try to explain it to the honourable member again. Some of his colleagues sat through the whole discussion on those contracts during the select committee. I read what was said very carefully. My recollection is, and I could be wrong in this, that the contract is between Ontario Hydro, not the government of Ontario, and those two corporations. My recollection is, once again, that these were prepayments, which is not unusual in certain commercial contracts. Ontario Hydro has very excellent legal advice in terms of the preparation and finalization of those contracts, and they were all part of the process that was thoroughly discussed by the select committee at that time.

Mr. S. Smith: Mr. Speaker, I have a question for the Minister of the Environment.

Hon. Mr. Davis: The honourable member might read the rest of my speech.

Mr. S. Smith: The Premier has invited me to read the rest of his speech. I can assure him I did, and a good many questions arise.

DIOXIN TESTING

Mr. S. Smith: In fairness, since the Premier brought up horse racing, I think I might ask a question of the Minister of the Environment who has been known to participate in such pursuits on occasion.

The minister is very familiar with the problems that have come to our attention in the Love Canal, and he is very familiar with the fact that, not far from there, there are tens of thousands of tons of chemicals, dumped by the Hooker Chemical Corporation in the 1950s, 1960s and early 1970s.

Given the fear that these chemicals might be trickling into Bloody Run Creek and eventually into Lake Ontario, can the minister tell us whether he has finally got around to building the laboratory facilities which will allow Ontario to measure dioxin in water, something he has had four years to accomplish since it was first promised? Is that lab facility now in operation, and if not, why not?

Hon. Mr. Parrott: Mr. Speaker, first of all, let me tell the member that the lab facilities for measuring dioxin are extremely few in number. I am not certain whether we are in full operation or not. I know we have progressed a long way towards completion. I would be glad to advise tomorrow whether we are fully operational.

Mr. S. Smith: Since it would appear that the ministry is still waiting for certain equipment from the United States and since it would appear that it will be August at the earliest before this kind of testing can be done, can the minister explain why assurance was given to the people of Ontario as long ago as 1976 that this capacity would be one of the high priorities of the ministry?

Why has it taken virtually a full four years to get around to the point where we hope to be able to measure dioxin in our water, when dioxin is one of the deadliest chemicals known to mankind and there is enough in the Hooker dump to kill everybody on earth? Why has it taken four years to get around to building that facility?

Hon. Mr. Parrott: Mr. Speaker, I think I can tell you that, when we do have this on stream, it will be the first in Canada. A lab facility to measure dioxin must be prepared extremely carefully. Dioxin is not a substance with which one would want to have any carelessness or any possibility of harm to the employees. It has taken longer than I had

expected, but I think it is reasonable to establish the safest, soundest methods, not only for the people of Ontario, but also for the employees of a ministry who must work in this very hazardous condition.

2:30 p.m.

Mr. Kerrio: Mr. Speaker, how is the Minister of the Environment assuring the people in the Niagara River area that there is the kind of monitoring going on that is going to protect their health and well being?

Hon. Mr. Parrott: Mr. Speaker, we have said three things. First of all, we said we would take many samples of those substances that we ourselves were able to monitor completely, and we have done so. Second, we have suggested to the federal government that we will assist it in any way that it wishes. Third, any testing for dioxin will be done in other labs.

We do not have facilities for every substance, nor does any other lab that I know of have facilities for every substance. So there is a need to work with other labs, as they need to work with us.

When I discuss this problem with ministers of the western provinces, they see our labs so far advanced of any they have that they are extremely impressed. Indeed, that fine province of Alberta established its first lab only a few months ago. We are well in advance of any other jurisdiction in Canada.

IRON ORE PELLETS

Mr. Cassidy: Mr. Speaker, I have a question of the Premier about the Nanticoke development of Stelco Inc.

Is the Premier aware of the millions of dollars that have been spent in the Nanticoke area on the Townsend site and other developments that were needed for the industrial facilities there? Is he also aware of the fact that Stelco's new mill will be written off in only two and a half years, thanks to provincial and federal tax legislation?

In view of the millions of dollars that the taxpayers are contributing to the new Stelco mill at Nanticoke, is the Premier and the government prepared to insist that Stelco source its iron ore from Ontario sources to help create jobs in northern Ontario?

Hon. Mr. Davis: Mr. Speaker, I do not quite follow the logic of the first part of the question. If the real question is, laying aside all the rhetoric and the preamble, which could be totally irrelevant, are we

prepared to insist that Stelco use totally Ontario or Canadian ore, the answer to that is no. We are quite prepared, as we have done with all the steel companies, to interest them and persuade them to use whatever appropriate domestic ore can be used.

I think you will find, Mr. Speaker, that it is not as simple as saying to use Ontario ore. The fact is there are certain types of ore, and certain processes require different types of ore. I think it is fair to say Stelco has been one of the most efficient steel producers in North America. They have provided thousands of jobs over the years for the people of this province. They have been a tremendous economic asset.

If the leader of the New Democratic Party wants to grind some axe with them, that's fine. But I think it is fair to say that we cannot force a company to use a product that may not work in that particular process. We cannot force a company to do something that will not be economic or that will make them less competitive. Surely the member has an interest in the jobs they are going to provide.

We are certainly interested in the people who would be involved in the provision of ore for that particular industry. I will be having the Minister of Natural Resources (Mr. Auld) deal—he does not know it yet, because I just saw him this afternoon—in some detail with this question as it relates to the question raised by the member for Sudbury East (Mr. Martel).

As I recall the Inco problem, it relates to the quality of the ore. We have talked to the industry and they say this is a part of the problem. There will be a more comprehensive answer to the honourable member's question on Thursday. But I cannot undertake to the leader of the New Democratic Party that we are going to insist that a company do something that may not make sense from the standpoint of producing a product at a competitive price.

Mr. Cassidy: I was with my colleague at Atikokan last week and had the chance to relive with miners and people there the devastation of the community resulting from the closing of the two iron ore mines in that particular community. Why is it that over the last two years we have seen five iron ore facilities, including the one at Inco, and four mines shut down across this province and nothing done to help satisfy the increased demand for nine million tons more iron ore per annum that the steel companies are going to need in the 1980s?

Why has the government failed to use the leverage it does have, such as the contributions to Stelco, in order to get more sourcing from Ontario at a time when the Ontario steel companies have now bought in to the point where they can get 45 per cent of their supplies from the United States? Why do we keep on closing mines when we are going to need new iron ore sources in the 1980s?

Hon. Mr. Davis: I know the Leader of the Opposition will not like what I am going to say next. I don't purport to be an expert on this subject either but I learn a little bit as I deal with these situations. I can only recall some personal involvement in some detail with the National Steel mine. Two of the companies in this province made a very genuine effort to see whether the product from that mine could not be used in their process. I think it is fair to state that most reasonable people, after the experiment was concluded, came to the same judgement.

The member for Sudbury East (Mr. Martel) shakes his head, but I have to tell him that the companies made that effort to accommodate a provincial priority. We are quite prepared to do this on any occasion where we think it makes sense.

Mr. G. I. Miller: Mr. Speaker, when the Premier speaks to the Minister of Natural Resources, will he ask him to indicate to this House how much iron ore is being utilized from Canadian sources versus American sources? Then we could perhaps put a little pressure on the companies to use as much Canadian and Ontario iron ore as possible.

Hon. Mr. Davis: Mr. Speaker, the steel companies of this province are quite aware of the desire on the part of this government to use as much indigenous resource as is possible. I would think the member for Haldimand-Norfolk would also be concerned that we not have a policy that would make Stelco noncompetitive, not able to compete in the marketplace. This would be prejudicial to the employment of the people in that organization.

Mr. Foulds: Mr. Speaker, can the Premier tell us what concrete steps his government took to ensure that the processes developed at Nanticoke were processes that could use the ores that are available within Ontario?

Hon. Mr. Davis: Mr. Speaker, I do not know what the processes are. I know generally the product line that Stelco plans on producing there. I understand it is coming on stream fairly shortly. This government did not dictate to Stelco just what technology would be used.

BOISE CASCADE

Mr. Cassidy: Mr. Speaker, I have a new question which I will direct to the Minister of Industry and Tourism. Will the minister confirm or deny that the government is considering an Employment Development Fund grant to Boise Cascade for its operations in northwestern Ontario?

Hon. Mr. Grossman: Mr. Speaker, Boise Cascade has been in to see us, pursuant to our pulp and paper program. Simply, they asked if an application would be considered and forwarded certain information to the officials operating the board.

Mr. Cassidy: Can the minister give the House a categorical assurance that the government will have no consideration of a grant to Boise Cascade until there has been settlement reached in the company's labour dispute with Local 2693 of the Lumber and Sawmill Workers Union in northwestern Ontario?

Hon. Mr. Grossman: I can only tell the member that at the present time it is in the hands of our officials to do the customary analysis in this matter. If the analysis should be complete, it would then be referred to the board, and the other two members of the board and myself would have to consider all the factors at that time.

Mr. Cassidy: Does the minister not agree that it is a responsibility of the government to remain neutral in the case of a labour dispute? In that circumstance, does he not agree that the government of Ontario, and the taxpayers of Ontario, should stay out of that situation with any EDF grant until there has been a resolution and a settlement in the case of the strike of the Lumber and Sawmill Workers Union instituted with Boise Cascade?

Hon. Mr. Grossman: I will certainly present that point of view to my two colleagues, one of whom is sitting immediately to my right, and we will discuss it at the time it reaches the board level.

Mr. Foulds: Mr. Speaker, would the minister assure us that he consults with his colleague the Minister of Labour (Mr. Elgie) and follow up on his suggestion that the ministry must maintain neutrality in terms of labour disputes in that regard? Would he not agree that putting public funds into it does not maintain the government's neutrality?

Hon. Mr. Grossman: Mr. Speaker, we regularly consult with our colleague, the Minister of Labour. We will do so in this

matter. In fact he and I already discussed this in an informal way.

2:40 p.m.

TAX BENEFITS FOR NURSING HOME PATIENTS

Mr. Breaugh: Mr. Speaker, I have a question for the Minister of Community and Social Services regarding a petition he has received from the residents of Bestview Lodges Nursing Homes in Oshawa. Would the minister help to put together, with his colleagues the Treasurer (Mr. F. S. Miller) and the Minister of Health (Mr. Timbrell), a committee to review the inequities that are present in the tax benefit schemes for senior citizens so that seniors who are in nursing homes might have the same rights to these tax benefits as those seniors who are fortunate enough to remain in their own homes or apartments?

Hon. Mr. Norton: Mr. Speaker, I have not yet received the petition to which the honourable member refers. I will check with my staff and see whether it has arrived at my office.

Mr. Breaugh: Is the minister in agreement with the statement by the Treasurer that senior citizens who are resident in nursing homes have, if I can use his words, no obligations in society?

Hon. Mr. Norton: I didn't hear the Treasurer make any such remarks. I am not saying he didn't make them. I would not comment upon his remarks, but I would say it is clear to anyone who looks at the situation that those persons who are having all of their shelter, food and accommodation needs met in a nursing home or a home for the aged do have less open-ended demands upon them than those who are residing in the community, and that I would agree with.

THREE SCHOOLS

Mr. Peterson: Mr. Speaker, I have a question for the Minister of Culture and Recreation. The minister is no doubt aware of the plight of Three Schools here in Toronto. Why would he stand by without assisting this world-famous school for a trifling amount of money considering the number of jobs and the number of students at stake? Why would the minister not jump in and assist them to keep that world-famous school alive?

Hon. Mr. Baetz: Mr. Speaker, I would disagree with the assessment that we are standing idly by while this school is sinking. I would like to point out that over the past

seven years we have increased our provincial grant to Three Schools by the princely sum of 17 per cent per year. That is a higher increase, I suppose, than any other institution that is getting provincial funding from us has received.

We are still very much in a state of negotiation with them at the present time, but certainly their problems do not stem entirely—perhaps only in a very peripheral way—from the kind of provincial support they are getting. Three Schools is in a very highly competitive field. They are competing with the University of Toronto art school, with York University, with the community colleges' arts courses, with other alternative art schools, with the Ontario College of Art and so on.

It is a highly competitive field and there is a feeling that perhaps they have not been quite as competitive, have not kept up with their world as much as some of the others have. But in spite of all that I can assure the member opposite that we will continue to negotiate and see what we can do to keep this school afloat.

Mr. Peterson: In view of a United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization study which called this a unique facility in the world, in view of a Peat Marwick study funded by the Ministry of Culture and Recreation in 1978 which said that the school urgently needed a substantial injection of working capital and it could find no areas where cost could be significantly reduced, and in view of the relatively trifling amount of money, something like \$80,000, to keep this facility alive this year before the potential closedown date of June 6, surely the minister has an obligation to move very quickly and end the suspense for these marvellous people who are contributing, away below market rates, to the art scene of this province, this country and this city? Surely he has that obligation, and surely he owes it to them and to us to make an announcement very quickly?

Hon. Mr. Baetz: They are now being budgeted \$105,000 from us. We are being told that to keep them alive they need \$200,000. I would not call that kind of increase a trifling amount. That, in my language, is almost double what they are getting.

As far as the UNESCO report is concerned, in the world of art one finds very quickly that *de gustibus non disputandum est*. There is art and there is art and there is personal taste. A lot of people would not agree all that much with the UNESCO report. There are others around here who would say there are other art schools doing a better job. As

far as I am concerned, it is still an open question. We are ready to listen and we will try to do our very best to help this school survive.

GORHAM-WARE PUBLIC SCHOOL

Mr. Foulds: Mr. Speaker, I have a new question, for the Minister of Education. Can the minister explain why the capital expenditure budget for northwestern Ontario has not received final approval? In particular, can she explain why the Lakehead Board of Education has not received approval for construction of additional classrooms at the Gorham-Ware school at Lappe—a school that has three permanent classrooms and six portables and has been number one on the Lakehead board's priority list for the last three years?

Hon. Miss Stephenson: Yes, Mr. Speaker, because the capital budget for school construction throughout the province has not received approval as yet.

Mr. Foulds: Can the minister tell us when not only the province but also the people of Gorham-Ware can expect an answer? Can she not understand the urgency of the situation when, during the winter, in a small school like that, there are lineups of children at lunch hour from the portables to go to the washroom and the lineups are not completed by the time the lunch hour is over? Can the minister explain and justify to those people in a growth area why they should not have a school that has some decent facility for their children?

Hon. Miss Stephenson: The honourable member knows that it has been the policy to attempt to provide as equitably as possible the kind of accommodation that students need within the school system. I do recognize the urgency and hope that within the next week or so we will be able to inform the various boards of the allocations available to them.

LAKE SIMCOE-COUCHICHING REPORT

Mr. Gaunt: Mr. Speaker, I have a question of the Minister of the Environment. Since it now appears as though progress is being made in regard to the Lake Simcoe-Couchiching cleanup—and I particularly applaud the reduction in the phosphorus loading to 87 tons per year—can the minister assure the House that meetings are planned in the immediate future—I underline “immediate future”—to work out the appropriate cost-sharing between the province and the cities of Barrie and Orillia so that we can get on with the important job of saving Lake Simcoe?

Hon. Mr. Parrott: Mr. Speaker, very simply yes. I can assure the honourable member of

that as I did the member for Simcoe Centre (Mr. G. Taylor) two or three days ago. We have those meetings confirmed. Certainly we want to spend some time with those municipalities explaining the whole program.

Mr. Gaunt: Since this matter has been going on for some 10 years, could the minister indicate whether those meetings will be held within the next month?

Hon. Mr. Parrott: Yes.

INCO EMISSIONS

Ms. Bryden: Mr. Speaker, I also have a question for the Minister of the Environment. Since we now know that emissions from Inco Limited seriously affect the environment of the residents of southern Ontario as well as the Sudbury basin, will the minister also hold public meetings on the proposed Inco control order in the Muskoka cottage country and in Toronto?

Hon. Mr. Parrott: No, Mr. Speaker, I do not think that will be possible. Quite frankly, we are very anxious to get on with this control order. If we had all these meetings as proposed, I am afraid we would spend all our efforts in meeting and not doing. Therefore, I hope that interested people will go on June 4 or 5—whatever time is necessary—to Sudbury. It seems like a very reasonable approach to have these meetings in the communities that are affected by whatever decision is made.

2:50 p.m.

Ms. Bryden: Since according to the federal Minister of the Environment 40 per cent of the sulphur deposition in the Muskokas come from Inco, surely a very large group of people are affected, and to expect them to travel to Sudbury in order to discuss the preservation of their environment seems to me unreasonable when one is trying to open up the process to the public.

Hon. Mr. Parrott: I note that our estimates are starting next week, and perhaps the member would consider the standing committee as a forum for her to put forward some views and to ask some questions. Indeed, I would welcome an opportunity to discuss that particular study and reference to it by the Honourable John Roberts. I think it would be very helpful to have that discussion in a committee where there can be not only the give and take of discussion but also the expert witnesses who, I think are necessary to fully discuss that particular study and the ramifications it has upon the district of Muskoka.

ASSISTANCE TO FARMERS

Mr. G. I. Miller: Mr. Speaker, I have a question of the Minister of Agriculture and Food regarding the farmer assistance program announced on May 8. I wonder if the minister is intending to include the tobacco farmers of Ontario in the relief program announced at that particular time.

Hon. Mr. Henderson: Mr. Speaker, that announcement was quite clear; it referred to food production.

Mr. G. I. Miller: Does the minister not consider that the financial hardship being faced by the tobacco farmers is a severe problem? On what basis does he exclude them?

Hon. Mr. Henderson: The purpose of the subsidy on interest was to encourage the farmers to plant this year's crop. Their costs were going up so high that we were getting word back from the individual farmers that they were just going to cancel out this year. That was the background; that was the reason behind our subsidization of the loans. It was to encourage the planting of this year's crop. It was for the consumers of Ontario.

Mr. Riddell: Mr. Speaker, in connection with the Ontario Farm Interest Assistance Program alluded to by my colleague from Haldimand-Norfolk, have program criteria been developed by his ministry? If so, what are the criteria? Has he arrived at a legitimate means test in order to reduce the number of recipients to the most needy? What does he estimate the total cost of the program to be?

Hon. Mr. Henderson: Mr. Speaker, a great amount of work has gone into establishment of the criteria. I do have some facts that I will be taking to my cabinet colleagues tomorrow for their consideration. I would hope within the next week we would be making public the complete criteria.

Mr. Riddell: Will the minister make a statement in the House?

Hon. Mr. Henderson: I can if that is the member's wish.

MINIMUM WAGE

Mr. Samis: Mr. Speaker, I have a question of the Minister of Labour. Could the minister explain to the House why the men and women of this province, the wealthiest in Canada, have to work at a minimum wage lower than that being offered by the poorest province in Canada, Newfoundland, which will be increasing its minimum wage to \$3.15 in July and to \$3.45 next spring?

Hon. Mr. Elgie: Mr. Speaker, the issue of the minimum wage is one we are preparing our recommendations about, and I expect to have them before cabinet shortly.

Mr. Samis: In view of the fact that the people on welfare and family benefits assistance received the 10 per cent increase, and in view of the fact the cost of living has gone up by approximately 12 per cent to 15 per cent in that time period, can the minister assure the House that the increase will be commensurate with the increase in the cost of living since January 1, 1979?

Hon. Mr. Elgie: I am well aware of the facts and figures that the member has recited. I can tell him there will be a recommendation coming forward, the nature of which will be known once it has been received and approved.

ONTARIO HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION

Hon. Mr. Elgie: Mr. Speaker, the week before last in my absence, the leader of the New Democratic Party asked the Premier (Mr. Davis) why the Ontario Human Rights Commission had made no public statement concerning the controversy over the CTV program entitled Campus Giveaway, a program which caused understandable offence to the Chinese community of this province and which resulted in a public apology by the network.

The inference that the human rights commission stood passively aside during this unfortunate incident is entirely incorrect and unwarranted. If the leader of the New Democratic Party had read the joint statement issued on March 16, 1980, by the Ad Hoc Committee of the Council of Chinese Canadians in Ontario and CTV, he would have noted that both the Chinese community and the network paid tribute to the human rights commission for its assistance in bringing about a resolution of this regrettable issue.

I will not take the time of the House to give a detailed description of the commission's important mediating role, but I can say that Dr. Ubale and Rabbi Plaut were both actively and constructively involved throughout and, as I have said, their contribution to the eventual settlement has been publicly acknowledged by the parties concerned.

I should also say that the negotiations leading to the eventual apology by the network were difficult, and the need to avoid gratuitous public comment during this sensitive period was wisely recognized and honoured by the

representatives of the human rights commission. I hope members will agree with me that quiet diplomacy leading to success is sometimes preferable to public grandstanding. In this instance, the commission members involved have followed the correct and responsible route, and I believe that we owe a debt of gratitude to them.

RADISSON HOTEL CHAIN

Mr. Breithaupt: Mr. Speaker, I have a question of the Minister of Industry and Tourism with respect to the Radisson Hotel Corporation's management agreement concerning Minaki Lodge.

Does the minister recall the comments made at the time of the announcement, I believe by the member for Essex North (Mr. Ruston), concerning the bankruptcy circumstance and the difficulties of the Radisson Hotel in Detroit? Will the minister advise us whether he intends to make a full statement in the House concerning his confidence in programs, or otherwise, in this new arrangement to ensure that it is thoroughly carried out at, of course, the expense that has now been committed?

Hon. Mr. Grossman: Yes. The Radisson Hotel chain has our complete confidence. Radisson Hotels are in a very real sense no different from any other major hotel chain that goes into very many operations. There is hardly a hotel chain which any member of this House could mention that has not had an experience which has caused a notice of termination to have been served on the company, asking them to withdraw from a management arrangement. That is common in the hotel industry and should not in any way be meant to impugn the entire operation. That is as applicable to Radisson as it is to any other major hotel chain.

I might add that I have caused some inquiries to be made subsequent to that particular instance being drawn to my attention, and it appears that the particular hotel in question has been the subject matter of a great deal of difficulty for a long period of time. A previous hotel chain was likewise asked to stop operating it because of their inability to run the premises, and that has been acknowledged. The hotel is in a very difficult area and has a history of its own problems, notwithstanding the management. There is no question but that Radisson was unable to turn this particular hotel around.

On the other hand, one of the reasons we selected Radisson instead of the two or three other better-known chains in an area such as Toronto, for example, was their unique ex-

perience, not in downtown urban metropolises, but rather in these types of resorts. I would refer the member specifically to their experience at the Radisson Arrowwood, to name one of their lodges, and they have had extraordinary success in that location.

I have with me a note of some of the references that we got which I would be pleased to read to the House. Suffice it to say it is clear that Radisson is among the leaders in this particular type of wilderness resort. We retain the utmost confidence in them. We, of course, are checking into the one instance of which we are aware they have had any difficulty. Again, I emphasize to members of the House that it is not unusual in this business for a hotel chain to run into some difficulty in an operation when they run 23 or 24.

Mr. Breithaupt: While I recognize that difficulty might occur in one particular circumstance and that the chain might well be able to do many other tasks well, how is it, in the light of the minister's comment that this is a well-known and continuing problem, that it would appear at least from the quotation in this morning's press that his staff members did not know about it and did not advise him about this particular?

Hon. Mr. Grossman: I am sorry; when I said it was a well-known problem in terms of that particular hotel in Detroit, what I was indicating was that the hotel is well-known to have problems in Detroit. The citizens of Detroit, as members know, did get together in a joint effort to try to solve this problem. At the present time they are just beginning to see some light at the end of that tunnel.

In terms of my staff's knowledge of it, I think I made clear to the House when I announced this transaction with Radisson that we asked some outside people to come in and help us. Chief among them was Bob Rubinoff, chairman of Commonwealth Holiday Inns. It is no secret that Commonwealth Holiday Inns, for example, has had difficulties in some of the hotels they have gone in to run. That should not be taken in any way to impugn Commonwealth Holiday Inns' reputation.

I asked a lot of important questions with regard to the worldwide reputation of Radisson and in running wilderness resorts. I don't think the fact they did not give me a detailed rundown on the one problem they have had should be taken to impugn them. In any case, I do not want this to be taken in any way as my laying off on Bob Rubinoff or the people who advised me with regard to the Radisson hotels. I looked over the three alternatives we had, carefully selected Radis-

son and I am prepared to stand by that selection myself.

3 p.m.

CALEDON VILLAGE CONDOMINIUM DEVELOPMENT

Mr. R. F. Johnston: Mr. Speaker, my question is for the Attorney General and it is with regard to the request by North York council to investigate the need for a judicial inquiry around Caledon Village.

Can the minister inform the House today whether he will recommend a judicial inquiry into the operation of Caledon Village? If he cannot, when does he think he will be in a position to make that decision?

Hon. Mr. McMurtry: No, Mr. Speaker, I am not in a position to make any statements on that matter today.

Mr. R. F. Johnston: Will the minister at least indicate to us today that he will not preclude taking such action merely because there is a court action under way? Does he recognize the fact that action includes an action between the condominium corporation and the initial developer, the condominium corporation and the property managers and the condominium corporation and Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation? Does he recognize that to decide not to take action because the present board is under consideration would not be a valid reason to not have an inquiry? Will the minister guarantee that will not stop him from holding an inquiry?

Hon. Mr. McMurtry: I am not going to speculate one way or the other until I have had an opportunity to review this matter in some detail, and I am not yet at that position.

Mrs. Campbell: Mr. Speaker, is the Attorney General at this time causing a review of the books of the corporation, which I understand are in his possession? Could he at least go that far?

Hon. Mr. McMurtry: We have some books which have been delivered to us, Mr. Speaker. Whether they are all the books, they are being reviewed.

LIMITATIONS LEGISLATION

Mr. Roy: Mr. Speaker, I have a question to the Attorney General. When can we expect to see legislation presented by him involving important changes in the law dealing with limitation by way of statutes? In view of the fact that the Ontario Law Reform Commission has been putting forward recommendations now for more than 10 years, since 1969, and the Court of Appeal stated recently that the existence of a privilege

limitation period for public authorities creates what is called statutory injustice, when can we see these amendments?

Hon. Mr. McMurtry: I think it was announced earlier, Mr. Speaker, that the new limitations legislation will be introduced this spring.

Mr. Roy: Mr. Speaker, is it the Attorney General's intention that the law will be presented this spring to be passed by summer-time? What are his plans? When does he plan to see his new amendments dealing with limitations passed into law?

Hon. Mr. McMurtry: I think the member for Ottawa East appreciates that it is not within my control as to when this legislation is passed. I will obviously want to consult with my colleagues on the other side of the House, with the member for St. George and others, and some determination will need to be made as to whether this legislation should go out, for example, to a committee. These are matters that will be determined by consensus.

IRON ORE PELLETS

Mr. Martel: Mr. Speaker, I would like to go back to the Premier's response. He indicated the product from Inco was not marketable. Is the Premier aware Inco maintains that only in the case of rolled steel for car bodies can the product not be used; that for stainless steel it is by far the finest mix going because the nickel is already in there; and that it is an excellent mix because there is only two per cent silica, which is one of the problems the Premier referred to with respect to National Steel, from the material in Sudbury? Are we prepared to watch 500,000 tons of non-renewable resource being dumped annually on the slag heaps in Sudbury rather than be utilized in Ontario?

Hon. Mr. Davis: Mr. Speaker, I think we would much prefer to see it utilized.

Mr. Martel: That being the case, is not the problem with this material that the steel industry in Ontario has entered into long-term contracts with mines in the United States from which there is no possibility of their getting out and they must take that commitment?

What position are we going to be in when there is an upturn in the economy since it takes about two years to put an iron ore mine on stream? How are we going to be in a position to meet that need when nothing is going ahead so that we do not have to import more to meet the nine mil-

lion tons that are already being brought into the province?

Hon. Mr. Davis: I expect the industry will be in a position to invest in appropriate time for the upturn in the economy the honourable member refers to.

Mr. Martel: If it takes two years to bring a mine on stream, is the Premier suggesting we will be in the position to meet the demand when there is an increase called for by the steel industry?

Hon. Mr. Davis: I am just saying I think they have the capacity to do it if they feel there is an upturn.

RIDE DECISION

Mr. Bradley: I have a question for the Attorney General, Mr. Speaker. In view of the fact that the Reduce Impaired Driving Everywhere program has been placed in some jeopardy by the ruling of a provincial court judge, Maurice Charles, that the police do not have the authority to carry out spot checks, could the minister indicate to the House whether he has made a final decision on whether he will be appealing this decision?

Hon. Mr. McMurtry: The decision has been appealed, Mr. Speaker.

Mr. Bradley: In view of the fact that the program has been a success in reducing the number of people who have been killed and injured and the total accidents in those areas where it is in effect, could the minister indicate to the House what procedure would be followed in those cases which would be before the courts now or are about to be brought before the courts in terms of the outcome of the appeal?

Hon. Mr. McMurtry: That would be within the discretion of each individual judge. Other provincial court judges are not bound by the decision, as the honourable member knows, of His Honour Judge Charles. There may be some people seeking an adjournment on the basis of that decision. It would be within the discretion of the presiding judge whether to grant the adjournment in relation to any decision. Some judges may want to withhold their reasons pending an appeal. I really cannot speculate as to how this would be treated. I would imagine a number of judges will not feel bound by the decision.

DISCRIMINATION IN HIRING

Mr. R. F. Johnston: Mr. Speaker, my question is to the Minister of Labour. Could the minister give us his position as regards protection of people over the age of 65 from

age discrimination in the work place, given that they are not protected under the Ontario Human Rights Code? For instance, would the minister be willing to intervene on behalf of an older citizen who is fit and wishes to continue his employment but is being denied that option?

Hon. Mr. Elgie: Mr. Speaker, I think the member should know for future reference that the Ontario Human Rights Commission already investigates informally such complaints and, I must say, investigates them very thoroughly and often provides great help in mediation.

The former part of the question assumed there had been decisions made with regard to forthcoming Human Rights Code amendments concerning the upper limit of the age. That is not so. I think that is a matter that will become known to the member in greater detail when those amendments are submitted to the House.

3:10 p.m.

Mr. R. F. Johnston: Would the minister be willing to investigate the specific individual case of a Mr. William Gibbon, an instructor of the hearing handicapped at George Brown College, who has been told that his application to continue his position next year will not be considered and has been refused an interview, even though he is physically capable of carrying on and wishes to reapply, and though he understands that he cannot be guaranteed a position wishes at least to be able to compete?

Hon. Mr. Elgie: I will be pleased to pass that information on to the Ontario Human Rights Commission on behalf of the member.

YORK-DURHAM SEWAGE SYSTEM

Mr. Stong: Mr. Speaker, I have a question of the Minister of the Environment. In the light of his announcement today that the Attorney General (Mr. McMurtry) has tabled an order in council under the Expropriations Act which allows the Family Leisure Centre theme park in Maple to be completed on time, can the minister describe the special circumstances, as required by section 6(3) of the Expropriations Act, which are necessary in the public interest to allow a private interest to meet its deadline and avoid the due process of law which is afforded to the owners of private land, particularly the 11 involved? What are the special circumstances that allow the ministry to avoid the due process of law as set out under this act in a private interest concern?

Hon. Mr. Parrott: Mr. Speaker, I do not believe it is avoiding the due process of law. I think it is clearly the privilege of the ministry to do so, and I will be glad to forward to the member a complete set of reasons for having done so. I also note that this extension will benefit not just one particular area but also the total community of Maple.

Mr. Stong: Will the minister include in his answer those special interests that would conform to the requirements of the Expropriations Act and assure this House he is not acting solely in the interest of a private concern but in the interest of the public when he allows the Expropriations Act to be avoided?

Hon. Mr. Parrott: Yes, I can assure the member we will give him that information. I think the due process is there to completely protect the people, and I am sure it will work.

Ms. Bryden: Mr. Speaker, could the minister tell us whether some of this required work that appears to be so urgent is also for the benefit of the people who received authority for the new Maple landfill?

Hon. Mr. Parrott: I believe the answer is it does not. However, I will confirm that and, if I am incorrect, I will certainly advise the member.

GASOLINE CONTAINERS

Mr. Bounsall: Mr. Speaker, I have a question of the Minister of Transportation and Communications. What will the minister do to end the situation and practice in Windsor of American motorists coming to Windsor and filling five-gallon containers with gasoline, containers that are approved for such, but then putting them in their car trunks and thereby creating a road safety hazard far in excess of the former Pinto gas tank design in the case of a rear-end collision? It is a situation that is concerning all the firemen and policemen in Windsor, let alone all those persons concerned with road safety.

Hon. Mr. Snow: Mr. Speaker, first, I was not aware of such a practice. I can understand, though, under the present circumstances, that this may be taking place. I would point out to the honourable member that the Gasoline Handling Act and all matters relating to the storage and transportation of gasoline comes under my colleague the Minister of Consumer and Commercial Relations (Mr. Drea).

Mr. Bounsall: As I pointed out in my question, the actual selling of gasoline in an approved container—which I think is all the jurisdiction the minister's colleague has—is

permitted. But where those containers go, placed loosely in a trunk or even in a van, creates quite a road safety hazard, and that is an area within this minister's responsibility. Is he not concerned about that situation, and will he try to do something about it?

Hon. Mr. Snow: I will have my officials in the Windsor area look into this matter. If what is taking place creates an unsafe vehicle, then we may have some jurisdiction. I would also say that the transportation of gasoline, propane and other such items not only the sale of them and the containers, but also the handling of them, come under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Consumer and Commercial Relations.

Mr. B. Newman: Mr. Speaker, would the minister also look into the situation of add-on tanks to circumvent the regulations? Individuals simply have a tank welded in a given position, in addition to the regular tank on the car, and use it solely for the purpose of taking gas from the city of Windsor and transporting it to the United States.

Hon. Mr. Snow: I shall look into that, Mr. Speaker.

DON BOSCO SECONDARY SCHOOL

Mr. Philip: Mr. Speaker, I have a question of the Minister of Education. Can the minister inform the House of when a final decision will be made regarding the expansion of Don Bosco Secondary School, since her ministry officials have given three different dates as to when that decision would be made and would be made public, and she has broken each and every one of those dates?

Hon. Miss Stephenson: Mr. Speaker, the honourable member's colleague from Port Arthur (Mr. Foulds) asked a similar question earlier in this question period. If the member for Etobicoke had been here, he would realize that the final decision has not yet been made, but I hope it will be made shortly.

FRANCOPHONE ENUMERATION

Mrs. Campbell: Mr. Speaker, my question is to the Premier. I welcomed the Premier's commitment to this House to ensure that the enumeration for the French committee in Toronto would be in place. Is the Premier now in a position to give us the details of the solution to that problem so we will not have to continue to conjecture for very much longer?

Hon. Mr. Davis: Mr. Speaker, I would have hoped that after what has been said here in the House there would be no conjecture. The

problem is finding a way to do it that is appropriate and acceptable, and we are working on that. I expect we will have the solution fairly shortly.

I would say to the honourable member there is nothing to conjecture about.

Mr. R. F. Johnston: Mr. Speaker, could the Premier specify—because it was not clear from his last answer—whether he is planning on using the enumeration form as the format? He talked about the timing and he talked about it being ready by then, but is he planning on using that format or some other format?

I am not interested in the question but in whether he will be using that format as the enumeration notice.

Hon. Mr. Davis: Mr. Speaker, I thought my answer to the member for St. George's question was quite clear: (a) there is no need to have any conjecture, and (b) the details are not yet sorted out.

REFORESTATION PROGRAM

Mr. Kerrio: Mr. Speaker, I have a question of the Minister of Natural Resources. The minister pointed out to the Legislature two weeks ago that he had entered into agreements for reforestation with some of the large companies in the north. Does that include some very worthwhile game management plan, as they have done in other jurisdictions, or is he not questioning that aspect of reforestation?

Hon. Mr. Auld: Mr. Speaker, I think I mentioned several times in the House during the debate on the amendments to the Crown Timber Act, that one of the matters that will be addressed in the agreement, and more specifically in the manual and in the actual reforestation plans and cutting plans, will be cutting and the type of reforestation of certain species which will provide habitat for deer, moose, et cetera. We will be in a better position to do it.

We are trying to get a balance between the utilization of wood fibre for the economy and the best habitat for the wildlife, for those who enjoy wildlife.

3:20 p.m.

PETITION

BELLWOODS PARK HOUSE

Mr. McClellan: Mr. Speaker, I have a petition that is being submitted on behalf of the residents of Bellwoods Park House, which is a residence for disabled adults in Toronto. The petition reads as follows:

"To the Lieutenant Governor and Legislative Assembly of Ontario: We, the residents of Bellwoods Park House, 300 Shaw Street, Toronto, a residence housing 61 disabled adults, petition the government of Ontario to raise our comfort allowance from \$51 per month to \$100 per month. Because of inflation, we find it difficult to live on the existing comfort allowance. We must pay for our own television cable, purchase our own clothing and personal necessities, finance our social events and transportation. The low income we receive, too, prevents us from saving for vacations, which are necessary.

"It is with these reasons in mind that we request you to raise our comfort allowance to \$100 a month, plus travel and transportation allowance of \$30 a month, making a grand total of \$130 a month."

It is signed by 43 residents of the home.

Mr. Speaker: I am sure the honourable member knows that any petition praying for the expenditure of funds is clearly out of order.

Mr. McClellan: Well, I have—

Mr. Speaker: It is out of order. It is as simple as that. If the member wants, he may present it to the minister, but he cannot present it to the Legislative Assembly.

MOTION

WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION BOARD REPORT

Hon. Mr. Gregory moved that in compliance with section 81 of the Workmen's Compensation Amendment Act, 1973, the annual report of the Workmen's Compensation Board, Ontario, for 1978 be referred to the standing committee on resources development for consideration starting May 22, 1980, such consideration not to exceed 15 hours and the proceedings of which shall be transcribed by Hansard and appended to the Hansard proceedings of the House.

Motion agreed to.

INTRODUCTION OF BILLS

LABOUR RELATIONS AMENDMENT ACT

Hon. Mr. Elgie moved first reading of Bill 73, An Act to amend the Labour Relations Act.

Motion agreed to.

Hon. Mr. Elgie: Mr. Speaker, the purpose of this bill is to amend Bill 204, An Act to amend the Labour Relations Act, which came into force on May 1. Members will

recall that Bill 204 deals with collective bargaining in the industrial, commercial and institutional (ICI) sector of the construction industry where trade bargaining takes place on a province-wide basis.

Bill 204 provided for existing area bargaining rights to be extended to cover the entire province. In addition, it provided for bargaining rights acquired on or after May 1 to be provincial in scope. The bill also prohibited partial strikes and lockouts in the industrial, commercial and institutional sector and provided a specific statutory remedy where there is a delay in ratifying collective agreements.

The amending bill introduced today deals with several procedural matters relating to the extension of those bargaining rights. Briefly, it enables local unions, as well as the employee bargaining agencies, to apply for certification. It permits local unions and district councils of local unions as well, once again, as the employee bargaining agencies, to enter into voluntary recognition agreements. Finally, it allows an applicant union with the requisite majority support to acquire area bargaining rights for non-ICI-sector work when an application for a provincial ICI certificate is made.

I will be developing the rationale for these procedural amendments during the second reading.

COMMISSIONERS OF ESTATE BILLS

Mr. Speaker: Before the orders of the day, I beg to inform the House that the Clerk has received from the commissioners of estate bills, their favourable report on the following bills:

Bill Pr7, An Act respecting Montreal Trust Company and Montreal Trust Company of Canada;

Bill Pr23, An Act to incorporate Knox Presbyterian Church, Ottawa;

Bill Pr25, An Act respecting the Hamilton Foundation.

ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS ON NOTICE PAPER

Hon. Mr. Gregory: Mr. Speaker, before the orders of the day, I wish to table the answers to questions 24, 26, 141, 145, 152 and 161, and the interim answers to questions 155 and 156 standing on the Notice Paper. (See appendix, page 2033.)

ORDERS OF THE DAY

RETAIL SALES TAX AMENDMENT ACT

(continued)

Resuming the adjourned debate on the motion for second reading of Bill 52, An Act to amend the Retail Sales Tax Act.

Mr. Speaker: It is my understanding that when this debate was adjourned, the Minister of Revenue was winding up with his comments on second reading.

Hon. Mr. Maack: Mr. Speaker, I just want to answer quickly some of the questions posed by members of the opposite parties, and I want first of all to deal with gasohol. I think it might be beneficial to the members of the House if I were to read from some notes I have prepared, which the critics already have but which other members of the House were not able to have access to.

This new subsection, and I am dealing now with gasohol, complements the budget proposal to exempt from gasoline tax, methyl and ethyl alcohol when used as a source of power, provided that they (1) are used singly or in combination with another fuel as a source of power in an internal combustion engine and (2) when purchased by a consumer, are placed directly into the fuel tank of the purchaser's vehicle by the vendor. So it eliminates in some cases where there would still be retail sales tax on alcohol, but only when it is being used in a vehicle is it tax-exempt.

The budget exempts from tax all methyl and ethyl alcohol used in internal combustion engines. At present, alcohol used in this manner is taxed under the Gasoline Tax Act, which, after amendment to that statute which we will deal with later, will remove the tax from alcohol. The way the Gasoline Tax Act is written at present, anything that goes into that gasoline tank is subject to gasoline tax; so we are correcting that in the Gasoline Tax Amendment Act.

If the amendment to this act is not effected because alcohol is no longer taxed under the Gasoline Tax Act, it would be taxed under the Retail Sales Tax Act. The reason we are bringing this amendment in is to remove that tax. As the exemption is to cover methyl and ethyl alcohol, all other alcohol, when mixed with gasoline or other fuel, will be taxable if premixed under the Gasoline Tax Act or, if purchased separately, taxed under the Retail Sales Tax Act.

The other fuels exempted by the budget, such as propane, natural and manufactured gas, et cetera, will be exempted from retail

sales tax by regulation. No gasohol is available in Ontario at present; however, current plans to build stills for the commercial production of methanol and ethanol, if realized, will soon make gasohol available in limited quantities.

By currently approved ratios of mix—that is, 10 per cent alcohol to 90 per cent gasoline, I say to the member for Renfrew North (Mr. Conway) with a smile—a substantial reduction in gasoline consumption can be realized. If all gasoline sold were gasohol, at present consumption levels approximately 1.25 billion litres of gasoline would be conserved annually. So while this is not going to have a direct effect on revenue for this current year, the thrust of the whole thing is to encourage people to move in the direction of substitute fuels for vehicles.

The member for Kent-Elgin (Mr. McGuigan) talked about dual-fuel vehicles—in other words, vehicles that burn propane gas as well as gasoline—and wondered about the removal of sales tax on those vehicles. It is not the intent of the government at this time to remove the sales tax on those vehicles. The amendment only removes sales tax on vehicles which will be burning propane or natural gas or other substitute fuels, but as long as a vehicle still burns gasoline, it will be subject to sales tax.

3:30 p.m.

There were several speakers who talked about children's wear and children's shoes. Of course, that is not in the amendments at all, Mr. Speaker, but I thought I should assure the members—and I have talked to the member for Etobicoke (Mr. Philip) and the member for Hamilton Mountain (Mr. Charlton) on this subject on several occasions—that my ministry staff are looking into the price of shoes today in comparison to what they cost in 1974, when this act was brought in.

As a matter of fact, I think we even got a supplementary question from the great member for Renfrew North, who called the act "niggardly," if I remember the word correctly. We are looking into that with a view to advising the Treasurer (Mr. F. S. Miller) of what results we get from it. As members know, in the final analysis it would be a policy matter and would have to be approved by the Treasurer.

The member for Beaches-Woodbine (Ms. Bryden) talked about solar energy. As members know, we removed the sales tax on most equipment dealing with solar energy in the budget last year; so it is, of course, not dealt with in this budget at all.

The member for Windsor-Walkerville (Mr. B. Newman) talked about the ministry adopting the same exemptions as the federal government, and we will look into that. As a matter of fact, I have written a letter to the member on that particular subject.

The member for Victoria-Haliburton (Mr. Eakins) talked about a greater exemption on children's shoes. Again, I have already replied to that. He talked about the Millard case, which is a case he has written to me about and which deals with retail sales tax. At this point we are not prepared to change the act in that regard.

I think that covers all the questions that were asked. Some members made statements rather than asking questions. Obviously when the amendments to the act are so well accepted by all the people in the province, all that remains for the opposition at that point in time is to say, "It's too little, too late," or that kind of remark. Nevertheless, I am quite proud of the budget that has been brought in this year and proud of the fact that we are not increasing taxes.

One other point I should mention is that there was a comparison made by the member for Haldimand-Norfolk (Mr. G. I. Miller) between this year's deficit and the deficit last year. If members will recall, the projected deficit last year was \$1.2 billion, rather than the less than \$800 million that was the actual deficit. That was simply because we were able to collect more revenues than we had anticipated. What has been happening is that comparisons have been made with the projected deficit of this year against the projected deficit of last year, which was not the deficit at all. I think that covers all the remarks that I had to make on this particular bill.

Motion agreed to.

Ordered for third reading.

CORPORATIONS TAX AMENDMENT ACT

Hon. Mr. Maeck moved second reading of Bill 53, An Act to amend the Corporations Tax Act, 1972.

Hon. Mr. Maeck: Mr. Speaker, this bill to amend the Corporations Tax Act includes several important amendments arising out of the 1980 Ontario budget. Four important changes are being made which will affect small business corporations.

First, a new small business tax credit is being introduced. This tax incentive is designed to encourage reinvestment by small business corporations by providing for an income tax credit equal to 20 per cent of the

purchase cost of depreciable assets for use in Ontario. The maximum credit in any year for any small business reinvesting in new plant and equipment will be \$3,000. This program will be continued until April 22, 1982, during which time it should assist small business corporations in building and strengthening their investment in their businesses.

Second, the effective income tax rate for professional and personal service corporations will remain at 10 per cent. Up until October 23, 1979, these corporations qualified for this low rate when they ceased to qualify for the 10 per cent rate as a result of an amendment to the federal Income Tax Act. Without this amendment the effective Ontario income tax rate for these corporations would have increased from 10 per cent to 14 per cent, an increase of about 40 per cent.

As a consequence of this amendment and the federal amendment, income earned by professional and personal service corporations will be taxed at a combined effective rate of 33.3 per cent. This rate is between the 25 per cent rate which they formerly enjoyed and the 37.3 per cent rate which they might otherwise have been taxed.

Third, the \$100 capital tax is being extended to small to medium-sized corporations with taxable capital in excess of \$200,000 and up to \$1 million. For those corporations whose taxable capital exceeds \$1 million, a notch provision is also being enacted to phase in the difference between the \$100 tax and the higher capital tax they would otherwise pay.

Fourth, a special \$50 capital tax will apply to family fishing corporations. This special tax is similar to the \$50 capital tax now being paid by family farm corporations.

Two other important changes relate to nonresident corporations. First, this bill will repeal clauses of the Corporations Tax Act which subject to Ontario income tax nonresident corporations carrying on business in Ontario without a permanent establishment. These clauses caused nonresident corporations operating elsewhere in Canada uncertainty and interfered with the interprovincial allocations of income taxes. For these reasons these clauses are being repealed.

Second, for purposes of calculating the capital tax, an investment allowance will be applicable to loans made to a nonresident related corporation, provided that the loans have been outstanding for at least 120 days at the end of the lending corporation's taxation year.

Finally, this bill includes three administrative measures which are of interest to all

corporations. First, payments received on or after October 1, 1980, will be applied in the following order to corporations tax: to interest, to penalties, to taxes payable.

Second, effective October 1, 1980, interest will be charged on penalties as well as on taxes payable.

The third and final administrative amendment is of particular interest to a corporation which because its tax liability is \$2,000 or more is required to pay its taxes in monthly instalments during the taxation year. After the corporations tax return is filed and assessed, interest calculated on deficient or excessive instalment payments will not be recalculated if after subsequent reassessment the corporation's tax liability is increased or decreased.

This bill does not include certain other amendments relating to corporations income tax credits arising out of the 1980 Ontario budget. These changes are being made by amending the Small Business Development Corporations Act, 1979, and by enacting the Ontario Mineral Exploration Program Act, 1980. These acts offer tax incentives to corporations which have invested in small business development corporations or in approved mineral exploration programs.

Mr. Haggerty: Mr. Speaker, I want to address myself to the Act to amend the Corporations Tax Act, 1972. Perhaps I am like some other members in the House here who are a little bit in the dark. When one gets into this particular area dealing with the Corporations Tax Act, a person should be an expert in the area. From my discussions with accountants back in my area, I find it is a specialist field. When the bill is introduced here in the Legislature, we on the opposition side do not have research in depth dealing with corporations tax. When we also have to deal with the area of the federal Income Tax Act and Revenue Canada, we are not perhaps most suitable to be addressing ourselves to this particular bill. It is a field in itself.

3:40 p.m.

My comments will lead more to questions relating to each section of the act. Would the minister inform the members what the rationale is for removing from the act the taxation status of nonresidential businesses? I am not quite sure what the intent is here. Are there other areas of taxation policies picking up the lost revenue of nonresident corporations? In one of his corporation tax branch information bulletins, the minister does set out an example dealing with corporation X, corporation Y and corporation Z. From the way it ends up, credit available can

vary from \$500 to \$277. I would bring that to the attention of the minister.

There seems to be a substantial increase, from four per cent to 10 per cent, for the small business service corporations in the deduction program that relates to section 3. Section 4 adds a new subsection 36b to the act to provide an additional deduction from the tax payable by corporations eligible for the small business deduction under section 125(1) of the Income Tax Act (Canada). Again, that relates to the federal income tax.

In this particular area, I suppose the minister should be looking at consolidating the corporations tax provincially and federally. There are other provinces, I understand, in our Confederation, where through the federal Income Tax Act the federal government collects the corporations tax. I suggested to the minister before that I thought we should be moving in this area to make it more understandable to those small businessmen who have to deal with two particular Income Tax Acts as they relate to corporations and small businesses. I suggest the minister should be looking at that.

Hon. Mr. Maack: I have.

Mr. Haggerty: The minister has indicated he has. I haven't seen it to date. If it is, it must be in piecemeal, I guess.

As it stands, depreciable property is physical property acquired to gain or produce income such as equipment in office buildings. Does the minister intend to define more specifically this particular area? He gives some tax concessions to corporations and small businesses, but he cannot remove the sales tax on depreciable goods such as workers' safety boots.

The matter was raised during the sales tax debate that there should be removal of sales tax on shoes. In this particular area, I would suggest he should be giving it to the other taxpayers within the confines of the Ministry of Revenue.

Does the minister intend to bring any restrictions on the matter as it relates to depreciable property? This is quite a good tax concession given to the corporations and small businesses. One would have to start to look deeper and say, "Are there any other areas in Ontario that are allowed tax depreciation on equipment?" I wonder what benefits will be derived from this particular area of taxation the minister is applying today under these amendments to the Corporations Tax Act. Will there be a benefit to the province?

We have seen previously where the minister has removed the sales tax, for example, on

equipment in industry because it was supposed to create a number of new jobs in Ontario. Until this day we haven't seen those new jobs come forward. When we go deeper into the taxation policies of this ministry, we have to look at the loans or grants that were given to the paper industry in Ontario. If they had accepted that tax rebate program a few years ago, we wouldn't have to be giving the grants out today which they never did apply for.

Again, we have to look at section 6 of the act as it relates to a corporation paying the \$50 where its taxable paid-up capital does not exceed \$100,000.

Can the minister provide members with an explanation as to why this section is being introduced for nonresident corporations? What benefit is there to the province when we apply this amendment? Can the minister indicate under section 5 what benefits will be derived for Ontario? Can we look to see an expansionary program in corporations here where they perhaps will be out hiring new employees and creating new jobs in the province? I would have to look at it as it relates to that section.

Section 6 does apply to a nonresident corporation employing paid-up capital in Canada which will be treated on the same basis as resident corporations for the purpose of section 133a. In your corporations tax branch information bulletin, I think there is a particular section which applies to this section, liability of nonresidents with nonpermanent establishments in Ontario, section 2(2)(d), section 2(3)(d).

The section of the act goes on to say, "extended the liability for income tax to corporations incorporated in a jurisdiction outside of Canada which carries on business in Ontario without a permanent establishment. They are repealed retroactive to December 1977. Corporations carrying on business in Ontario and liable for tax under this provision since December 7, 1977, will not have to file Ontario returns and will not be subject to Ontario tax."

It is difficult to follow the policy of the Ministry of Revenue. We are having a discussion on succession duties tax later on today, and here we are going to make legislation retroactive to gather additional taxes. If I interpret that correctly, we are going to forgive it here. The minister is taking it out of one pocket and putting it—

Interjection.

Mr. Haggerty: It just doesn't make sense in what he is trying to arrive at. This is what I am saying. It takes an expert in this area to

find out what he is heading for. I haven't been able to go through the bill, as I should as a critic, but as I said before, one has to be an expert to deal with corporations tax.

In my experience sitting as a member of the select committee dealing with Inco, for example, and with the massive layoffs there, when one is sitting in committee firing questions to the directors of that company, they don't have the answers. They will look at you and say, "We have an expert in this particular area," and they call upon that expert. They are very capable persons, but even the directors can't provide all the answers.

That is why I say in this particular field I feel the members of the Legislature should have additional research in this area or be provided with additional background papers so we can stand up in the House and discuss the amendments perhaps far better than what is being put forward today.

With those comments, I will leave it there, and perhaps the minister can answer some of the questions I have raised.

Mr. Charlton: Mr. Speaker, I say to the minister at the outset we are going to support the bill, but I have a number of comments, a number of questions and a bit of chastising of the minister in terms of the approach that is always taken with these kinds of tax actions.

3:50 p.m.

There is no question in our minds, with the present economic situation, with interest rates, inflation and the pressures small business gets from large corporate competitors, chain stores and so on, no matter what sector we are talking about, that small business is under extreme pressure and any tax measure which is in effect a tax expenditure in order to assist small business, is difficult for anybody to oppose. Any assistance they get in the tax sector cannot do any harm. I suppose that is avoiding the point though a bit. Just because a measure cannot possibly do any harm does not necessarily mean that it is going to do an exceptional amount of good. That is what is missing in terms of the presentation in the budget, I think, and in terms the minister's presentation of the bill.

We are happy to see the extension from \$200,000 on the flat rate tax to \$1 million in the second step and so on. All of these measures cannot help but assist somebody in some way. I suppose what the members of the Legislature would like to know, though, is the cost of each of these specific initiatives and what kinds of businesses are going to receive the benefits.

What specific goals do the minister and the Treasurer have in mind? How did they determine what the breaks will be in terms of each of the sections that we have here: the flat rate tax, the 10 per cent, the extension of the small business credit at 20 per cent or \$500, whichever is greater, and so on?

How did they specifically determine the levels at which each of those things was going to be set? Was it just based on the number of dollars they had to play with? Did they have a specific goal in mind in terms of the types of businesses they were trying to target and assist? Did they have a specific goal in mind in terms of the potential for the number of jobs they might try to create by that kind of an action? What it boils down to is, what are the targets and why did they use the specific numbers they have used? We obviously do not have any of the analysis they and their staffs used when they set the particular levels.

I guess this goes back to the resolution that was presented in this House a few weeks ago by the member for London Centre (Mr. Peterson). Would the minister be prepared to table in the House next spring an analysis of the results of these actions so that members of this House can start to understand in a more effective way the beneficial effect of the measures they have supported in the past and so that we can understand whether new measures he is bringing in are relevant in terms of the kinds of things that are being said about them in the budget presentation and so on?

As the member for Erie (Mr. Haggerty) has already pointed out, we quite often get put in the position in this House—whether it be new tax relief to small business under this act, whether it be reduction for six months in the retail sales tax or whatever the action happens to be—of not being able to look effectively at the net result. We are not in a position to criticize these or any other measures that are being undertaken by the government in relation to other tax measures, reduction measures and so on, which from past experience might be more beneficial in terms of their specific assistance to small business in hard times or their specific initiative in creating new jobs, or even in maintaining existing jobs, if that's what the goal happens to be. But the minister, the Treasurer and the government always tend to put us on this side of the House in a very difficult situation when something is presented in the light that it is additional assistance to small business which is under tremendous pressure. We

have no effective way of analysing in advance exactly what the effects of these changes will be that the minister, the ministry and the Treasury have obviously done some work on. That kind of presentation would be extremely useful to us.

Hon. Mr. Maeck: Mr. Speaker, I'll deal with the questions posed by the member for Erie first. He was interested in the nonresident corporations and why we were removing them from the tax rolls. This change is parallel to what the federal government now is doing. Our former position was outside international tax agreements that had been signed by the federal government. The federal government has been pressing us in Ontario for the last couple of years—since 1977, I guess—to change that particular piece of legislation, and it does bring Ontario into line with all of the other provinces which have already adopted this situation.

Who is affected by this? It will affect foreign corporations which conduct business in Ontario but do not have an office here. They are mainly people in the mail-order business; companies with travelling salesmen based in the United States who might take orders in Ontario that are to be filled in the United States; or companies which send salesmen from the United States to Canada to receive specialized orders, even though they may have subsidiaries in Canada to fill general orders, but special orders not manufactured here and are sometimes referred to the parent company in the United States.

This is the type of thing we are talking about. As I indicated, the reason for all of this is to stay in line with the treaties that have been signed by the federal government.

The member for Erie also suggested that we should get in line—he said this last year too—and I thought I explained to him that, I guess it was in 1977, we brought in the new Corporations Tax Act, and it's in line with the federal government, with few exceptions. What we do now is bring in—

Mr. Haggerty: The government is making them parallel.

Hon. Mr. Maeck: Yes, that's right. That's exactly what we're doing; each year, as I'm sure members will recall, there are more amendments being brought in that parallel the federal legislation. These are the areas that we haven't already paralleled, but almost all of the legislation now is parallel with the federal legislation.

As I recall, it was Bill 88, back in 1977, that was passed by this Legislature. Most of

those concerns that the member for Erie has registered have already been looked after.

The member talked about section 5, dealing with the 120 days for the deduction of paid-up capital for nonresident corporations. That is there simply to remove the problem that now exists whereby, just prior to tax-filing time, corporations were able to remove certain funding from the subsidiary corporation and, therefore, not pay any tax on it. What we are saying is, it must be a bona fide transfer of funds and, therefore, it must take place at least 120 days before that; so they can't play and cook the books. That's the idea.

The member talked about depreciation on equipment and so on and asked what benefit would be derived from that. Obviously the depreciation on equipment and the removal of sales tax on equipment, which I think he also mentioned, are incentives for small business and industries to progress and to provide more jobs. That's the whole thrust of this kind of legislation.

Let's be honest about it. When they buy equipment, it eventually wears out. They should be entitled to depreciate it. They cannot buy a new car or a new truck, if they are in a business, and expect it to last forever. When it is worn out, as for any other piece of equipment, it must be replaced. It's normal to assume that corporations should be entitled to depreciation on any of this type of equipment.

4 p.m.

The member for Hamilton Mountain (Mr. Charlton) was asking about the costs of the initiation of the major programs, I presume he meant in the legislation. The section that deals with depreciable assets will cost the province something like \$30 million. That's what we will lose in revenue by bringing in this amendment to the act. The cost for the capital tax program is in the neighbourhood of \$20 million. What we have effectively done is infuse about \$50 million into incentive programs for small businesses in the province.

He was wondering whether it would be possible to produce some results at the end of the year, or at the end of any given time, to see what effect this sort of program has. That would be a very difficult thing to do, simply because the economy changes from day to day. While we might bring this program in and measure from today, if other things change during that period of time in the economy it would be pretty hard to say exactly what effect this infusion of money into

the small businesses and corporations would have.

We do our best to keep track of the results, but the figures are usually pretty loose at best. They're not very accurate. Conditions change from day to day, and it's very difficult. If everything remained static, it would be very simple to say, "At the end of 12 months this is what we've done." But things do not remain static in the economy and we would have a great deal of difficulty in doing that.

As I said earlier, these programs are an incentive for small business, to assist them. I think all of us know that about 60 per cent of the jobs in Ontario are with small corporations and businesses. It's important that we keep those people viable and operational and give them an incentive, particularly through depreciation allowances, to put money back into the business and expand as much as possible. If they do that, it's to be hoped we are going to create more jobs. It doesn't always work that way, because they find ways and means of becoming more efficient, and sometimes it costs us jobs. But on the whole I think the thrust the Treasurer had in mind was to create jobs.

Motion agreed to.

Ordered for third reading.

GASOLINE TAX AMENDMENT ACT

Hon. Mr. Maeck moved second reading of Bill 54, An Act to amend the Gasoline Tax Act.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: Does the honourable minister have an opening statement?

Hon. Mr. Maeck: I thought I had, Mr. Speaker, but I've lost my page. I can find tobacco tax, and I can find many other things. Help is on its way, they tell me.

Mr. Speaker, this bill, An Act to amend the Gasoline Tax Act, if passed, will effect those energy conservation budget proposals for alcohol and natural and manufactured gases, thus providing a lower effective tax rate for gasoline-alcohol mixtures and full exemption for natural and manufactured gases when used in internal combustion engines.

By providing the equivalent of the 10 per cent tax reduction on gasohol and complete tax exemption for propane and other types of natural or manufactured gases, recognition is given to our commitment for conservation of this country's precious supplies of gasoline and other nonrenewable and rapidly depleting energy sources.

This bill introduces provisions which, when enacted, will further Ontario's plan to become less dependent on supplies of oil by

providing the necessary tax incentives to make these alternative energy sources cost-competitive.

Members will recall that I referred to the amendments of this particular bill when we were discussing the retail sales tax on gasohol because they are interrelated.

Mr. Haggerty: Mr. Speaker, I rise to support Bill 54, An Act to amend the Gasoline Tax Act. I think we can agree on this side that any conservation of energy is rather important at this particular time.

The budget statement, under the Gasoline Tax Act, said an exemption would be provided for alcohol when used alone or when blended with another fuel for the purpose of generating power by means of internal combustion. How is the minister going to remove the tax when, say, alcohol or other manufactured gases may be blended? How does one remove that tax at the gas pump if you are going to have it blended? Where is that gas tax going to be removed? That is the only question I want to clear up at this time. When the gasoline or fuel is blended, how will that tax be removed? Will it be removed at the place of purchase, at the gas pump, or the service station, wherever it may be, or is it removed from some other area?

Hon. Mr. Maeck: I will answer that question later.

Mr. Charlton: Mr. Speaker, I will be very brief, because I think I probably made most of my comments in relation to this bill when we were dealing with the Retail Sales Tax Act.

We have no serious problem in supporting the measures that are being taken here. Very briefly, I say again to the minister, the criticism is that these measures in themselves are very innocent, very progressive and very forward looking, but in isolation they become a joke. In isolation they have no meaning unless this government is prepared to do something to see that those vehicles in which this kind of fuel can be used are made available on a large scale.

I had a discussion with the minister the other night. He is going to make some comment about things that can be done to make them available but, for them to be available on a large scale in this province, some actions have to be taken. It is quite obvious that the industrial sector in this province is not prepared to do that now on its own, and additional actions are needed by this government to see that they happen.

I urge the minister to avoid being the brunt of a joke 10 years down the road when still nothing has happened, by now urging his

colleagues the Treasurer (Mr. F. S. Miller), the Minister of Industry and Tourism (Mr. Grossman), I suppose the Premier (Mr. Davis) and for that matter the Minister of Energy (Mr. Welch), to get off their behinds and do some serious work dealing with some of the serious suggestions that have been made by Energy critics from this side of the House and a number of other people.

This action on its own has very little value in this province. The minister himself admits that, in terms of the exemptions provided here and in the Retail Sales Tax Act dealing with fuel and vehicles, the tax loss will be very small because of the situation which exists in this province today.

Mr. Makarchuk: Mr. Speaker, I just have one point on this bill. It deals with section 1(d)(i), which refers to "aviation fuel, except when used or intended to be used to generate power by means of internal combustion in a vehicle other than an aircraft."

4:10 p.m.

The way I read it is that it could be aviation fuel, but, provided it is not used in the aircraft, it becomes exempt under the minister's regulations. Aviation fuel can be used in an ordinary vehicle. There are various types of aviation fuel and some of it operates very well. It could be used in a car, a truck or whatever internal combustion engine is used—even one's lawn mower—without any problem whatsoever.

Unless I misread it, I don't know the exact meaning of that section. In effect, if one buys it at the airport and sticks it in one's car, then it becomes exempt from taxation, although it is the same fuel that is obtained at the ordinary gas pump. I hope the minister will clarify that in his explanation.

Hon. Mr. Maeck: Mr. Speaker, first of all, to deal again with the member for Erie (Mr. Haggerty), he asked one question and wanted to know how the tax is going to be removed. It is simply done at the pump. Tax would be charged on the gasoline and not on the alcohol.

If one puts 10 gallons in one's tank, nine gallons are gasoline and one gallon is alcohol; one pays tax on the nine gallons of gasoline, but none on the alcohol. As I understand it, it is a very simple method of doing it, and I don't think there is any problem with the administration of that at all.

The member for Hamilton Mountain (Mr. Charlton) has referred to some of these things being a joke on two occasions now. I let it go by the first time, but I cannot let it go by a second time. I consider this to be a

pretty serious piece of legislation. I do not consider it to be a joke at all. I don't think any move this government makes to encourage people to use substitute fuels with the type of fuel problems we have today in this world, is a joke.

I would remind the member for Hamilton Mountain that in the United States there are many states where a great deal of alcohol is being used in a mixture of fuel now. I do not think there was any incentive on the part of those governments to promote that. I think it will be a natural thing. We are putting it in place to encourage people to do it.

As I have indicated to the member in our conversations, we have also removed the sales tax on vehicles that will burn this kind of substitute fuel. Surely that is an incentive for people when they are on the market. I admit they are not easily obtainable today, but they will be. And we want to tell people there is an incentive there for them to purchase vehicles other than gasoline-burning vehicles and to use alternative sources of fuel. I think one of the good ways to do it is to say to the consumer, "If you want to burn alcohol, if you want to burn propane, if you want to burn natural gas in your vehicle when they come on the market, we will not charge you sales tax to encourage you to do so."

I understand it will cost something like \$1,500 at this point for a kit to convert a vehicle to burn propane gas or natural gas. The problem is, of course, it is very difficult to obtain these kits. I understand they are only manufactured at this time in the United States, and they cannot meet the demand—but that is not to say that will always be the case. The knowledge is there now to convert vehicles for the use of this type of fuel, and we hope this will encourage the consumer to demand this kind of vehicle. When the demand is there, I think it will be available.

I was patiently waiting for an answer from my staff on the question asked by the member for Brantford (Mr. Makarchuk), because I am not quite sure myself. But I think the answer is simply that we cannot deal with this amendment without taking into consideration the amendment to the retail sales tax, because I think the two work in conjunction with each other. I do not think it will be possible under this act to buy aviation fuel free of gasoline tax to put in a vehicle.

Mr. Makarchuk: That is the way it reads right now.

Hon. Mr. Maeck: Yes. I am having it checked out to see, but I do not think that is the case.

Mr. Makarchuk: I should hope not.

Hon. Mr. Maeck: Mr. Speaker, I think my note is coming now. Perhaps this will give us all the enlightened answer. I am told that if aviation fuel is used in other than aircraft, the fuel becomes gasoline by definition and is taxed at 4.6 cents per litre. So that apparently is covered.

Motion agreed to.

Ordered for third reading.

TOBACCO TAX AMENDMENT ACT

Hon. Mr. Maeck moved second reading of Bill 61, An Act to amend the Tobacco Tax Act.

Hon. Mr. Maeck: Mr. Speaker, this bill to amend the Tobacco Tax Act contains administrative and deterrent provisions necessary to stop the sale of tobacco products in the province without the payment of Ontario tax. The principal source of this untaxed tobacco is wholesalers who do not hold a valid tobacco tax wholesale dealer's permit. This tax evasion is currently costing Ontario approximately \$5 million in tax revenues annually. Further, it is creating unfair price competition for those tobacco wholesalers operating in accordance with the act.

This bill contains only those investigative powers necessary to prove evasion and deterrent measures commensurate to the benefits to be derived from such tax evasion. It in no way affects a wholesaler, retailer or individual operating within the law. The provisions of this bill, while correcting the current inadequacies of the Tobacco Tax Act, will, by enabling the stopping of such tax evasion, preserve the basic tenet of Ontario's tax system: voluntary compliance.

Mr. Haggerty: Mr. Speaker, I rise to speak on Bill 61, An Act to amend the Tobacco Tax Act. We on this side will be supporting the measures put forward by the minister as they relate to those persons who are violating the existing act; that is, those wholesalers who are not paying their taxes as they should be.

The only difficulty I find in reading the explanatory notes is the use of the word "may"; that is, "the minister may." When he was specific in saying there was \$5 million of lost revenue, I thought he would be more definite in his proposal and say the minister "shall" instead of "may" if he wanted to go after those persons in violation of the act. It mentions wholesalers. I do not know whether it mentions anything about vendors under this

particular section. I guess it does in subsections 2(4) to (7). I do not know what effect this bill will have on vendors.

I have usually seen a vendor's licence indicated over the top of the cigarette case where they are selling them. Perhaps we are looking at those wholesalers who may be operating vending machines in Ontario. That may be where the violations could occur more. There are other small vendors who sell cigarettes to accommodate certain persons; for example, they may be sold at a golf course. I do not know whether I have seen a vendor's licence there, but should we extend it to vendors as well as wholesalers?

The area the minister should be getting tax revenue from is wholesalers instead of vendors. Sometimes it is rather difficult. People do not understand the act as it relates to vendors. I suggest wholesalers should be paying the tax directly, and vendors should be left alone. If vendors want to sell cigarettes at a golf course, at a service station, or wherever, perhaps they should be exempt and collect the tax directly from the wholesalers.

I said before we will support the amendment to the act and we hope the minister is going to be successful with it.

4:20 p.m.

Mr. Charlton: Mr. Speaker, I will be very brief in speaking to Bill 61. We are going to support the bill. Obviously along with the minister and the government we have no desire to see taxes that are due and payable under Ontario legislation being evaded. My colleague from Brantford has raised this kind of issue on a number of occasions in the past with the present minister, I would assume, but at least with several former ministers.

We are going to support the legislation to try to help the minister fill in some holes and deal more effectively with the collection of the tax. It seems to me this is a problem that has been going on for quite a number of years in Ontario. Why has it taken so long for us to come to terms with the problem? Has it been in terms of finding the way to deal with it or in realizing the extent of the problem? It has always been fairly clear to me, having worked in a gas station all through high school, that it has been going on for a number of years. The problem has been there in a fairly substantial way for quite some time.

Mr. Makarchuk: Mr. Speaker, I want to raise briefly a matter which I raised with the minister's staff some time ago in a letter. This deals with the people on the Indian reserves who have the right to sell cigarettes without having to collect taxes for them. The merchants who have stores in the outlying areas

complain rather strongly that they feel that cigarettes are not sold only to the native people but that all sorts of other people go in there and purchase cigarettes by the trunkful—in some cases they say by the truckload—without having to pay the tax and walk away. Naturally, the people who have to pay the tax are at a great disadvantage in terms of economics.

I wonder whether the minister has looked into those situations and whether he knows in how many other places in Ontario similar situations exist. If he does, is there any way it can be controlled without impinging on the traditional rights of the native people, however those rights were established, to continue not to have to pay certain federal and provincial taxes, while at the same time ensuring fair treatment for those people who have to pay taxes but are at a disadvantage because of some devious ways or knowledge of the situation or friendship of those who are able to go and buy cigarettes not only for their own use but also for purposes of resale in order to evade taxes and naturally not pay their fair share of the taxation?

Mr. G. I. Miller: Mr. Speaker, for clarification purposes, I have a couple of questions I would like to ask the Minister of Revenue. Is this going to increase the cost of cigarettes to the consumer? From the way it is averaged in the legislation, will the seller be able to collect more money for collecting the tax on behalf of the province? Would he clarify those two points?

Hon. Mr. Maeck: Mr. Speaker, I will deal with the members in order. The member for Erie wanted to know why we used the word "may." By using the word "may," it puts the ministry in a position where there is some discretion in minor situations where we may not want to proceed beyond a certain point. It does give us some discretion in the matter in that we are not necessarily forced to impose a penalty in minor cases.

He also mentioned that the vendors should be exempt from collecting the tax. Of course, they are already exempt from collecting the tax. The tax is collected by the wholesaler and not by the vendor at all. But the whole thrust of this legislation is simply this: Up to this time if someone were wholesaling cigarettes without a wholesale permit—in other words, sort of bootlegging cigarettes—we had no real penalty. All we could do was charge them with selling cigarettes without having a wholesale permit. What we have done here is bring in much stiffer penalties for those kinds of people.

The member for Hamilton Mountain says: "Why now? Why not before?" That is a good question except that I would say for the last two or three years, until this particular year, the member will recall we did raise the tobacco tax every year on cigarettes and so on, and we are now in a position where we are very concerned about cigarettes coming in from such places as Alberta where the tax is very low. I am told a transport load of cigarettes could be brought from Alberta with a profit of perhaps more than \$100,000 per load because of the difference in taxes between the two provinces. So that is what has perhaps made it a lot more urgent than it was in the past. We don't see that happening to a great extent yet, but we want to be able to stop it now.

The other thing, of course, as the member for Brantford mentioned, is the matter of the Indian reserves. It has always been known on certain reserves—not all Indian reserves by any means—that they were able to buy their cigarettes tax-free from the wholesaler. Then, of course, they end up where they shouldn't end up. We have no intention of imposing any tax on the Indians for the cigarettes or tobacco they will use themselves, but the act was never meant to allow cigarettes to be purchased on a reserve, then brought out of a reserve and sold to other people.

There are complaints; we are receiving complaints from wholesalers who are being affected. I am talking about legitimate wholesalers outside the reservations. There are various ways, of course, for disposal of these cigarettes. I have had complaints from quite a few wholesalers who notice the amounts of their sales are going down simply because there are cigarettes coming in from other areas.

Mr. Kerrio: Do you put a stamp on your cigarettes?

Hon. Mr. Maeck: No, we don't any more. At one time, I think the province did put some sort of a stamp on, but it was not very effective and it was quite a cost to the tobacco companies, as well. That is done in the United States, but they are still having the same types of problems with their cigarettes in most states as we are having with ours. The figure of \$5 million I talked about in my opening remarks is only an estimate. We can't be sure of how much tax loss there is, but we feel there is about that amount being lost as a result of the fact that we don't have any way of penalizing anyone.

If members go through this amendment to the Tobacco Tax Act, they will find the penalties are rather severe but, if they don't break the law, those penalties obviously won't apply to anybody.

If we are going to pass legislation in this House and impose a tax, we must be assured that people are going to pay that tax. As long as there is an easy loophole and a very small penalty involved, there is no encouragement or inducement for people to buy a wholesaler's licence so that we would have control over them. We are having some problems with it, and I appreciate the support of both parties in this amendment.

Motion agreed to.

Ordered for third reading.

Hon. Mr. Maeck: Mr. Speaker, I understand now that the parties opposite are prepared to go ahead with the other bill I have before the Legislature; is that right?

Mr. Acting Speaker: Which bill is that, Mr. Minister?

Hon. Mr. Maeck: On succession duties; I can't remember the number.

4:30 p.m.

SUCCESSION DUTY ACT SUPPLEMENTARY PROVISIONS ACT

Hon. Mr. Maeck moved second reading of Bill 62, An Act for the making of Additional Provisions for the Levy and Payment of Succession Duty by or in respect of Property or Persons to whom The Succession Duty Act remains Applicable.

Hon. Mr. Maeck: Mr. Speaker, this bill provides supplementary provisions to the Succession Duty Act which are essential if tax revenues in excess of \$100 million are to be preserved from loss.

Tax planners in the year following the repeal of both the Succession Duty Act and the Gift Tax Act have determined that where a will allows encroachment to an undutiable spouse, this can be used as an effective method to exempt from duty the otherwise dutiable estate of an individual dying before April 11, 1979. This was never the intent when the Treasurer repealed the Succession Duty Act in his 1979 budget.

Second, in order to expedite the settlement of estates where duty is deferred, this bill allows for payment in 1980 of such deferred duties based on estates' values established as of April 10, 1979.

After the introduction of this bill, a number of representations were made to me by interested groups, including the wills and

trusts section of the Canadian Bar Association. As a result of the points raised in these representations, I shall be referring this bill to committee in order to propose three amendments to deal with concerns raised.

An amendment will be proposed to section 3(2) of the bill to ensure the subsection applies only to duty that is now payable or that has been paid. This will ensure that this subsection will not apply to the deferred duty on interests which have not fallen into possession and that are dealt with in the bill by section 3(3).

The second amendment will be to section 4 of the bill which now applies only to benefits conferred by the exercise of a discretion. This section will be extended to enable the minister to extend the same treatment to benefits that are conferred by the exercise of disclaimer or by the surrender, release, waiver or transfer of any right or interest. In effect, the amendment will give to the minister authority to deal with both clauses (a) and (b) of section 3(1) of the bill in the same way when the same circumstances exist. This was an oversight on the part of the people who drafted the bill and is a request made by the members of the Canadian Bar Association.

The third amendment will be to section 9 of the bill and it is intended to meet, so far as the protection of revenue will allow, the concerns of those who wrote to me on their retroactive application of the provisions of the bill. The bill now provides that a post mortem or rearrangement of the affairs of an estate cannot give rise to a refund or reduction of duties which are now payable. It also provides that those who benefit from those post mortem arrangements may be liable to duty on the value of those benefits.

The intention of the bill was to preserve duty that was paid or payable at the time of the repeal of the Succession Duty Act. This can, in my view, be done by preventing the refund or reduction of duty that is now payable, and it does not require retroactivity for the provisions of the bill that would extract tax on those who benefit from post mortem rearrangements of the affairs of an estate.

Accordingly, the amendment to section 9 will remove the retroactive application of section 3(3) of the bill and will ensure that tax will be paid only on post mortem arrangements where the benefit from the arrangement occurs on or after April 29; in other words, we are removing that retroactivity in between, the date when the bill was intro-

duced in this House, which was April 29. That amendment will remove the possibility of retroactive taxation for benefits that were given prior to the introduction of this bill and after the repeal of the Succession Duty Act.

In my view, the amendments I have described will not impair the purpose of the bill and will give effect to genuine concerns that were expressed to me by the legal profession and others.

Mrs. Campbell: What the minister said latterly causes me some concern, because it seems to me some of the amendments proposed really do change to some extent the purpose of this bill. I am not the critic, and I don't wish to assume that responsibility, but I wonder whether procedurally we should go on with this bill until we have those amendments before us and can study them and understand whether they do effect the purpose of the bill.

Mr. Acting Speaker: The member for York Centre.

Mrs. Campbell: He wants to answer me.

Mr. Acting Speaker: This is in debate at the present time. You only have the right to speak once. That is the general rule of the House.

Have you got a short answer, Mr. Minister?

Hon. Mr. Maeck: I understood that the member for St. George really rose on a point of order rather than debate of the bill.

Mr. Acting Speaker: If that's the interpretation the House wants to put on it, I'll go along with it.

Hon. Mr. Maeck: I would assure the members there is not a big rush to proceed with this bill; if they would prefer to see the amendments, I would be quite happy, with the House's permission, to not proceed with the bill until they had a chance to see them.

Mr. Haggerty: Mr. Speaker, I want to address myself to the comments of the minister. I had some dialogue, along with a few letters from the minister this afternoon, and with our assistant House leader. I had consented to debate the bill on second reading later on this evening. I thought I would have ample time to go back to our caucus and explain to them the reasons why it was coming up tonight, because it's not on the Order Paper.

The minister indicated to me in his note that there would be amendments coming. I don't know what those amendments are but, like other members, I feel it's an important

piece of legislation that affects a number of persons right now and maybe the amendments should be given to the critics so we could at least have time to review and see the intent of the amendments. Then we could perhaps get into fuller discussions with him.

I do have some questions about it, and I am not too happy with the retroactive legislation that is implied under this particular legislation. Then again, I suppose that's a matter that should be debated later in the evening. I had expected that the bill wouldn't come forward until some time after eight o'clock. I would prefer if we could delay it to that particular time; then perhaps it would give our other members ample opportunity to discuss it further within caucus.

Mr. Stong: Mr. Speaker, in speaking to the point of order, my colleague from Erie indicated the matter hadn't been placed on the Order Paper. I would hope we would be apprised of the amendments that are proposed prior to debating this on second reading. Succession duty is not my forte, but I would like to know exactly what this bill is all about and have the opportunity to discuss it in caucus prior to approving it in principle. I agree and I back my colleague from St. George in asking that the matter be deferred until we have had time to caucus.

Hon. Mr. Maeck: Speaking to the point of order, Mr. Speaker, I really have no objections to that. I think the members are entitled to know what the bill is all about and what amendments are being proposed. I understand that my staff already have the amendments, but they are not drawn up yet. As soon as they are, we will get the amendments to the members. Perhaps in those circumstances I could adjourn this debate. Would that be the proper procedure?

Mr. Speaker: That's right. Someone would have to adjourn the debate. It should be the leadoff for the Liberal Party on tax bills. If the minister adjourns the debate, it assumes that he has the floor.

On motion by Mr. Ruston, the debate was adjourned.

4:40 p.m.

METROPOLITAN POLICE FORCE COMPLAINTS PROJECT ACT

Hon. Mr. McMurtry moved second reading of Bill 47, An Act for the establishment and conduct of a Project in the Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto to improve methods of processing Complaints by members of the Public against Police Officers in the Metropolitan Police Force.

Hon. Mr. McMurtry: Mr. Speaker, I appreciate that this legislation has, as it should, attracted a great deal of interest in the community. We have had the benefit of a considerable amount of input from various interest groups who I think represent a very good cross-section of the community. I realize there is no total unanimity or consensus with respect to the appropriate direction that this legislation should follow.

I think we have to recognize that this legislation might be properly described as a pioneering type of legislation so far as this province is concerned. We have discussed the issue of provincial legislation to deal with the resolution of citizens' complaints against the police and, to my knowledge, I think this is as far as any bill has proceeded. I don't recall, quite frankly, the total history of attempts that were made several years ago. I mention this in the opening only as recognition of the complexity and the sensitivity of this issue.

In bringing in and, it's hoped, passing legislation, I think we all, as members of this assembly, recognize that this is not likely to be the final word. Whatever legislation is passed, only time will demonstrate the extent of our wisdom in framing the particular type of legislation.

Furthermore, I think it must be recognized—and I believe that all the members would join with me in recognizing—that the people of this province are served, generally speaking, very well by their law-enforcement agencies. We have in this province a quality of law enforcement that I honestly believe is second to none when it comes to measuring the effectiveness of law enforcement in the western world.

I think it is important in considering this legislation, therefore, that we do not embark on a course that might be interpreted, or indeed misinterpreted, as any vote of no confidence in our police forces, particularly the Metropolitan Toronto Police Force, which is the subject matter of this legislation.

In my desire not to introduce or support any legislation that could be so interpreted, I think it's very important to recognize what I consider to be a very fundamental principle of this legislation. That is, the police must be encouraged to resolve these disputes to the extent they can within the ranks of the particular police department.

There is no question that police commissions have always had a role to play in relation to the administration of citizen complaints procedures. But we do recognize that in Metropolitan Toronto, given the pluralistic makeup of the community, the

dense population, the challenge is perhaps greater here than anywhere else in the province. I think, though it is important that we recognize that the maintenance of a high level of policing in the future will depend to a very large extent in encouraging not only the Metropolitan Toronto Police Force but also all other police forces to have a resolution of citizens' complaints, where possible, by the department itself.

If we were ever to take that responsibility away from a police department and say we were going to set up another police body to investigate complaints against this police force, and effectively remove that responsibility, in my view we would be party to a very serious and fundamental vote of no confidence in our law enforcement agencies in this province.

At the same time, we recognize in this bill—and I believe the Metropolitan Toronto police does as well—the need to have some independent body monitoring the complaint procedure, quite apart from the police commission, which does have that responsibility in most circumstances. For this reason, we seek to establish the position of public complaints commissioner, who under this legislation will have the authority to monitor the progress of the investigation of the citizens' complaints from the outset and, where appropriate, cause his or her own investigation to be made, and the authority to establish a tribunal of hearings for the disposition of complaints where they cannot be resolved to his satisfaction prior to that time.

In structuring this bill, we recognize that it places an enormous degree of responsibility upon the complaints commissioner. Obviously, the success, or otherwise, of such a procedure depends to a very large extent on the ability of the individual who is selected to administer the responsibilities and carry out the functions of that office in a fair and effective manner.

While some might say we should not have legislation that depends to such a great extent on the abilities of one individual, it is my own personal view that this is the appropriate way to proceed, because the type of problem we are dealing with, in my view, is going to depend upon a fair degree of individual discretion when it comes to the monitoring of the citizens' complaints, when it comes to a determination of whether there should be a public hearing. I don't think any system that does not build in a high degree of discretion is going to work.

There are a number of other features about this legislation that I know honourable members will want to discuss. I should be very

happy to hear and look forward to their contributions to this debate on the principle of the legislation. I have simply attempted, in opening, to cover two or three of what I regard to be the highlights of the bill, the principles on which the legislation is presented to this House.

4:50 p.m.

Mr. Kerrio: Mr. Speaker, I rise to discuss Bill 47. At the outset, I would like to suggest to the minister that we concur with some of his remarks as they relate to the integrity of the police forces in Toronto, as well as across Ontario. The reason we are suggesting this kind of bill does not have anything to do with that kind of stature that we have concurred with in speaking to the bill.

I hope in most instances the complaints are going to be ones of misunderstanding between parties. I certainly hope it will not end up that many complaints are going to have too much substance as they relate to police doing anything but a responsible job.

Our party has a position as it relates to the bill that would cause us to move some amendments. I would suggest that some of them would make good sense to the minister. We would like to see the commissioner, the overall man responsible who will be chosen to do the job, direct the police in the function of investigation. We will not appear in the public's eye to be doing justice to setting up this kind of structure if we do not have someone who has a very impartial position as commissioner. While he may use the forces of the police to do the investigating, I think the person who heads up the commission should be a person who does not have any interest in any other way.

There are other areas in the bill that we would like to address ourselves to. One of them would be the choosing of the various commission members. We would have to get into the appropriateness of choosing them as it relates to how the bill is drafted. I think we would have to consider many other areas, because we may extend this type of involvement to other parts of the province. We don't want to get it so that it is specific to a given area. If this functions the way we hope it will, it will meet the public's anxiety about officers' conduct. If it functions well, we could use it in other major centres. We don't want to limit the use of this kind of a body across the province.

I don't know to what degree we would like to get into various other aspects of the bill at this time. I did not hear the minister

mention how he would like to deal with the bill in committee of the whole House or what we would do to maybe have some input. I would like to hear his comments as they relate to that aspect of the bill.

We also have some concern about section 19(4), which gives the police officer the right to examine, prior to the hearing, any written evidence that will be used. We would then have to delve into the reasonableness of the complainant having the same kind of an entitlement to evidence that might be on the record and he should have access to if he is going to present a case on his behalf. These are just a few and not all of the areas that we would like to deal with.

There are other areas of discretion by the police commission that would pay an officer's legal fees as they relate to his involvement. We would like to see some input as it relates to the complainant's ability, in one way or another, to get legal help.

We have seen from time to time in the Legislature as it relates to many other areas of involvement where people are disadvantaged even though they are given the opportunity to present their case. Very often they are coming up against people who have legal and expert advice that does not necessarily put them in the same kind of a position to protect their own interests. We would like to deal with that aspect of it as it relates to what help might be available to an individual pursuing a complaint he or she might have.

I don't think I would like to get into every aspect of this. I would like to point out to the minister that there are particular areas that might be very acceptable to him in the kinds of amendments we might propose, because it has been given considerable thought by people in this caucus who are experts. I don't include myself among them. I put myself in the position of the lay person who, I think, is justifiably considered now but maybe was not in the past.

The lawmakers now are going to have people who are experienced and not necessarily trained in the order of the law who might complement each other. Those are a few of the comments I would like to hear as to what might prevail as it relates to the expedition of the bill.

Mr. Lupusella: Mr. Speaker, I welcome this opportunity to rise and speak about the content of this government bill. I would like to emphasize that we are quite dissatisfied about the content of the bill and at the way in which the Solicitor General (Mr. McMurtry) has been dealing with the previ-

ous bill, Bill 201. When criticism and public concern were increasing in Metropolitan Toronto and when the NDP raised the particular concern of dissatisfaction about the particular clauses of Bill 201, the Solicitor General decided to withdraw that bill and to introduce Bill 47.

On doing so, at least the NDP and myself got the impression that the Solicitor General was going to incorporate in Bill 47 the particular concerns that were raised by the NDP and the public as a whole. When we saw the contents of Bill 47, I have to confess to him I felt in some way offended. When the public was crying out for action, when the NDP issued press releases and when our resolution which was tabled on the floor of this Legislature contained particular issues which the Solicitor General completely ignored, I have to say I felt in some way offended.

The NDP also recognizes the importance of having a bill in place which takes into consideration the public concern in relation to complaints against the police force here in Ontario. Even though we accept this, I am obliged to convey the message to the Solicitor General that we are going to vote against the bill on second reading.

By doing that, we want to be constructive about the contents of the changes we are going to propose. I hope the Solicitor General is going to accept our proposal to send this bill to a committee of the Legislature so that the three parties, the two opposition parties and the public in particular, will have an opportunity to make public input on that bill to make sure that all the concerns involved are incorporated in the final draft at the committee legislative process.

5 p.m.

Keeping this in mind, I hope the Solicitor General will be flexible on the principles we are going to emphasize and the changes we are going to propose at the committee stage in order that problems affecting the public in relation to their complaints against the police will be well defined on the final draft and in particular on the third reading of the bill which is going to take place in the near future.

We are taking this process quite seriously. I would like to have public input. I would like to move amendments. Keeping that in mind, I hope the Solicitor General will be flexible.

In his opening statement, he emphasized that this piece of legislation should have the confidence of the police force and of the public. In my opinion and in the opinion of the NDP, the public's concern has not been

taken into consideration. If it had, the Solicitor General's bill would have incorporated proposals introduced by my colleague the member for Scarborough-Ellesmere (Mr. Warner) in the resolution and in the private member's bill tabled in this House.

One of the major problems is that the investigative process as outlined in Bill 47 is not really independent. If the police are going to investigate the complaint, we are killing the principle of this bill, and the bill as a whole will be jeopardized.

A poll was taken for the Solicitor General. The major question asked in that poll, which was published some time ago, was: "Do you think the complaints against the police should be investigated by the Metro police department or by an independent civilian body?"

The final result of the poll was: By Metro police department, 18 per cent; by OPP, seven per cent; by Attorney General, 20 per cent; by a civilian body, 24 per cent; combination of above, 13 per cent; no investigation needed, three per cent; don't know or no answer, 16 per cent."

I appreciate that the public has some confidence in the Attorney General, but the Solicitor General should consider that 24 per cent of the people polled called for a civilian, independent body to investigate complaints against the police. The Solicitor General is totally wrong when he says the public is going to support the principle that the police have to investigate complaints against the police. We have to put some faith in it; we have to take into consideration the principle of independence in the investigative process, which should be pursued by a civilian body and not by the police force *per se*.

We should also consider why this bill has been introduced in the provincial Legislature. The answer, at least for all members of this Legislature, is a simple one. It has been introduced because we face a crisis in the policing of Metropolitan Toronto. Confidence in the fairness and impartiality of our police has been severely eroded by recent developments, including a number of incidents culminating in the death of citizens at the hands of police officers.

A series of reports and inquiries, including several recent and current initiatives, have failed to restore public confidence. It seems unpopular to talk about police affairs in Ontario. However, if criticism against the police force is made in such a way as to improve the system, to make it better represent public interest as a whole, such criticism should be taken into consideration.

I am dismayed by the inaction of the previous Solicitor General and the provincial government in not taking into consideration the recommendations of past studies; in 1972 and 1974 a study on policing in Ontario was done with concrete recommendations.

It disturbs me that this government is taking action at the time of a crisis. Instead of preventing problems in our society by elaborating or introducing or reintroducing new tools and methods which should be adopted by the police, the government waits until a social crisis takes action. I completely disagree with this approach. The government should be the watchdog of the affairs happening in our society to ensure that legislative action is taken to end the turmoil and solve the problem.

I don't think we are going to accomplish the main task of solving the social problems by introducing Bill 47 without an open and flexible mind to make changes in that bill. We are going to weaken the principle of the bill if police are given the power to investigate members, as has been suggested by the Solicitor General, instead of giving mandate to investigate this type of complaint to an independent body.

I understand what the Solicitor General is trying to say to this Legislature. He is emphasizing that this is a pilot project, that his ministry is going to monitor the work of the citizen complaint bureau. Eventually, if changes are required, the Solicitor General will make sure that changes take place.

I have to disagree with such a concept. If we want to take into consideration the public's concern on such a procedure, the concern should be incorporated in the bill now instead of waiting for the failure of Bill 47 in the near future. Eventually, the bill is going to be scrapped altogether. That is why I want to emphasize again that the bill should be referred to a committee of the Legislature and that the Solicitor General should have an open mind and be more flexible to ensure that there is public input and to ensure that particular clauses of the bill are going to be amended or included if the public is to be represented on that bill.

5:10 p.m.

The other reason why this particular bill has been introduced is that alarm about racism in the community, as well as in the police force, has been voiced by representative figures from many ethnic groups. This has been matched by much wider concern about the responsiveness of our police to an increasingly diverse and rapidly changing community. This mounting external criticism

is matched by internal problems with a disturbingly high police turnover and deep-seated problems of police morale.

I would like to voice again the particular principle that has been emphasized in the past, that a police force in this province was unable to cope with this particular situation involving racism. That is why the crisis actually developed to the point that the community reacted in a very forceful way.

Mr. Speaker: It seems to me that the minister who is piloting a bill through the House should not be carrying on a private conversation, almost an all-party conversation. Out of deference and courtesy to the person who has the floor, I think those honourable members should give the Solicitor General an opportunity to listen.

Mr. Lupusella: Mr. Speaker, I would like to thank you for that particular remark. I am appealing to the Solicitor General to become more flexible in order to have an open mind when the bill is referred to a committee of the Legislature. I hope he will consider those remarks, to make sure those changes will take place eventually.

What I stated was that the police force was unprepared to face the crisis I am talking about and, in particular, racism. In previous estimates, going back to 1977 and 1978, on the floor of the Legislature and outside of the Legislature, I expressed my particular concern that the police force should be trained to deal with this type of problem. In some way, at that time, I became a prophet because those problems unfortunately occurred in Metropolitan Toronto and the police force was unable to cope with them.

I am going back to the same principle, that this government and the Solicitor General should prevent things in our society and make sure those problems will not reach the point that they become explosive and cannot be contained.

Yesterday the Solicitor General and the members of this Legislature had an opportunity to learn through the media what is happening in Florida—in particular, in Miami—and about the racial tension that is taking place down there. We have to learn from past incidents taking place here in Metropolitan Toronto, and we should analyse in a very concrete way what is happening in the United States regarding this racial tension. This particular evidence should be a motivation for the government and the Solicitor General to introduce the right tools in legislative terms to make sure that those social concerns are going to be dealt with.

The government was unable to respond immediately to the need for a new police commissioner in Metropolitan Toronto. I don't think we can blame the community for the way in which it is responding, but we have to blame the Solicitor General and this government for its inaction.

In response to the tension surrounding the shooting of Albert Johnson and in particular to the calls for change in the wake of that tragic death, the performance of the Metropolitan Toronto Board of Police Commissioners has been, to say the least, extremely disappointing. I want to emphasize this particular point. I think the fault lies with the government and the Solicitor General for not moving quickly enough in making the right changes which had been preached by past studies like the reports of Cardinal Carter and John Clement which have not solved the mounting concern of the community.

I think the problem which has been generated between the police force and the public lies, as I stated before, with the police commission which appears to have discharged its responsibility for maintaining the lines of communication between the constables and the citizens. In particular, it is incompatible with the fundamental role of the board as a whole to refuse to meet deputations while individual commissioners impugn their credentials.

The NDP believes a larger police commission would encourage a more open means of managing police affairs as well as facilitating the more active roles in their administration of policing and community interaction which we believe the board should assume. But it has to be Metro council which should be empowered to—

Mr. Renwick: On a point of order, Mr. Speaker: You asked a few minutes ago that members of the House not engage the Solicitor General in conversation at the time this bill is being debated in principle. I wonder whether, as a courtesy to my colleague, the member for Ottawa East (Mr. Roy) would allow the Solicitor General, should he so choose, to follow the debate very closely.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: That seems like a reasonable request.

Mr. Lupusella: Thank you, Mr. Speaker. What I was saying was that council should have the power through legislative change, which should take place here on this floor, to make sure the police commission be appointed by Metro council and not through appointments at the provincial government level.

I think the community as a whole will be well served by that. If from time to time criticism arises in the province against the police force, such constructive criticism should be taken into consideration instead of dismissing all points which are raised as a result of this type of criticism.

5:20 p.m.

Going back to the principle of the bill, I think Bill 47 is a disaster, based on the fact that public concern hasn't been taken into consideration. I don't want to go through a report that was published in the *Globe and Mail* on December 29, 1979, as a result of the action taken by the Solicitor General in introducing Bill 201, but I would like to read part of this report about the content of the government's bill. As I stated before, there is not much difference between Bill 201 and Bill 47, and I don't understand why the Solicitor General withdrew Bill 201 only to introduce a similar type of bill, Bill 47.

This particular article is heavily critical of the content of the government bill, and I would like to read part of it.

"The second ridiculous provision is that which gives the Commissioner of Complaints the right to refuse a citizen access to the Civilian Review Board. He has the power to kill a complaint and prevent a citizen from ever getting an independent fair hearing. If that position, therefore, becomes the repository for tired politicians or retired police chiefs (as has been the government's practice with similar appointments, supposedly superintending the police), this body will very soon lose the respect of the public which is essential for its operation . . .

"The composition of the board leaves much to be desired . . .

"It is as though we have waited five years and gone through numerous commissions of inquiry for nothing. I hope the leaders of the opposition will have the courage to reject this bill and compel the government to respect the calls for fundamental decency in the treatment of police complaints that have been made again and again."

Of course, we don't reject this bill because of this particular report but as a result of the inability on the part of the government to seriously consider the points and concerns we have been raising on the floor of the Legislature and through the private member's bill introduced by my colleague the member for Scarborough-Ellesmere (Mr. Warner).

The principle of this bill has been on the Order Paper a long time. Different studies have suggested we need an independent re-

view board here in Metropolitan Toronto to take into consideration complaints against the police. Just as examples, I would like to mention the following: (1) the Task Force on Policing in Ontario, a report to the Solicitor General, February 19, 1974; (2) the Metropolitan Toronto Review of the Citizens' Police Complaint Procedure, A Report to the Metropolitan Toronto Board of Commissioners of Police by Arthur Maloney, May 1975; (3) the Royal Commission into Metropolitan Toronto Police Practices by Mr. Justice Donald Morand, June 1976; and (4) the report of the Royal Commission on Metropolitan Toronto by the Honourable John Robarts, June 1977.

Finally, there is the report to the council of Metropolitan Toronto by the Task Force on Human Relations by Walter Pitman, November 1977. Of course, I don't want to exclude the most important report by Cardinal Carter, whose recommendations need attention and a lot of consideration.

The Solicitor General spends money for reports and studies about problems such as racial tension which eventually might become explosive, and yet we are confronted with the inaction of the government and the Solicitor General in introducing the required legislation at the time of a crisis. I want to emphasize that I completely disagree with this type of government approach. We have to prevent things, and we don't have to wait until the problem cannot be repaired any more.

It seems that Bill 47 in some way is reflecting in general terms the concern that was raised by Mr. Maloney. But there was no particular attention paid to the recommendations pursued by Justice Morand's comment on the complaints bureau when he emphasized, to quote from his report, that:

"First, the present system is not effective. For a variety of reasons, the investigation of serious allegations of excessive force are incomplete, not impartial and largely unsupervised . . . A system must be developed for the prompt, impartial, vigorous and independent investigation of such complaints, incorporating appropriate safeguards for the rights of police officers. Such a system must be highly visible and manned by personnel who command the respect of the force and of the public."

I think that particular paragraph reflects the public's concern about having investigative measures in that bill in order to enact and ensure public confidence. In Bill 47 there is this particular lack of concern. I don't think there is a great change or a measurable change from the status quo, because that is

what is happening now; the police are investigating the complaints themselves. If we want to inject confidence in the public, the investigations should be really independent.

The private member's bill which was introduced by us is taking into consideration those particular concerns and those particular principles which have been emphasized by Mr. Justice Morand in his report and which also emphasize the right of the police officer as well to be protected in the course of such investigations. I am calling upon the Solicitor General when this bill is sent to a committee of the Legislature to have an open mind in order to make sure those changes will take place.

Besides the social problem, I think this bill is also important with respect to the duty of a police officer when he or she has to deal with the public. As far as I'm concerned, I'm giving a high profile to this bill because I consider this bill as a safeguard or a safety valve to make sure that the police officer is going to pursue his duty in a way that is described by the Police Act without abuses taking place in the implementation of the law enforcement process which are happening on a daily basis here in Ontario.

5:30 p.m.

We are confronted—and I think each member of the Legislature is a witness of what is reported by the media—with abuses taking place in our society as a result of the law enforcement process by police officers. I do not want to go into great detail on that, but if members read the headlines reported by various newspapers in Ontario they will find that these abuses have taken place. Even though at this point in time internal investigations have taken place at the level of the Ontario Police Commission, actually nobody knows what is happening. Internal investigations are secret and nobody knows the final result of such investigations.

Going through articles in different newspapers, I would like to emphasize such headlines as "Door Kicked in Over a Ticket, Man Says"; "Man Handcuffed, Waited Three Hours for Breathalyser Test"; "Used Undue Force, OPP Officer Kept On"; "Five Officers Facing Counts Under Police Behaviour Code." It is really interesting what is happening.

I would like to quote from an article. I do not want to mention the names of police officers. The final paragraph says that the person from the OPP detachment who gave the report on the charges stated: "The charges resulted from an internal investigation held two weeks ago, after getting com-

plaints from fellow officers and citizens. He said the complaints involved eight policemen over an incident that occurred on September 7." We do not know what is happening as a result of these charges. Most of the cases are dismissed when they are introduced before the court, and this worries me.

I would like to conclude my opening remarks on this bill. I hope the Solicitor General is going to accept our proposal to send his bill to a committee of the Legislature in order that the opposition parties and the public will be able to appear before us to make constructive recommendations and to make sure that, when this bill is given third reading, it will contain the public's concern and the two opposition parties' concerns. This should take place as soon as possible to restore confidence in the police force on the part of the public, which is important. There is no system in any country where, if the public is losing confidence in the police force, the law enforcement process will not be jeopardized as well.

Above all, if we are serious about the law enforcement process in Ontario we have to take into consideration the fact that police officers should be trained longer in order that they will get the right type of courses, reflecting the general makeup of our society, so that the law enforcement process will take into account the changes which take place from time to time in our social life.

I would like to thank you, Mr. Speaker, for the opportunity to debate this bill on second reading.

Mr. Stong: Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of the principles contained in Bill 47 before the House today. This bill has been long awaited, inasmuch as it deals particularly with complaints issued against our law enforcement agency.

I concur in the remarks made by the Solicitor General in his opening remarks that our law enforcement agencies across the province are absolutely second to none. But inasmuch as there has been a rising concern in society today, and that concern persists—it permeates and weakens the very structure of our police forces and our law enforcement agencies—this bill is designed to meet that problem and meet the issue as it arises.

It is in that sense that I hail the principle that the Solicitor General has introduced. We welcome it because it purports to establish a vehicle whereby those who feel aggrieved in any way when they deal with our enforcement agencies will be able to have their grievances heard by an independent body,

heard by an independent individual, who can deal directly with the concern.

When this type of bill was originally introduced by a past Solicitor General (Mr. Kerr), I am aware that it was not received favourably in society by the police forces or by the public at large. It seemed to be because there was a lack of consultation. But I am satisfied with the remarks of the Solicitor General inasmuch as he has undertaken, since that original bill, a process of gaining information and a process of consultation. The consultation is, as I understand it, with certain individuals in our society, not the least of which was the police force and the police associations. It seems to me the original bill, as it was introduced, has been overhauled and amended into the present bill. The present bill purports to establish more authority in an individual called a public complaints commissioner.

As my colleague from Niagara Falls (Mr. Kerrio), and our critic of the Solicitor General for this party, indicated in his opening remarks, one of the major weaknesses of the present bill perhaps lies in the role to be played by the public complaints commissioner.

It has been a long-established principle of our law that not only must justice be done but justice also must be seen to be done. One of the methods of guaranteeing the sanctity of that principle lies within the makeup of this bill and the method it offers for a solution to the problem.

Inasmuch as the bill establishes an independent body, an independent method of investigation, an independent method of consideration of the problems before it, it is welcome. In that sense and in that sense alone will justice be seen to be done. But we must also balance in our consideration the fact that the law enforcement agencies throughout this province, and more particularly in the municipality of Metropolitan Toronto, must not be eroded. They must be able to deal with problems in an interpersonal way, the way this bill sets up.

I believe that when a complaint is made the bill, as it is presented, establishes three sources of the complaint. Those three sources are acceptable. In fact, they are admirable. But it is the method and the procedure that takes place after the initial report that does cause a certain degree of concern.

5:40 p.m.

Initially, when the bill was introduced by the present Solicitor General, the public complaints commissioner did not become involved until after the investigation had

been completed. The present bill before us moderates that position somewhat. Inasmuch as the investigation is still conducted by the public complaints investigation bureau, inasmuch as the investigation is carried out by that body which is a branch of the Metropolitan Toronto police force, there has been moderation made, because the public complaints commissioner can now take an earlier role in the investigation, but is limited to 30 days. He must be contacted within 30 days.

That does cause a degree of concern to us on this side of the House inasmuch as the principle of justice being seen to be done may be circumvented. It would be preferable, in our opinion, to have the public complaints commissioner take an earlier, active part in the investigation, inasmuch as he is and can be one of the sources of complaint. For instance, a complainant may complain to the police station or he may complain to the bureau or he may complain to the commissioner. Inasmuch as a complaint can be made to any of those three sources, and inasmuch as the commissioner must be apprised of the complaint immediately, it would seem that his active role in the investigation must commence immediately and not be left to the determination of what has been indicated here as the chief of the bureau.

This bill before us for consideration introduces a new concept over and above what the previous bill had; that is, the concept of the chief of the bureau. The chief of the bureau seems to be taking unto himself powers that ought to be relegated to the public complaints commissioner.

We are aware that the force and effect of this bill lie in the individual entrusted with the role of complaints commissioner. All our laws necessarily relate to that type of relationship and, inasmuch as they do, they are good laws. We rely upon the integrity of individuals who are appointed to these positions. In recognition of that principle and that approach, rather than introducing a third party into the equation, namely, the chief of the bureau, in my respectful submission to this House, we should rely on the integrity of the public complaints commissioner at the first instance. He should become involved and play the role of the bureau chief as described in the act.

The board, as composed under the act, consists of three types of persons. There is no quarrel with the composition of the complaints board. It is, in my respectful submission, wholly and completely representative.

Inasmuch as it carries a tremendous weight on its shoulders, it is acceptable.

I suppose the main concern we have is that the public complaints commissioner be active sooner and more completely in directing the investigation and not be relegated to the position of being advised within 30 days and subsequently each month until the investigation is complete. If we are going to satisfy those in society who will be making their views known and who will be espousing the principle that justice must be seen to be done, it seems to me we ought to rely on the integrity wholly of the public complaints commissioner and on his active participation in the investigation right from the outset so that should an individual in society make a complaint to the police station or the commissioner or the bureau, the public complaints commissioner, that individual, will be apprised immediately of that complaint in order that his role may be active.

I understood in conversations outside of this House surrounding the introduction of this legislation that the commissioner would have a more active role sooner. I would prefer to see the legislation before us introduce that type of aspect.

The chief of police, under the present act, has the power to order a further investigation or to cause a criminal charge to be laid or to refer the matter to the board for a hearing or to initiate disciplinary hearings under the act, or counsel would caution the police officer involved to take no action. It seems to me that those dispositions ought to be made in consultation and in association with the public complaints commissioner. We do not wish to take away the power of the police chief and his role in this entire function.

I do not doubt for a moment that justice would be done should this matter be left solely in the hands of the police department. But we have the other aspect of the equation to consider, and that is that justice must be seen to be done. So rather than take away from the chief of police the powers that are set out in the act, I would ask the Solicitor General to consider combining his powers so that they may be executed and exercised in association with the public complaints officer and so that he will have a more vital role to play in this entire process.

The act sets out that the complainant, where he is dissatisfied with the decision of the police, can then take the matter to the commissioner. That is a good position for this legislation but it precludes the public complaints commissioner from being active

earlier in the entire process. In my respectful submission, that aspect of the bill is one that is going to have to be reconsidered.

I realize that the commissioner is given his own powers of investigation and I realize the purport and the consequences of what is set out. His investigation may be exercised in two instances: following the receipt of the first interim report from the bureau that it is subsequent to an investigation by the bureau, or when conducting a review of the file after a request by the complainant. Again the complainant becomes involved in this request to the commissioner only after the initial investigation by the bureau. The bureau is a good and necessary vehicle but the bureau, in my respectful submission, cannot and ought not act independently of the public complaints commissioner. So the complaints commissioner ought not be relegated to the position of an officer of review of the initial investigation of the bureau as set out in the act.

The public complaints commissioner, as I have indicated earlier, ought to take a more active role at an earlier stage but not independently—any more than the bureau ought to be allowed to go on a frolic of its own in the initial investigation. There must be an interweaving of the two roles. In so far as this bill does not interweave those two roles, in my respectful submission, it is weak and does not satisfy the demands of that second part of the equation that justice must be seen to be done.

There is absolutely no intention in my remarks to indicate that justice would not be done, because I believe that justice would be done. But there are other factions in society that must be satisfied. In so far as those factions must be satisfied then the second part of the equation must be met.

5:50 p.m.

The commissioner has the option, if he is of the opinion that the complaint is of a minor nature, to direct the single board member to conduct a hearing. That hearing officer must be trained in the law. Even before that takes place, the bill does provide a mechanism whereby, in the event of a minor complaint, the complainant and the officer can be brought together to iron out their difficulties. That is a good thing, a very good thing. I would not like to see that mechanism removed from this act, nor do I think it will be removed. But I submit that the decision to bring the police officer and the complainant together ought not to be relegated solely to the bureau. In my respectful submission, it must be a common decision between the interweaving of the public complaints com-

missioner and the bureau of the Metropolitan Toronto Police Force.

There is no objection in the bill in its principle of *de novo* hearings, inasmuch as all parties are entitled to notice and the complainant has a right to counsel. The bill is admirable in that respect. But this procedure takes place after the initial investigation, and it is in terms of the initial investigation that this bill has to address itself in a more complete way.

I personally have concern about the burden of proof in the bill being beyond a reasonable doubt. Currently, the Police Act carries with it a burden of proof, of balance of probabilities, when an individual is being tried on a matter under the Police Act. We are imposing a greater onus, a greater test, under this act than we do under the present Police Act. It would seem to me our law ought to be consistent in this regard. The police chief can cause a charge to be laid against a police officer, with its consequent disciplinary action, which could include dismissal from the police force, taking away an individual's profession, on the basis of balance of probabilities. Under these circumstances, I do not think a police officer ought to be tested or ought to face any greater onus than he would if his profession were being challenged under the Police Act.

In terms of consistency of laws, in terms of consistency of tests to be applied, it may be that this bill should be reconsidered in terms of the burden of proof and the test to be applied therein.

The resolution of any type of complaint by the board is completely acceptable with respect to major complaints in terms of dismissal, demotion, resignation, days off, forfeiture or reprimand. These same types of disposition find themselves into the Police Act, and the disposition ought to be left in conjunction with the commissioner and the bureau. On the other hand, as I have indicated before, the test to be applied should be reviewed.

There is one other concern, the right to appeal to divisional court of either party, be it the police officer or the complainant, the lay person. It seems to me the bill ought to be reviewed in so far as it relegates that appeal to a question of law alone. It ought to be reviewed if the Solicitor General is satisfied in the area of weaknesses and prob-

lems such as the denial of natural justice to either party, the police officer under review or the complainant and the handling of his case through this entire process. It must be made abundantly clear in this legislation that questions to be directed to the divisional court must include a denial of natural justice. Denial of natural justice could include procedural affairs as well as questions of law alone.

There is some doubt in law as to whether natural law, the denial of natural justice, is a question of law alone. In so far as our courts are still struggling with that particular issue, I think it should be made abundantly clear in this legislation that that is to be included. It would necessitate the addition of only a few words so that the intention is abundantly clear that any appeal to the divisional court can include not only questions of law but also questions of procedure. The bill is silent in many respects on procedure. In so far as a lack of procedure or a default in procedure relegates itself to a question of natural law, that ought to be included as a grounds for appeal to the divisional court.

I began my short remarks by indicating the bill in its principle is one that is eminently worthy of support, and it is. It seems to me that any flaws that can be found in this bill are flaws only in the nature of wording and the nature of roles to be played. The roles are set out, but they are set out independently of one another.

The role of the public complaints investigation bureau as set out in the present bill is independent of the role of the complaints commissioner. They are there; they are there to be seen; they are there for the public use. But in so far as they are independent and in so far as they operate independently of one another, it is my respectful submission to the Solicitor General that the bill be reviewed so that those roles can be interwoven and so that the second part of the equation, that justice must be seen to be done, will be satisfied. I urge that upon the Solicitor General.

Mr. Acting Speaker: I recognize the member for Scarborough-Ellesmere (Mr. Warner), but I suggest that before he commences we recognize the clock.

The House recessed at 5:57 p.m.

APPENDIX

(See page 2011)

ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS
ON NOTICE PAPER

OPTED-OUT SPECIALISTS

24. Mr. Breaugh: Would the Minister of Health table information outlining the current number and percentage of specialists opted-out of OHIP by specialty and by county? (Tabled March 13, 1980.)

See sessional paper 98.

28. Mr. Breaugh: Would the Minister of Health table a breakdown of the number and percentage of specialists opted-out of OHIP by county as of the following dates: March 31, 1978; June 30, 1978; September 30, 1978; December 31, 1978; March 31, 1979; June 30, 1979; September 30, 1979 and December 31, 1979? (Tabled March 13, 1980.)

See sessional paper 99.

KINDERGARTEN PROGRAMS

141. Mr. Cassidy: Will the minister table the complete terms of reference for the review of kindergarten programs announced on February 29, together with the schedule of research which has been commissioned in connection with this review? (Tabled April 29, 1980.)

Hon. Miss Stephenson: The internal review of the full-day/half-day kindergarten issue will involve: (a) a complete literature review, which will include research conducted in Ontario, Canada, the United States and Europe; (b) a full review of the financial implications including immersion funding implications.

No additional research will be commissioned beyond that already under way.

TIMBER LICENCES

145. Mr. Cassidy: Will the minister table a comprehensive listing of: 1. all timber licences held by companies in Ontario; 2. the annual allowable and actual cuts on each of these licences for the most recent five years available; 3. the annual allowable and actual cuts for all crown management units for the most recent five years available; 4. the amount of revenues accruing to the province via crown dues and area charges by licence and crown management unit for the most recent five years available; 5. a specific table providing all the above material by MNR region? (Tabled April 29, 1980.)

See sessional paper 100.

DEATH OF STEVEN YUZ

152. Mr. McClellan: Will the Solicitor General table a copy of the daily transcript from the inquest into the death of Steven Yuz at the Hospital for Sick Children in Toronto? (Tabled May 5, 1980.)

Hon. Mr. McMurtry: The government is studying carefully the recommendations of the coroner's jury in the Steven Yuz tragedy. It is not ministry policy, however, to table the transcript of inquests. Transcripts may be obtained through the stenographers service.

ONTARIO BUSINESS
ADVISORY COUNCIL

161. Mr. S. Smith: Would the Premier table a copy of the minutes of all meetings held between the Premier and/or ministers of the government and the Ontario Business Advisory Council held between January 1, 1978 and May 1, 1980? (Tabled May 12, 1980.)

Hon. Mr. Davis: The Ontario Business Advisory Council is a group which meets the Premier to offer general advice through informal discussion. The government maintains no minutes for these sessions.

INTERIM ANSWERS

155. Mr. T. P. Reid: Will the Chairman of the Management Board of Cabinet advise the House how many consulting contracts were renegotiated and subsequently higher payments made than the original tendered prices by consulting firms doing work for government ministries in the last fiscal year? How many payments were made of any kind over and above the negotiated contract price? How much money was paid and what were the names of the firms? (Tabled May 8, 1980.)

Hon. Mr. McCague: The ministry will require additional time to assemble the information required by this question. The answer should be available during the week of June 16, 1980, approximately.

156. Mr. T. P. Reid: Would the Ministry of Natural Resources table the number of timber companies that were charged under section 24(4) of the Crown Timber Act in regard to wasteful cutting practices in the

forest? Please provide the names of the companies and the amount of the fine. How does the ministry define "wasteful cutting" under section 24 of the act? (Tabled May 8, 1980.)

Hon. Mr. Auld: Because of the volume of material involved in preparing the answer to question 156, we will require additional time to submit our response. The final answer will be ready on or about May 23, 1980.

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No. 53

Legislature of Ontario Debates

Official Report (Hansard)


Fourth Session, 31st Parliament

Tuesday, May 20, 1980

Evening Sitting

Speaker: Honourable John E. Stokes

Clerk: Roderick Lewis, QC



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Published by the Legislature of the Province of Ontario.
Editor of Debates: Peter Brannan.

LEGISLATURE OF ONTARIO

TUESDAY, MAY 20, 1980

The House resumed at 8 p.m.

METROPOLITAN POLICE FORCE COMPLAINTS PROJECT ACT (continued)

Resuming the debate on second reading of Bill 47, An Act for the establishment and conduct of a Project in the Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto to improve methods of processing Complaints by members of the Public against Police Officers on the Metropolitan Police Force.

Mr. Speaker: It is my understanding that when we rose at six o'clock the member for Scarborough-Ellesmere was about to speak.

Mr. Warner: Mr. Speaker, if it is permissible, I would appreciate it if my colleague from Scarborough West could begin the debate this evening.

Mr. R. F. Johnston: Thank you, Mr. Speaker. Thank you, my colleague from Scarborough-Ellesmere. I am pleased to be able to speak this evening because I believe this is a very important debate we are having. It is one, even though there is another major event on tonight, very dear to my own heart. I am pleased to be here in the Legislature to speak about it. To me this has to be a very important bill, to be able to compete with the referendum on the future of Canada in the nature of its importance.

As a Metro spokesman for the NDP I am very concerned with the state of police-civilian relations in Metropolitan Toronto. To be frank, I have a great fear we are approaching a very long, hot summer in Toronto unless some major initiatives are taken to show all citizens of Toronto, but especially the visible minorities, that their police force—not so much the officers, for whom I think most of us have great admiration, but the leadership and system of policing in Toronto—is open and one that can respond to the reality of Toronto as it is today: a very broad, multi-cultural community. As a result, I feel the establishment of a civilian review board is a vital step with one very important facet in making our Toronto police system more open, more accessible and more reflective of the nature of our population in the city.

I speak in opposition to the bill, as I would have last December, because I see very little in the way of change in the bill as it has been presented to us again this spring. I do not feel it adequately asserts itself nor speaks to the needs of which I have just spoken.

I would like to talk a bit, if I can, about the nature and the extent of our problems in the city of Toronto. We too often hear such and such is an isolated incident, that an attack on an East Indian family in Etobicoke is perhaps reflective of individual personalities involved and that a retaliation on innocent white individuals by the East Indian community is somehow again not reflective of the overall scene in Toronto, but rather reflective of some unbalanced individuals.

I believe the history of our problem in Toronto is a long one and goes back to the way we handle our policing, the move away from a constabulary system into the militaristic format and the corporation structure we have now, the distancing of the individual policeman and his individual responsibilities as a constable from his community. I believe that is fundamentally what our difficulty is.

If we had stuck to the old system established in Britain and not moved into the American model of corporate and militaristic forces, such things as having height and weight restrictions that properly reflect individual communities, having openness in terms of who is hired on the force, having commissions and review boards which were reflective of the city, would be there.

I believe it reflects itself in the way our police force and the leadership of our police force, not the individual members on the beat, have conducted themselves over the last number of years. I would like to list some of the things that have happened just to bring this into perspective.

In March 1979, Canadian Jewish News quoted Mr. Givens with respect to a dispute concerning Middle Eastern pavilions at Caravan. "Givens said Caravan should have ignored the Palestinian representation, they should have told them to go soak their heads." That's a quote from the Globe.

We all remember News and Views, the police association's internal publication,

which published stories attacking various minorities. The chairman of the police commission said, "Racist comments are no cause for firing a policeman." That's a quote from the *Star* of that period. The *Star* and the *Globe* printed strong editorials attacking this and indicated the problem our commission had dealt with those difficulties.

In March 1979 again, three Etobicoke girls claimed they were kicked, slapped and subjected to racial slurs by Metro police in the Albion Mall. According to an article in *Contrast* in April 1979, the Toronto city council passed a series of resolutions regarding the police, including a call for an unequivocal apology to the minority groups, an apology which they never made, Mr. Speaker.

From that point on, we had various groups appearing before the commission trying to get their point across and trying to make people on the commission aware of the extent of the problem.

In May 1979, Mr. Bill Elie was killed. He pulled a dummy gun, the members may remember, in a Scarborough shopping plaza and was shot to death by the police. I am not going to impugn the action of the police, but it is part of the scenario in which we find ourselves.

In May 1979 as well, Albert Johnson alleged that he was beaten by the police and was hospitalized.

In June 1979, there was the famous raid on what was termed a bawdy house or a gay place—I can't find a better description. The police seized mailing lists and questions arose concerning the right to privacy.

A Portuguese immigrant, Aquilio Torcata, was shot by the police in June 1979 after allegedly firing at them in a five-hour siege. I'm not trying to point a finger here, I'm just saying this is something that's accrued over the last number of months.

In June as well, various groups came before the police commission, talking about a series of entrapment allegations by the gay community.

In July 1979, Professor William Angus and others from Osgoode Law School wrote a letter to the Attorney General (Mr. McMurtry), asking for a royal commission to investigate what they called police killings of civilians as reported in the *Globe*. The same month, Alderman Howard Moscoe from North York brought forward his problems.

In July 1979, the police commission finally rejected the idea there was anything wrong in the *News and Views* article and was unwilling to make any concessions.

There are any number of these examples. I will skip over some from August, if I may, except to say that in that month, the Ontario Provincial Police were called in for the first time in history to investigate the shooting of Albert Johnson by Metro police. I believe the whole OPP investigation obfuscated natural justice. We should have seen a coroner's jury, an open public inquiry into that, not an OPP investigation, the results of which, Mr. Speaker, I believe we will never see. I see the minister is shaking his head—

Hon. Mr. McMurtry: You are certainly demonstrating an abysmal lack of understanding of how our justice system works when you talk like that.

Mr. R. F. Johnston: Mr. Speaker, not to involve myself in idle repartee—

8:10 p.m.

Hon. Mr. McMurtry: Does the member want to try these officers in this House tonight?

Mr. R. F. Johnston: Certainly not, Mr. Speaker, as I am addressing my comments to you, I am not trying to try anybody to-night. I am certainly not trying to try individual members of the force. I am suggesting a secret investigation is not the best way to deal with it. I would suggest it is systematic and symptomatic of the way the Attorney General has tried to defuse these various issues over the last number of years that he would take that approach.

Our whole establishment, and I would count ourselves as part of that establishment, is seen as suspect in this whole thing. The chairman of Metropolitan Toronto had stated in the same month of August 1979 that there is no excessive use of firearms by the police. A lot of people wait for an incident like this to take cheap shots at the police.

Those kinds of allegations, again, to which I am being subjected this evening, are not what I am trying to say and are not what people who are raising the issue are trying to say, albeit there might have been some people who were very hot-headed at the time. I am trying to be very calm about this and just indicate that the extent of this problem is very large indeed.

In September 1979 there was a march in support of Albert Johnson and to protest the shooting of Albert Johnson. Two thousand demonstrators surrounded 13 Division at that point.

It is interesting to note that the Jamaican High Commission wrote a letter to the external affairs committee about the Albert Johnson case. Reviews of that were not just

restricted to a few individuals inside Metro who could be seen to be hotheads or political opportunists, but included people from outside.

The New York Times, which very seldom spends any time at all talking about things Canadian, let alone things Torontonians, had an article printing a story about the conflict between Toronto's police and immigrant communities during that month, an indication that other people with a broader view were seeing this as a large and dangerous difficulty for us all.

In September 1979, Mr. McMurtry termed a call for police reform premature in an article in the *Globe and Mail*. But the pressure continued, and that month Cardinal Carter was appointed by the police commission to mediate. It was a very clever ploy, the cardinal being a man of high renown and respect throughout all communities. He brought forward a report to which I will refer in my speech. It raised and noted a number of the problems which many of us have been speaking about. It was a very thoughtful response and did not, surprisingly, make the problem go away, as I think a lot of our people thought it might do.

I could go on. I have several pages here of the kinds of things which have happened over the last year and a half. In fact, I have approximately eight more pages of incidents, to do with the whole escalation of the problem with policing in the city of Toronto, that have occurred in the last two years or a year and a half.

The problem is enormous. I look to the south and I see what has happened in Florida. I do not want to make any crass and very simplistic comparisons and say that is what we are going to have this summer. But I do believe there is a danger that this summer will be a very tough summer in Toronto, a very hard summer for a lot of us in terms of trying to defuse. We as legislators here in this House have a large responsibility in trying to come to grips with this in a way which is seen to be, as well as is, open, to look for solutions, and to respond to the communities that have been raising the largest concerns about the problem in Toronto.

I will just go back, if I can, to the whole way things have operated. I find it offensive that our police commission and the representatives on that commission have not opened themselves to representations from elected people and from others who came before them to try to raise concerns about comments by one of the commissioners. I

think that is symptomatic of the problem with that particular commission and why that commission needs to be overhauled as another major facet of what we should be looking at this spring. We should not be seeing a bill which was introduced tardily, in my view, last December, which is now being brought in late in this season, if I might be so bold as to say so, and which is of extreme importance but is not placed in the context of the larger needs in terms of reforming policing in the city of Toronto.

This commission, to which we would normally look for leadership on a local basis, has taken no initiative at all in terms of the problems that have been raised except to respond to pressure. It has shown no capacity at all to take the lead in the reformation of policing and how it operates with the public in general. I would look at recent resignations, people moving on and police chiefs being replaced early, as indications of succumbing to pressure and not so much a matter of any kind of planning.

I believe fervently we need a police commission that is able to legislate in a sense and to take leadership, that needs to be larger, needs to have better representation on it and certainly does not need to be appointed by this provincial Legislature but should be under local control and, therefore, more responsive to local elected politicians and groups within the local society. I would hope that a suggestion in that area would be forthcoming in the not-too-distant future from the minister's office.

In November, a number of colleagues of mine in the Legislature and a few other people involved in civil liberties' associations and various groups within Metropolitan Toronto met in a series of weeks and came up not with a bill which could then be dissected and attacked for small portions of it, but with a number of principles of police survey and review procedure. We presented that to the House in the form of a resolution under the names of the members for Scarborough-Ellesmere (Mr. Warner) and Dovercourt (Mr. Lupusella).

I would like to refer to a few of those items in those principles because it is on the principles that I wish to attack this bill and not on legal niceties, of which I am not so well versed as others in this House with legal training. To start off with, there were two things in terms of standards of conduct and the rights of police officers to which I would like to refer.

The first recommendation we made was that a police officer shall exercise his author-

ity as a police officer in a manner that respects the rights, liberties, inherent dignity and reputation of every citizen consistent with a diligent performance of his duty. I believe that concept is enshrined in the new bill. We stressed that the rights of police officers have to be protected as well and that it is the right of every police officer that his reputation and career be unaffected by frivolous, vexatious or unjustified complaints and that he not be placed in double jeopardy.

I would refer to Cardinal Carter's report in that instance in which he spoke about the rights and protection of police officers. He said on page 25 of his report: "We heartily endorse what has already been said a number of times about the rights and the protection of police officers in the pursuit of their work. The Maloney report is quite strong in this regard, as was the statement by the jury in the coroner's inquest into the Evans death. Police officers are citizens also and should not be any less respected in terms of civil law than the citizens whom they are protecting."

I believe that any bill coming forward with a civilian complaints procedure must protect those basic rights. I would think, in general, this bill does that. It is not one of the major complaints which I have with it.

We did state that the appointment of the tribunal, the political control of the tribunal and the procedure must be in the hands of the Metropolitan Toronto council and cannot rest in any way with this House or with the ministries of the crown in this area. That principle has not been accepted within the terms of the bill before us tonight.

8:20 p.m.

The rules of natural justice need to apply. We listed them all, but the bill does not do so. I am not knowledgeable enough in terms of legalese to know which of these should or should not be included, but I am sure some of my colleagues will speak to that. There was one item to which we spoke which I think is crucial. The hearings must be impartial in the sense that the tribunal must not have, or must be seen not to have, any preconceived notion of the merits or the demerits of the complaints or the complainants or the police officers.

I regret to say I do not believe this bill meets that basic principle because the initial overseeing or decisions about a complainant are made by a police officer and not by an independent individual. I would say this not only would deter individuals from launching their complaint, as I am sure others have

said, but it would also militate against its being an unbiased kind of approach later on if it was to be proceeded with against the will of that particular officer involved.

It is interesting that Cardinal Carter suggested the commissioner should have a status similar to that of a judge, but that he not be a police officer and that he have tenure. I think this is an interesting concept by Cardinal Carter.

One of the other clear things we spoke about was on the standard of proof. I find that this bill does not meet that standard of proof criteria we set down. We indicated that we felt the tribunal should make its findings on the preponderance of probability and may, in so doing, take into account similar conduct on other occasions. Instead, what we have before us is a burden of proof, which is what one would find in terms of court proceedings and of the need to establish beyond a reasonable doubt. That is something which I believe in this kind of procedure is not very practicable.

We have the registrar appointed by the metropolitan council and not by the province. I believe that is vital. The other thing we indicated is that there should be a report by the tribunal on an annual basis. There are several things I would like to suggest we need to look at in terms of the bill. I would hope it goes out to committee so we can have groups speak to this bill as to the detail of it in a number of areas which I think are vital.

I believe the bill should and must be amended to indicate that the entire board be appointed by the metropolitan council and that there be full publication of all decisions with reasons for these decisions when they are made. I think we need to make sure the police role is clarified by establishing procedures to ensure the police pass on complaints and refer complainants to the board. I think the informal mediation that is done must be done by the board or representatives of the board and not by the police.

Another fundamental point I alluded to earlier is there should be a consistent disciplinary process. That is to say the citizens' review process and the Police Act offences must have the same kind of disciplinary action involved with it. I think we have to establish that we wish to entrench in this bill the rights of police officers to fair consideration.

I'm not exactly pleased with subsection 14 as it applies to the establishment of an independent investigation machinery as a board and I would hope that we can make some amendment in that area. We need to

put in a requirement, as a minimum, to publicize recommendations of change in police practice or procedure resulting from investigation, some sort of mandatory report to Metro council as well as to the Solicitor General of the province.

It is important to provide for legal costs to be defrayed. This scheme is experimental and we don't know exactly where it is going. In the long run I would also suggest that perhaps we have to look at the possibility of having the Ombudsman's office as a last line of complaint by individuals who are not satisfied with the system through which they go.

Mr. Speaker, I believe that unless we have a system that is not seen to be police-controlled and therefore does not have an initial police-controlling mechanism of a person who makes the decision as to what is an acceptable or unacceptable ruling, and unless we have open hearings in which all complaints are published, unless we have an appointed tribunal which is seen to be above political appointment and does not seem to be just an extension of political favours, we will gain nothing through this procedure.

I believe it is absolutely crucial that the principles to which I alluded initially be incorporated into any bill that comes out of this House. Too many of them are not incorporated in this bill as it exists before us. It may seem to be acceptable to members here with small revision but I believe it will be seen to be a sellout by people in the community. It will be seen to be only a half-hearted effort. With the listing of the things that are in the history of the problem in Toronto that I started off with, I don't believe a half-hearted approach to this problem will solve anything.

There have been tragedies in this city which should never have come about, which have come about and which I believe will continue to come about. Some of those we could never stop no matter what kind of system we were to put forward. But I rue the day—and we have arrived at that day—when people do not feel that there is justice, that their complaints will be heard, that they will find in a policeman a representative of their community, someone in whom they can confide and to whom they can go in terms of community policing, in terms of being part of their community. Until we get to that day we are going to see an escalation of our difficulties in Toronto. They are not going to go away.

I believe we need a civilian review board that has more guts to it than this does, one that is seen to be more obviously open, can-

not be seen to be a neat mechanism for protecting the establishment and the majority white English-speaking population of Metropolitan Toronto as we have known it. We need to do much more than this. This bill is one small part of what we need to do.

I regret that I stand to oppose it at this time. I hope that this being a minority government, this being a fairly open government that we have had these last four or five years, we will be able to take this bill and turn it into something which can speak to justice, which can speak to the communities in Toronto to let them know that we are not just accepting a status quo that is totally unacceptable. It should be much as we came to in our debate on Confederation—an understanding that Ontario can no longer be the fat cat, can no longer accept the status quo and only take from Confederation.

We must also accept that the police structure as we have set it up in Toronto is no longer acceptable. It needs massive revision. It needs an open-hearted look at it. It does not need to be diffused and spread about in various kinds of components, in bringing forward a civilian review board proposal when it is too late to debate it in December, and then having the Solicitor General bring it back late in the session like this so that people like myself who oppose it will no doubt be accused of not wanting reform and expecting too much. The bill is not dealing at all with the police commission and not dealing at all with providing the tools with which to make it a responsive committee-based organism for dealing with communities.

8:30 p.m.

Just to complete, because I am conscious of the fact I am now repeating myself, it is crucial that this House amend this bill and that it turn it into a very different kind of bill from that which has been presented to us. If we do so, we may do something to switch the trend and to stop the flood of negative feelings towards individual officers, which is happening, towards the kind of exchange that occurred between myself and the Attorney General when I was trying to go through the history of how I see Toronto at the moment in the light of this issue. We must seem to be meaningfully trying to change things for the betterment of this city.

Mr. Mancini: Mr. Speaker, as most of us are aware, this legislation leads one to much emotion because we are talking about one's rights and one's privileges in a free society. This debate leads to much emotion because we are dealing also with the authoritative body in our society that ensures there is

peace and order, and that ensures private citizens' public institutions will be protected from the criminal element which may be in our society. Having said that, we must ensure also that the people to whom we entrust this tremendous responsibility in no way abuse or seem to abuse these most-trusted responsibilities and authority which have been granted.

The face of Ontario and Metropolitan Toronto has changed a great deal over the past 10 to 15 years. We have had many new immigrants come to this country. Many of them have come from countries where the privileges, rights and freedoms we enjoy here are not enjoyed there. Many of them have a deep-seated fear of any police department, not because of experiences that they have had here, but because of experiences they have had in their home countries. We must be sure that for new Canadians who have this fear that fear is put to rest.

Secondly, and just as important, we must ensure that the freedoms and rights we have fought during the last 1,000 years for society to obtain are in no way infringed upon. If that takes a police complaints bill so that a public complaints commission is set up, then I don't think that is asking the government of Ontario to do very much.

We feel very strongly about this particular piece of legislation. We welcome it. We feel there are some changes that are going to be made. That is going to be outlined, I believe, by the party critic further on in the debate. But I would like to say several things in reference to the bill.

First of all, may I say that basically the complaints procedure seems to me to be fair and straightforward. A person having a complaint against a particular action taken by a member of a police department has the right under this bill to make a complaint at that bureau. Then, as it states in the legislation, the copies of the complaints go to the commissioner and to the police officers involved if it is felt that will not hamper the investigation. The matter is dealt with as quickly as possible, one would hope within the 30-day limit as stated in the bill, or on a monthly basis until the investigation is completed.

But the thing I like best about this process is that it summarizes all the facts for the bureau chief to make a final decision as to what should be done in this particular case, if anything at all. It outlines that the chief of police who reviews the summary may: order a further investigation; cause a criminal charge to be laid; refer the matter to the board for a hearing; initiate disciplinary hearings under the Police Act; counsel or

caution the police officer, or take no further action. Having said all that, in order for the bill to be fair, the police officer involved has an opportunity to appeal the decision before the board if he feels the matter is unfair.

At the outset it is important to determine what interest is sought to be protected by this piece of legislation. It seems to me that the purpose of a civilian complaint procedure is to ensure that citizens have a body that is responsive to their complaints. The end rationale is a process that can inspire continued respect for the police force here in Metro. As has been stated before, and I want to reiterate this one more time, justice must be seen to be done. It is not good enough in today's society for justice to be done. The public at large, the people whom the police force has been set up to protect, have to feel that in no way have any of the rights and privileges they have been granted through law been infringed upon or encroached upon.

This past weekend we have seen the unfortunate incidents of violence and rioting that have taken place in our neighbour country to the south of us, down in Miami. I can say to you honestly, Mr. Speaker, that has been the match that lit the fuse, when a major portion of the population in Miami felt that justice was not being done. Justice may have been done, but it was not seen to have been done and, therefore, we see how people battle back as fiercely as they can in order to protect the rights and privileges, as I have mentioned earlier, that have taken mankind over 1,000 years to establish in law.

In closing, I would like to say that we in no way want to intimidate the police force from doing what they believe is their responsibility. We in no way want them to feel we are going to second guess every action they have taken, or want to, for no good reason, and point the finger at a police officer who may have made a misjudgement call. The essence of the bill is to ensure that all society is protected, including the police force. If we can bring to the public forum some incidents where some police officers have not acted properly, and if those situations can be dealt with fairly, openly and honestly, then the whole police force itself is much stronger and much better for it.

8:40 p.m.

I certainly hope the police departments do not feel we are unnecessarily proposing legislation which is a tool whereby we can have a scapegoat. Certainly in my personal view this is not what the legislation is for.

It is to protect society as a whole and as our society evolves further, we may need further legislation. As our society changes, we may need to take further action which gives people a feeling of security and comfort and one where they feel all are treated equally.

In my riding we have many new Canadians. I am reminded of a story of a friend of mine who has come to Canada from Mexico. He informed me that when he was there, many of his relatives and friends and even he himself walked by the police station in some trepidation. He said that just about all the village's activities were centred on the police station. Actually the citizens in that area had to be as aware of the police as they were of the criminal element and in some cases they had fear of the police.

That is a sad note and that is something we do not want to have developed in this country. We in no way want to have the citizenry of this country feel in any circumstance that the police officers and the police department are there for reasons other than to protect the whole of society from the criminal element.

So I'll close on that note. I am sure the bill will go through the House. Some changes are going to be made and they will be proposed later on by the Liberal critic. Thank you.

Mr. Breagh: Mr. Speaker, I want to speak to this bill in its basic principles and I want to begin by saying that unfortunately I oppose the principles that are here in this bill. We will, as others have said, vote against the bill on second reading.

I do want to spend some time on the subject, not on the mechanics, of how one might set up, if one thought it was desirable, some procedures to examine complaints against police officers. I want to set all of that mechanical stuff to one side and attempt to deal with central issues which, it strikes me, escape this bill in some way. I find that unfortunate.

There was a day in this province when people in their own neighbourhood knew the person who wore the uniform. They met that person in social situations. They would not for a moment hesitate to stop and have a chat with that person. That individual gave them some guidance about a great many things. In small towns like the one I was born and raised in, a police officer was much more than someone who wore a uniform and drove a car that had a siren in it and some lights on the top. A police officer played a role in that community.

I view it as an extremely unfortunate set of circumstances that leads us to put before this Legislature this kind of bill. I understand that this society in which we live today is much different from the one in which I grew up. I understand that all of the tension and pressures that are at work in a busy city such as Metropolitan Toronto are not always easy to cope with. I understand that.

We have made some attempt to train our police officers in different ways and we now have set up particular kinds of bureaus to deal with problems of this nature. We have at least begun, after a good deal of fuss and furor, to waive some requirements for police departments so that other groups, particularly those who might not be quite as tall as the norm for police officers these days, could participate. We have seen that women could participate as police officers in other than just desk jobs. We have made some steps in that regard.

If one looks at this central issue and the reason this bill is before the Legislature this evening, we can't be faulted for not having taken the time to write up reports on the problem. We have done that consistently. We can't be faulted for not examining other jurisdictions. We have done that. We cannot fault the media for not paying attention to the problem because that certainly has been done. The tragedy is, we feel a piece of legislation like this will solve the problem now. I don't think it will.

If we look at the name of the bill before us, we stumble on part of the problem. If it is a bill to deal with complaints against police officers, and it surely is, I don't feel that is the problem. I have no problem complaining about anybody. The problem really is, does an individual out there feel that police officer represents him or her, and fairly? Does the police officer feel threatened in any way by the levelling of complaints? Is there a fair and reasonable process at work? I don't think there is, from anybody's point of view.

Mr. Speaker, when I came to this place, one of my first little assignments was as critic for the Solicitor General's department. That was in 1975. Through that initial period, when I was just feeling my way around the Legislature, it was apparent to me there were problems of a long-festering nature in police forces across the province. This bill, five years later, addresses itself to one part of the problem, Metropolitan Toronto, surely an important part and surely, in terms of police work, a major part, but it took five years to get it to this point.

It has taken much longer than that to deal with the aspect of whether citizens out there, in a practical way, can voice an opinion about the work of a police officer, and can do so without threatening the police officer severely. In my work as critic of the Solicitor General a few years ago, it became apparent to me one major problem is that a police officer didn't feel he got a fair day in court, that rules and regulations set down by the police departments and police commissions around the province didn't give even a police officer the feeling of a fair hearing.

When one stacks the deck and makes the problem even worse by saying the police should investigate the police, the ordinary citizen says, "I don't stand a chance in this." Some suggest the judicial system ought to be the recourse but I don't think that's a workable mechanism for the average citizen. It obviously involves considerable cost and it involves the laying of charges, which is not always easy.

If one looks not too far from this jurisdiction to the United States, one can see that our judicial system is often viewed as a last resort by the population at large. The last thing we do is go to court. If that court system fails in any way, the results damage more than just the individual; they damage society. And that's what's wrong with the principle in this bill — it doesn't address itself to the problems of society.

I suppose one could prepare the world's easiest, fastest mechanism for dealing with complaints against police officers. In my view, very little of that society's problems would have been solved. This bill isn't going to do very much for those people who are threatened in our society, who feel our police officers and our courts don't give them a fair shake. We are caught in that old Ontario conundrum: The way to play the game in this province is to do nothing, or if you are pushed a little bit, Mr. Speaker, get a distinguished citizen to write a report; if that doesn't work, get another one to write a report; if that doesn't work, have a committee write a report.

In the end, the problem itself is often forgotten by the time someone gets around to writing legislation. There seems almost a natural reluctance on the part of the government to deal with the problem as it is until they really have to; in other words, they take what might be seen initially as a real problem in our society, let it fester, let it grow, study it, make recommendations on it and ignore all the recommendations that come out of those studies. They do not want

to have an open and public discussion of what the problem might be and eventually they will get pushed and shoved into some kind of legislation such as this.

8:50 p.m.

My problem with this bill is that it is not, in my view, the best practical solution. More important, the bill itself does not shed any real light on what the problem is.

In any community in Ontario, especially in Metropolitan Toronto, are we seriously expecting that someone who doesn't normally feel comfortable with the system would feel like picking up the telephone tomorrow morning to a good lawyer friend of his and rushing off to court? I think the bill doesn't solve that initial problem.

There is something else which is unstated in the principles of this bill. It is my feeling, which is shared by some others, that there is an air of delusion about this province which is just unreal any more. If I might use a little parallel here, I think that in matters dealing with the reforms to the constitution, this province decided that wasn't going to be a problem and it wasn't going to pay any attention to it until a dramatic event took place.

I think the same principle is at work here, namely, that if one decides not to pay any attention to a serious problem, it will somehow go away and won't be there any more. I don't think that is true. A number of members have alluded to what might happen this summer in Toronto.

I am not sure that is a useful exercise for us to draw on, but I do think it is important to note that two weeks ago if one had suggested there would be in the United States the kind of race riot there was in the late 1960s and early 1970s, people would say, "No, that's old hat. That hasn't happened any more." There have been a great many rights won by the black people in the United States. They are integrated now. They play a role in every aspect of society. One would have accepted that kind of delusory concept that one could never have that event transpire which shook the world less than 10 years ago.

Unfortunately, I am one of those who believes that can happen in this province. Part of it has to do with one's feeling of identity of who he is, what his origins are, what his race is, what his culture is, whom he associates with, and whether he can live what he considers to be a normal life in this kind of a society. Does he feel threatened by police officers or doesn't he? Does he feel the judicial system is there to work so that

he gets a fair shake or is it there to work against him?

I would point out, at least in my opinion, there are more and more people every day who feel those two things are major problems and that the law officers we put on the street are not essentially there in a comfortable way with the population which they serve. I think that is a major problem for everyone, not just for the citizen who might feel threatened, but even more so for the police officer who has to try to work in that kind of a climate.

I think the same holds true for the judicial system. However well it might work for many people, we also have to admit that for many others it does not work well. I think that comes around to how big the problem is and the size of it. In my judgement, a bill devoted to this kind of a principle of establishing a complaints system is hardly even going to be noticed because of the size of the problem. We are going to pay the price now for pretending there isn't a problem. We are going to pay the price now for the kind of delays that have accrued for whatever reason in attempting to deal with this.

I am not suggesting there will be an easy mechanism at work here, but I am saying that reluctance to deal with the problem is going to compound the problem and make it larger instead of smaller. If one has expectations that this bill in whatever form is going to attack those problems, I don't think it will because it doesn't know what to attack.

We have talked at great length on a number of occasions here about police training. There is in some way a belief, which I partially share, that if one could only train police officers in certain kinds of community relations work, that would resolve the problem. I think that attempt must be made, but I am not sure I have sufficient faith in anybody's educational procedures these days to say that we can do that.

We live in a world today which is different in many respects and uncomfortable for more and more people. If one has been following the media coverage in Metropolitan Toronto over the last few days, one would see this kind of violence erupting here in good old staid Toronto where everybody is safe to walk the streets at night. That violence is here and is now occurring. It is not occurring in large measure, but with enough consistency that one could say some of our funny notions about how safe our streets are, how our citizens view our police officers, how our police officers view them and whether the whole judicial system here works as well as we would like it to are not correct any more.

Part of my objection to the principles that are put in this bill is that they do not look at the problems. We are basically looking at this. If we felt that a bill like this could go into those problems, if it could solve things like unemployment and poor housing, whether it is going to be hot in Toronto this summer or whether people have real or unreal fears and apprehensions about the police system and the judicial system, we might be getting somewhere. I do not feel this bill does that at all. In my view, it is not even intended to try to do that.

Those are the major problems we have. The first major thing we would have with any kind of complaints procedure—and I find it ironic that that is what we are dealing with—is the complaints procedure itself. It is not to right the wrongs of our society, it is the vehicle to vent complaints.

That may be a clear indication of how far we have come. There is a much longer way to go in the entire process of dealing with it. When we get ourselves to the point where our police officers, the men and women who do the job that most of us do not want to do, feel comfortable and secure in the neighbourhoods they are supposed to service, that will be a step. When those neighbourhoods feel those human beings can relate to them, can understand them, their language and their culture and can deal with them effectively, then we will have gone another measure.

I do not think anyone is purporting to say that people can start up a warm and loving relationship with a police cruiser. They cannot do that. When most of our citizens see a police officer, it is a threatening situation, threatening for the citizen and threatening for the police officer as well.

Among those police officers I count as my friends, the worst kind of a call is what is known in the trade as the domestic situation. When they arrive, they really have no concept of who they are dealing with, what the problem will be like, or what language will be spoken. They have not much knowledge of what the situation really is. That always becomes a threatening situation for the police officer.

That, in part, speaks to the major problem of how our society runs itself, how it governs itself and how it polices itself. I am afraid this bill looks worse and worse in my eyes the more I look at the size of the problem.

I do not think any of us is predicting there are going to be race riots here in Metropolitan Toronto this summer, but I do think the problem is getting near that in propor-

tion. Because of the sensitivity and the feelings on both sides, it has that potential. I wish I could believe this government was aware of the scope of the problem, because I do not think it is, and was prepared to move in substantive ways to correct the real base of the problem, or even that in setting up the procedure outlined in this bill it had a firm grasp of where it is going.

I am uncomfortable with the notion that it will be tried here in Metropolitan Toronto so that we will be one model for dealing with this kind of complaint. It does not apply across Ontario, and other alternatives are not in place. If we are unsure of the mechanisms, we must try several different ones, try to adjust to neighbourhood communities and attempt to identify who needs some assistance and who feels the system is not working for him.

What we have in this bill is an attempt to do something, but no one seems quite sure what. It surely does not address itself to the problem. It surely does not reflect, at least in my view, the kind of reports that have been tabled on this and other related matters by some very distinguished citizens of this province.

I do not feel this bill is going to pacify anybody, if that is its intention. It does not reflect the concern of a number of communities within Metropolitan Toronto, nor does it reflect the needs of a number of people who live in this city.

In other words, I am afraid that when we have a response finally from the government—the finally is important because it has taken so long for this government to respond in any way to the problem—unfortunately the response comes in a form which I think is going to be disliked by the citizens at large. It is also going to be disliked by those people who wear the uniforms in this community, those men and women who are police officers. I do not think they are going to be happy with it either. I am not sure that very many people are going to be happy with it.

One could only accept this bill if he accepted that old Tory proverb that the government doesn't really do something unless it has studied it to death. Even when the government does something, what is important is that it takes some action, but the action itself is not too important.

9 p.m.

Hon. Mr. McMurtry: Spend a little time finding out what is going on in the community here.

Mr. Breaugh: I was going to wrap up on those remarks but the Solicitor General has

just provoked me a little. I want to look around the benches here in Queen's Park this evening where we are debating this legislation. I see the distinct absence of Tory members in here. I recall that when we began the debate this evening there was one little soul over on those Tory benches, and only because he had to be here. That was the Solicitor General. The rest of them were off somewhere else. That is all very nice.

"Spend a little time in the community," says the good, old pompous and pious Attorney General cum Solicitor General. Tell the rest of the world what we have to do. Tell the remainder of our community that only the Solicitor General knows what is right and what is wrong about it. There is nothing like a little piety, is there? It is precisely that kind of piety that has got him into this mess. I suggest that kind of piety won't get him out of it either.

Hon. Mr. McMurtry: You simpletons over there would create a situation—

Mr. Deputy Speaker: Order.

Mr. Breaugh: Mr. Speaker, I think we have just heard the ultimate. I want to make sure that Hansard gets that.

Interjections.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: Order.

Mr. Breaugh: Let Hansard show that our distinguished Attorney General cum Solicitor General thinks that the other members of this House are simpletons.

Hon. Mr. McMurtry: On this issue you people are.

Mr. Ashe: You are.

Mr. Breaugh: That is his language. I think that speaks to the heart of the problem. That fine-looking gentleman in the big blue suit over there knows all of the answers and the rest of us are simpletons who do not deal with human beings, who do not know the community as he does, who do not have a right to speak in this House as he does. We do not fit. I think that is his problem in a nutshell. That is why this bill and the principles that are in this bill will not work, whatever the Attorney General or the Solicitor General, or whatever simplistic person that might occupy that seat tonight thinks.

Mr. Warner: Mr. Speaker, we will soon find out whether the Solicitor General's remarks are accurate or not.

Hon. Mr. McMurtry: You don't provoke me.

Mr. Warner: Okay. Just sit back, listen and find out.

Mr. Ashe: Another simplistic solution.

Mr. Warner: We have awakened the member for Durham West. How about that? That in itself is an accomplishment.

Mr. Ashe: Don't bet on it.

Mr. Warner: It doesn't happen that often. We certainly are glad they wheeled him in this evening. I would like to start with a little quotation which the Solicitor General may recall.

Hon. Mr. McMurtry: I hope it is not a provocative quotation.

Mr. Warner: The member for Lakeshore (Mr. Lawlor), is passing the quotation realm on to me.

"It is difficult to reconcile an effective system of police with that perfect freedom of action and exemption from interference which are the great privileges and blessings of society in this country. The forfeiture or curtailment of such advantages would be too great a sacrifice."

That quotation was given by a parliamentary committee to Sir Robert Peel in 1822 when a parliamentary committee of Great Britain rejected his advice to set up a London police force. I think what it illustrates is that even in England, which many of us have always held to be a place that has had a tremendous respect for law and order over the centuries, there was a rejection at the outset of the concept of having a police force and that was incompatible in some way with our notions of freedom and individual rights.

Obviously, from that date we have decided that by necessity we must have a police force. We live with the contradiction of wanting to maintain law and order on the one hand while on the other wanting to retain some of our individual freedoms and rights of expression. We abhor the criminal element in our society and we want police forces to be able to do something about that. What bothers me is that through the process of developing a police force and particularly bringing it to bear in an urban society like Metro Toronto, a very large and complex urban society, we have in one way or another separated the police from the community.

This was not done consciously, it was not something someone set out to do and it was not something the police wanted to have happen, as the Solicitor General very well knows, as he has a lot of friends who are policemen. That is no secret. It is something he should be proud of and something we are all proud of. I have many friends who are policemen as well and I do not envy their job.

When my good colleague from Oshawa spoke about police officers having to respond to domestic calls, there is no question about what happens.

Mr. Ashe: The Solicitor General didn't even wait to listen to you. He left.

Mr. Warner: The honourable member set a record tonight. He has been away for six minutes. I can't believe it, but I applaud him. I am sure his colleagues are happy to have him conscious for that long. He is out there having a coffee and listening to my remarks.

Mr. Ashe: Not likely.

Mr. Warner: At least a hundred of them are gathered out there in the lobby listening, I am sure.

Mr. Lawlor: I am going out to the lobby but I will be right back.

Mr. Warner: I am driving them all out.

When the police officer is required to respond to a domestic call, he or she knows right away before arriving at the scene—

Mr. Kerrio: Carry on.

Mr. Warner: I will.

Mr. Acting Speaker: The member for Scarborough-Ellesmere does have the floor.

Mr. Warner: That is right. I can understand that the member for Niagara Falls would not have any particular interest in this bill but I do. This bill happens to be very close to me for a number of reasons which I will get to. I have a very personal involvement in this legislation. As you know, Mr. Speaker, there is a bill on the Order Paper which stands in my name. I am proud of that contribution, whether the bill will be accepted or not.

I also know from personal experiences that when the police officer has to respond to a domestic call a certain tremor goes through the officer. It is not like an armed robbery or the type of clearly defined criminal activity where we know who are the good guys and who are the bad guys. Often what happens is that when the officer shows up the complainant turns on the officer. The person who called the police in the first place, perhaps because she was being beaten, often stands to the aid of the man who is beating her when the police officer arrives.

The police officer is placed in the invidious position of being on someone else's private property trying to maintain peace and order, separate two people and against her will protect the woman who is being beaten. She doesn't want that protection. The officer finds it very difficult to carry out

his responsibilities and at the same time protect the individual which is something he is supposed to do. As the Solicitor General certainly is aware, we have moved through the years from a situation where we simply required somebody with brawn to a situation where we need someone with some brains, to put it very simply. We have gone beyond the stage of simply requiring a police officer—

9:10 p.m.

Mr. Kerrio: That is not going to look good.

Mr. Warner: The member for Niagara Falls doesn't have to remain here. He has nothing to contribute to the debate as usual. He can go off to the bar for a while. I would be most pleased to see him leave.

Mr. Kerrio: I contributed as much as you did in 30 seconds.

Mr. Warner: I happen to want to contribute to the debate and if he doesn't want to, he can leave. It is as simple as that.

Mr. Kerrio: Get on with it.

Mr. Warner: Why doesn't he try to be quiet for a change?

Mr. Kerrio: No way. Haven't you got anything to say?

Mr. Warner: I will ignore the rude interjections from the member for Niagara Falls considering the source.

Mr. Kerrio: It is easy with you Socialists.

Mr. Warner: We have moved from a time when we required police officers to break up brawls in the local pub to a time when we are dealing with sophisticated criminals and with a complex society, particularly in Metro Toronto.

Now I will touch on another subject of which the Solicitor General has a very good understanding and, I think, a fairly sensitive understanding—our multi-cultural society in Metro Toronto. Metro Toronto is a very unusual community, not just in Ontario or Canada but in the world. The Solicitor General has travelled quite a bit. If he stops to think about it for a minute, he'll admit there are very few cities in the world with two million people in which at least 50 identifiable racial groups in large numbers are living in relatively close harmony. That is a unique situation in the world.

Hon. Mr. McMurtry: Maybe the most cosmopolitan city in the world.

Mr. Warner: Yes, I would agree. I think it probably is the most cosmopolitan city in the world, certainly one of the most. It seems to me that in itself says there has to

be a very special approach to policing. It means we should not leave the decision about the kind of policies we are going to develop to meet the needs of a uniquely cosmopolitan city like Metro Toronto in the hands of the police officer. That is not fair to the police officer, to begin with. It really isn't. Those policies should be developed by other people.

We have relied on the police commissioners. Quite frankly, we have been proved wrong. We have misplaced our faith because those police commissioners haven't done a very good job. I think even the Solicitor General would admit that. In my view, they don't understand the community and they haven't become intricately involved in it. I don't think those police commissioners really understand Toronto. I don't think they have taken clear-cut stands on the policies to be developed and then implemented by the police force.

The former Premier of this province, Mr. Robarts, among other people, clearly identified that when in the report of the Royal Commission on Metropolitan Toronto he said: "The commission finds itself in agreement with the general philosophy of the police function expounded by both the inquiries mentioned above"—the Task Force on Policing in Ontario and the Morand Royal Commission into Metropolitan Toronto Police Practices—"a philosophy well described in the report of the Royal Commission into Metropolitan Toronto Police Practices" which said:

"Policing is too important to be left to the police, too important even to be left to the police schools. This does not mean it is not a special art and that it does not require special skills or that there is an unnecessary elitism involved in restricting the policing of the community to a qualified class. What it does mean is that all of us—police and non-police alike—have a continuing interest in the quality and effectiveness of our police system, particularly because our form of political organization, through which we give expression and force to our law, is based on public participation in political and social processes, on freedom to debate public issues, freedom to examine and evaluate public institutions, including the policing of the community."

Mr. Robarts, in my view, clearly understood the situation of policing in Metro Toronto.

It goes on to say: "The current organization of the police function is inconsistent with the principle of fiscal accountability,

which holds that the spender of public funds should be responsible for raising them. More than 25 per cent of the Metro budget (excluding education) currently goes to policing, and of this more than 80 per cent is raised through the local property tax."

What he ends up driving at is that the police should be directly responsible to Metro Toronto. Recommendation 15.1 says: "Subject to provincial standards and regulation, and accompanied by a general power to delegate, the metropolitan council be given the responsibility for policing in Metropolitan Toronto."

I think as we examine this bill we will find that the principles of the bill are inconsistent with the recommendation put forward by Mr. Roberts. The ultimate authority still rests with the appointments of the Lieutenant Governor in Council. I think that is a very important principle that Mr. Roberts established and one that should be followed through, although it isn't.

He makes another interesting observation that the basic organization of the Metropolitan Toronto Police has not changed fundamentally since 1957 even though it has grown to a strength of some 4,640 men and women, 3,760 of whom are constables. The report was in 1976, so the force has likely grown a bit from then. None the less, to think that it hasn't changed fundamentally since 1957 may account for some of the problems we are having. I underline again that the problems are not essentially with the men and women on the force but with the lack of direction they have had from the people at the top, the commissioners.

Policing is different from other safety services examined in this report in that the Metropolitan Toronto police force does not report to an elected council. That obviously is a flaw and one that should be rectified.

Roberts addresses another major area of concern, and I think rightly. At the time of the Goldenberg Royal Commission on Metropolitan Toronto in 1965, the only concern articulated about the police force—and this was not a major one—was that the force was too centralized. "It was clear in 1965 and it is still clear 10 years later that unification of the police forces has improved the capacity of the police to deal with traffic problems and area-wide criminal activities."

Nevertheless, concern has often been expressed by members of Metro council, particularly the late Metro Chairman Albert Campbell, that a unified police force has reduced the contact between the force and the citizenry.

This is in keeping with some remarks I saw in the paper attributed to the Solicitor General. The Solicitor General thought it would be appropriate for there to be more officers on foot and fewer in cars. I just saw that in the newspaper; I take it that was an accurate remark. I would agree completely. It is a fairly simple thing to do in the core of Toronto, perhaps even in the area where the Solicitor General resides. But it is a little difficult in my riding and the suburbs in general, because of the nature of the beast.

9:20 p.m.

We don't have the same population density. Other than high-rise apartments, the residential area, single-family dwellings, are spread out. There is no row housing, there are no 25-foot frontages. There are 40-foot and 50-foot frontages. It is spread out. If we want to put a police force on foot out in Scarborough we had better hire twice as many people as we have now, because I do not know how on earth they could handle the situation. That must be the toughest part the police force has to deal with.

I can tell the members a personal anecdote. I recall several years ago, in 1968, we returned home about 1 a.m. or 2 a.m. to discover that our house had been broken into. The people who did it were still there. They were in the back part of the house. Our house had a vacant lot behind and beside it.

I phoned the police and within less than two minutes there was a police car at the front of my house. The police officer was by himself—a good argument for two-man cruisers. He was all by himself, so he went in one door and I was at the other. Those guys got out the back window and into their car, and the policeman tried to chase them, but they got away.

About six or seven weeks later they caught the people and we got all our goodies back. The people went to court and were found guilty. The police in Scarborough were able to respond because of the car network they have, which is great. They did a first-rate job, in my opinion.

When the police officer was there, I made a cup of tea for him and we sat down and chatted. I had a tremendous respect for that policeman, for what he was trying to do and his attitude. He calmed down my wife and relatives, which was great. We have traded that off and lost something in that communication. We can get the police there by telephone because of their great car system, but there is no police officer on the street in Scar-

borough, and that is where we lose something.

I honestly do not know how we overcome that, yet I know from my own experience in the job I have, and the Solicitor General knows from the job he has, that personal contact is essential. It is essential to good police work, it is essential to good social work and to solving problems. It has left us. We cannot retrieve that any more in the suburbs. Maybe we can in downtown Toronto because of the nature of the city, the way it is laid out, but we have lost it in Scarborough.

Yet I can tell the Solicitor General that in Scarborough, believe it or not, we have the makings of some very serious problems in parts of our community, because the nature of Scarborough is changing. It was primarily an Anglo-Saxon enclave, middle class, upwardly mobile and so on. We have had a great influx of working people and people who are not Anglo-Saxon. We have a mixture of people from many countries, and our school system was not ready for them coming into the community. All the agencies and the community itself was not ready, and we have the potential for some real problems.

I would not pretend for a moment that the police can solve our problems. They could be a big help to us, but I do not know how they are going to do it, I really don't because it seems to me that, first of all, among other things, there isn't the priority for community relations officers within the police force itself, and those are the people we need.

I remember working with a chap who is a sergeant of detectives now, I think. His name is Don Taylor, and he's a super guy. He was a community relations officer. He worked with young people who were in trouble or might be in trouble with the law. That guy worked miracles. At the time, I was with Agincourt Community Services. Don Taylor used to come in and relate to us the problems that some of these kids had. Then we would see if they needed some other help—a social worker, the children's aid society or somebody else. He was a super guy.

However, I got from him and from others the impression that this wasn't exactly the most flattering position to have within the police force. It wasn't looked upon as being something terrific. It wasn't a promotion in any sense of the word. I think there's even a problem within the police force about that kind of position. But beyond that, at the time—and maybe it was improved—we had a total of two community relations officers for the entire borough. From personal experience,

I can say that we had enough troubled youths and problems within our community to keep 10 community relations officers working full-time.

Those are the people who are on the front line, the people who are going to help to get our kids going in the right way and make sure we have a good, sound community. They should be supported, and we need the money to do it obviously, but we cannot expect a community relations officer to work in a vacuum, and I submit that's what he and his fellow officers have had to do because of the present commission.

Phil Givens may sound like a great guy on the radio to some people but, quite frankly, I think he is an absolute, unmitigated disaster as a police commissioner. I know the members opposite appreciated him taking on the job, but he's a disaster.

For example, just as a fairly simple thing, why was it not possible for the commission to take a look at what was going on in London, Ontario? Why was it not possible to take a look at the imaginative family crisis intervention unit that was working there? While London, Ontario, isn't Toronto, they are running a very successful program, and the chief of police there says: "It has helped our force. It has kept down the number of family dispute calls."

The police commissioners here in Toronto didn't even know the London program existed, let alone take a look at it. They have totally closed minds. The world begins and ends in Toronto. If we are not doing it in Toronto, I guess it is not good. That attitude is wrong, dead wrong; the members opposite know it, I know it, and I think we have to do something about it.

I want to touch on something which I think goes to the heart of this bill. I am going to read a quotation if I may be permitted:

"The secrecy of past internal investigations makes it practically impossible to put into perspective allegations of police misconduct and worse. The overwhelming majority of the officers in Metro police departments rarely, if ever, elicit serious complaints from citizens. Yet perceptions of racially and economically motivated police abuse are buttressed by the apparent unwillingness of those police departments to purge their ranks of officers who have shown a pattern of excessive violence.

"The atmosphere of secrecy surrounding the self-policing performance of police departments also increases the regrettable isolation of police officers from their fellow citizens. Only by proving to the public that

their own houses are in order can policemen build the public support they need and deserve in fighting the mounting wave of crime. Only in an atmosphere of openness can good constructive contact between police officers and other citizens bear fruit.

9:30 p.m.

"It is awfully difficult for the public to unite behind police officers when there are inadequate guarantees that citizens may see in the sunshine the results of what was done in the night. Even if justice be done in the case of Mr. McDuffie's death, that alone will not set aright what is wrong with police internal disciplinary procedures and police-community relations."

That article is not from a Toronto newspaper. It is from the Miami Herald, dated Friday, December 28, 1979. That city is being torn apart piece by piece because of Mr. McDuffie's death and partly because there was not an independent investigation.

The Solicitor General probably knows the Miami system better than I do or he may not. We will wait and find out. I understand Miami has a system for complaints and some public review of the situation. They have not until now had an independent investigation. That wasn't just one article. There was a series of articles over the policemen who apparently beat Mr. McDuffie to death. The public perception was that because there was not an independent inquiry into the facts surrounding that death there was a cover-up. That perception heightened the feelings in Miami. From that, an explosion of violence has torn that city apart. When one reads that article one can substitute the name Toronto.

Mr. Speaker: It really has nothing to do with the principle of this bill.

Mr. Warner: It sure does.

Mr. Speaker: It doesn't. I don't see anything about the United States, Florida or Miami in this bill.

Mr. Warner: Mr. Speaker, with great respect, the situation in Miami was triggered by the lack of—

Mr. Speaker: It has nothing at all to do with Miami. If you want to deal with Metropolitan Toronto, you have the floor. If you want to deal with another jurisdiction, I can call on another speaker.

Mr. Warner: Mr. Speaker, unlike you, I have read the bill. In the bill it calls for not having an independent review.

Mr. Speaker: Fine.

Mr. Warner: What I was attempting to describe was that when there isn't an in-

dependent review what one can end up with is what is going on in Miami today—racial violence, triggered partly because there was not an independent review of complaints against the police.

Hon. Mr. McMurtry: Those officers were charged with murder. There can't be any more independent way of dealing with it, regardless of what the member may think of the results.

Mr. Warner: This is where we are getting to a difference of opinion, because it is not the laying of the charge—that is part of it but that is not the whole story—it is the investigation of the complaint. That is what I submit the Solicitor General has missed. The complaint needs to be investigated, but the public also has to be assured that it can trust the investigation. I don't think one can do that by having the police investigate themselves. I think that is where the Solicitor General is wrong. I think that is where he has made a mistake in his bill. And that is the essence of the bill, Mr. Speaker.

The whole bill and the difference of opinion between this party and the government hinges on that investigation. The minister is content to have the police investigating themselves and we are not. What we have talked about is having a registrar of complaints who has the power to hire ex-policemen, to second an investigator from the provincial police, to bring in professional staff, perhaps a retired officer from Metro Toronto or wherever—ex-RCMP officers, professionals, people who are highly trained—

Mr. Ziemba: Not ex-RCMP letter openers.

Mr. Warner: Maybe they get tired of opening letters, I don't know.

But when professional people have been retained, we can assure the public that it will be separate, that they will not be beholden to the police force, that they don't have to be careful about what they say in order that they won't offend their colleagues and so on, that it gives the appearance as well as the fact of being independent. I submit that when this is done, not only do we establish a principle to which our citizens can relate, but we make the job easier for the police officer.

I don't know much about the Miami police force. I wonder how those fellow officers feel—the good ones—about an investigation that isn't independent. When the citizenry rises up because they are enraged about what happens—

Mr. Sterling: That's the result of the trial.

Mr. Warner: We don't know. Because when there isn't that totally independent investigation, maybe the terms of reference are a little too narrow.

Mr. Sterling: But the investigation led to the charge.

Mr. Warner: And perhaps not enough evidence? Because the investigation wasn't good enough to turn up the evidence required to make the convictions? Certainly the investigative reporting that was done—I have read all these articles—leaves no doubt as to what happened. Maybe there wasn't sufficient evidence for a good lawyer to get a conviction, I don't know.

But at least when there is that totally independent review, the public can't have any form of complaint about what happens. They feel, "Well, it's an open public review. They have done their best to protect the citizens." I think the police officers themselves would welcome that, because it doesn't taint them. Government members know as well as I do that the vast majority of the police officers in Metropolitan Toronto are officers of whom we can be proud. There are problems; of course, there are problems. I bet the Solicitor General can name a few problem lawyers. He's going to give me a list. I can think of a few problem teachers from when I was teaching. Every profession that is represented in this House can find a few of its kind of whom it is not proud.

Don't taint the whole force. At least give them the benefit of the doubt and some advantage by allowing an independent review that serves everyone. It serves the citizen, the politician and the policeman. I firmly believe that unless we can do this we may be in for a long, hot summer in Toronto—because the tensions are not lessening.

The Solicitor General knows of the unfortunate racial attack that occurred in Eto-bicoke and the responding attack, and some vandalism in the Sikh temple—the flag being stolen, a sacred symbol to the Sikhs—and their return visit and their pledge to offer physical assistance to anyone who requires it. The police are going to have their hands full and so are the rest of us. They need help, and I do not think we are helping them by continuing to have the police investigate themselves.

9:40 p.m.

I could not find anything, and we have had a lot of reports: the Task Force on Policing in Ontario; Metropolitan Toronto Review of Citizen-Police Complaint Procedure, by Mr. Arthur Maloney; Mr. Justice Morand's Royal Commission into Metropolitan Toronto

Police Practices; the Robarts Royal Commission on Metropolitan Toronto, and Mr. Walter Pitman's report, *Now Is Not Too Late*.

If there is a single thread that comes through those reports it is that the public has to be assured that everything possible is being done on its behalf to maintain a safe community, to try to keep good relations on the street and maintain a good atmosphere.

This bill, I submit, is one of the most important bills for Metro Toronto that has ever come before this assembly. It speaks to frustrations that a lot of citizens have had; it speaks to problems the police have encountered; it speaks to frustrations a lot of politicians have had: How do we get at these police commissioners?

They used to have a little trick at their meetings. Legally, those meetings are supposed to be open. To make sure they were open, they put a little wedge in the door so that the door was open an inch, and they could not be accused of having a closed meeting. Nobody showed up, of course. For one thing, there were no chairs. They only had chairs for the commissioners. They have operated in secrecy too long and we are paying a price for it. A lack of leadership on that police commission is one of the factors that prompts this bill.

There are some other serious problems. The chief of police may decide to take no action. That is a serious flaw. We thought, when we were looking at the situation and drafting a bill, it was essential to have the chief of police involved. We also respected the collective bargaining system. The police chief has a responsibility to discipline his force and the force, through its union, can voice approval or disapproval of whatever penalty is meted out. There is a negotiation procedure set up in a collective bargaining situation and that should be respected.

I do not think they are doing that in the bill. It allows us to fire somebody. Not to have the chief of police make that determination; somebody else can do that. We were not that heavy-handed. The panel of the board may dismiss the police officer from the force. That is pretty serious, to fire somebody, and not to have the chief of police do it. I submit that is where it belongs. The chief should be in charge of the force, making sure that it carries out the policies the best way it can. He may want to fire somebody and the union may want to grieve that. That is the way it should be.

Now we have taken it out of their hands and given it to the panel. They can fire the man or woman, or they can direct him or her to resign. If the person does not resign

within seven days, he or she is gone. Or they can reduce him in rank or graduation of rank and pay. Again, I submit, that is a decision that rightfully belongs with the police chief.

I mentioned previously, and I will again, that I am very concerned and disappointed that the Solicitor General could not see fit to turn over the direction of the police force to the Metropolitan Toronto council and have some appointments from the province. Within our provincial jurisdiction, policing comes from the Legislature of Ontario. That is proper; that is the way it should be. I can see having a representative from here, someone that the Solicitor General names, but I think the weight of that decision-making should be with Metropolitan Toronto.

I guess the Solicitor General disagrees with John Robarts, and I agree with Robarts. I think he was on the right track.

Mr. Lawlor: They've been treating John Robarts pretty badly over there—about everything.

Mr. Warner: The poor man lives in disgrace these days. He spent \$1 million, did a terrific report, and the whole thing has been tossed out—and not all at once; it has been done piece by piece. It is rather unfair.

Mr. Lawlor: They totally ignored the Pepin-Robarts report. They ignore everything John does.

Mr. Ashe: You agree with everything, eh?

Mr. Lawlor: Pretty well.

Mr. Ashe: Put it on the record then.

Mr. Warner: I guess that is the fairness we would like to see. There are a lot of policies that we disagree with, but there are also some good things that Mr. Robarts had to say.

There is another important element that I think the minister has made a mistake on. He says under section 6, the place to lodge a complaint is at the police station. I think that is wrong.

Hon. Mr. McMurtry: Read the section. It is one of three places.

Mr. Warner: No, it is of two. With respect, section 6(1) says: "A member of the public may make a complaint—oh, I am sorry—at the bureau, at any police station in Metropolitan Toronto or at the office of the public complaints commissioner." The minister should have left out the police station. The last place somebody who has a complaint about police conduct wants to go is the police station. If a person had a problem about a policeman, what makes the

minister think that person wants to encounter somebody else in a police uniform?

What we visualized was having a store front operation, a nonthreatening situation, where somebody who has a complaint can lodge it with a civilian, somebody just like me—or, even better, like you—and not have to go into a police station.

As I worked my way through this bill, it was a very complicated bill.

Hon. Mr. McMurtry: Just let me say this by way of interjection, Mr. Speaker, the honourable member prefaced his remarks at the outset by indicating a very understandable concern about the separation of police forces from the community by reason of a whole host of factors, and yet most of his remarks seem to be directed towards not only maintaining that separation but also increasing it.

For example, he just said, "Don't go to the local police station; go somewhere else." Doesn't he realize that the thrust of his remarks is to further divide the community from the police?

Mr. Speaker: Is this the minister's windup?

Hon. Mr. McMurtry: I am sorry, Mr. Speaker; I just wanted to make that clear, not in a provocative way.

Mr. Warner: Mr. Speaker, I appreciate the intervention, because I think it highlights not only a point of disagreement between the minister and me, but also a misunderstanding on the minister's part as to what it is like in the real world out there for people who are trying to cope day by day.

The person who has a problem with the police officer, who has a complaint, I submit does not want to go and make that complaint to someone in a uniform.

9:50 p.m.

Mr. Speaker: The member is becoming repetitive again.

Mr. Warner: I have to in order for him to understand it.

Yes, I want there to be a better relationship totally between the public and the police force. That is part of what we are trying to do. But I submit that one doesn't help that situation by having the person who feels grieved going into the police station.

Members should put themselves in the place of a police officer. If someone comes in with this outrageous complaint about one of their fellow officers, do they think they will be well-disposed towards that person? Do they think they are going to take the complaint dispassionately and objectively? It is

not an easy thing to do. I think we are better off having a lesser-tension kind of situation, because the next step involves the police officer.

We should try to resolve the matter in an informal setting. They are doing that in British Columbia where they have the complainant, the police officer and a third party meet to see if it can be resolved. It may simply be a misunderstanding, and maybe it can be resolved that way. But if the person simply cannot have it resolved in that informal setting, I submit that person has the right to ask for an independent investigation of the complaint and have the matter resolved. That is what the Solicitor General wants to do, but the bill does not do that.

The bill, unfortunately, is very complicated. I have the funny feeling that if this thing goes through the way it is, the citizen who has a complaint should also have at least three years of Osgoode Hall Law School behind him.

Hon. Mr. McMurtry: You are being unfair.

Mr. Warner: Maybe I am; but I read through this and there sure are a lot of steps involved if one has a complaint. One had better be persistent, because if the police chief decides to take no action then one is going to have to be a brave soul to stand up to the police chief of Metropolitan Toronto and say he is wrong. He is a man who is held in pretty high esteem in this city. He is a pretty big, powerful person, and to say that he is wrong and I want my complaint heard, one has to get past the police chief.

I think the Solicitor General has loaded the deck on the wrong side and in so doing I think he is being unfair to the police force.

Mr. Speaker, there is one other item I want to add, because I think it is quite interesting. I don't know how accurate the Toronto Sun polls are—if they are as accurate as some of its reporting, maybe we can't put much faith in it. But the Sun did a little survey back in September 1979, and one question was, "Do you think complaints against the Metro police should be investigated by the Metro police department, by the Ontario Provincial Police, by the Ontario Attorney General or by a civilian body?"

Some 20 per cent of the people had faith in the Attorney General to do the investigation, seven per cent by the OPP, 18 by the Metro police department and 24 per cent by a civilian body—the signal high in the survey. A combination of the above, another 13 per cent; no investigation needed, three per cent; don't know—no answer, 16 per cent.

It seems to me, out of that there is a bit of a message: either people are unsure about who should do the investigation or they feel either the Attorney General or an independent body should be doing it. That is the people of Metro Toronto. I think it is important in this context that the remainder of the survey indicated that the people generally had faith in the police force.

"How satisfied are you with police protection in the Metro Toronto area? Very satisfied, 63 per cent; somewhat satisfied, 29 per cent. That's a pretty high percentage when totalled together.

I think the survey indicates the minister would be wise to move to an independent review system, which would be supported by the people of Metropolitan Toronto. For the life of me, I don't understand what keeps the minister back from what he must know in his own heart is the right answer.

Hon. Mr. McMurtry: It is exactly because of what I do know in my heart to be right.

Mr. Warner: The Metro Toronto police would support the independent system, knowing that the investigation was being done by professionals, people who knew what they were doing. The public certainly would, because it would be getting the straight goods, public reporting, especially if there was Metro council direct involvement instead of the minister's proposal. Over all I think we would have a much better system in our city.

In conclusion, even at this moment I would hope the minister could reconsider his position on the independent review, because I think he is wrong and headed on the wrong course. Unless we build in an independent review system we are asking for trouble. Trouble is brewing in this city; make no mistake about it. The signs are there, they are unmistakable and shouldn't be ignored.

In the long run if the minister was to adopt a procedure that we have carefully laid out in our bill he would be helping the police, he would be doing a service to the public and he would maintain that very important—and it sounds a bit trite now because so many members have said it—appearance that we not only have justice but that everybody sees we are trying to apply justice. The minister can do that. If that isn't done, I have no choice but to vote against this bill and I will.

Mr. Speaker: Does any other member wish to speak on second reading?

Mr. Lawlor: Mr. Speaker, how lovely it is to see the Solicitor General handling his own

legislation. It adds a fillip to the whole proceedings.

I would like to make initial reference to the Morand report. "The police, like laws, reflect the nature of the society which they serve. Corrupt societies deserve and get corrupt police. Totalitarian societies acquire omnipotent police. Violent societies get violent police. Tolerant societies get tolerant police. Wise societies bridle police powers."

That is the initial remark he makes, which is a quotation from somewhere else actually. Then I would like to make reference to Chief Justice Bora Laskin's comments to Simon Fraser University in 1975.

"Policing is too important to be left to the police, too important even to be left to the police schools. This does not mean it is not a special art and that it does not require special skills and special training or that there is an unnecessary elitism involved in restricting the policing of the community to a qualified class. What it does mean is that all of us—police and non-police alike—have a continuing interest in the quality and effectiveness of our police system, particularly because our form of political organization through which we give expression and force to our law, is based on public participation in political and social processes, on freedom to debate public issues, freedom to examine and evaluate public institutions, including the policing of the community."

10 p.m.

On page 184, having gone through numerous cases where certain abuses within the police organizations themselves came to light in these things, he severely castigated in the process. He says: "First, present system is not effective. For a variety of reasons, the investigation of serious allegations of excessive force are incomplete, not impartial and largely unsupervised. I was not impressed with the calibre of some of the officers assigned to the complaint bureau who appeared before me. There does not appear to be a regulation, inspection or direction of their efforts and the investigators appear to be left largely to their own devices."

True, the Solicitor General will reply, that is the very purpose of my legislation: to obviate the nonsupervision and the difficulties involved, and to a point he does.

Finally, as he sums up the whole thing: "The principal objection offered by the police to this system, the Maloney system, is that it takes disciplinary matters out of the hands of the chief of police." The Solicitor General quite sedately places them back

there in a way that was never proposed in either the Maloney or Morand reports.

"The second objection is that the procedures laid down were cumbersome and potentially costly." And are the Solicitor General's procedures ever cumbersome, and how costly will be an interesting thing we will find out in due course.

"Neither of these objections commend themselves to me. In the system envisaged by Mr. Maloney, the chief retains the right of assigning the penalty in every case. It is only the determination of the validity of the complaint which is removed to another tribunal," a civilian one.

"In my view, it is fundamentally important that the public be confident that a full and impartial investigation has been carried out and that the adjudication has been made by an independent person or tribunal. Justice does not appear to be done when the entire procedure is in the hands of the very body against which the complaint is made and, as I have pointed out, in some cases not only is justice not seen to be done, it is not being done. These considerations must be paramount in any decision made concerning citizen complaint procedure.

"After giving the matter an anxious study and consulting with many others in and out of the field of law enforcement, it is my considered view that the overriding consideration must be the introduction of an independent element into the investigation and hearing of citizen complaints." It is precisely that independent element that is missing in this particular context.

If the investigation is wholly within a narrow confine, it carries right through to when the bureau rather laterally receives the complaint, having gone through a series of cascades and maybe over part of the falls. I say to the Solicitor General that the legislation is a piece of typical Tory circumlocution. It is convoluted in the extreme. It goes through winding paths.

Actually one needs an Ariadne's thread just to get in the process, and one needs a rope to pull one back out again. There are six to seven different phases. It seems to me that what has been done is the Solicitor General has taken the reports from helter-skelter and beyond. He has taken some portions from the Maloney report, some from the Morand report, some reports from Philadelphia, and the odd tidbit out of the Minneapolis experiment. He has put them all together into some melange or hotchpotch so that, when it is all added up, the worst features from them all begin to emerge.

I assume that as Solicitor General, the minister has paid close attention to the report of the Task Force on Policing in Ontario and the remarks made in this wise and generally speaking about some elements of the role of the police in society as mentioned by my friend the member for Scarborough-Ellesmere a few moments ago as to their own particular problems within that form of profession and what we must take account of and be considerate for.

It is improper to have the internal investigation done by officers on officers, Mr. Justice Morand has said, and it has been repeated. One generally is very suspicious and scouts scrupulously any possible conflict of interest. We set up very great laws so that our interests and the interests of judges are preserved, so that conflicts don't arise in municipal officials and members of boards of education. Yet there is an in-built rule here that probably goes a long way to undermining the legislation and with which I think the government is going to be faced as time goes on and the thing doesn't work out.

The Solicitor General knows the bill that my colleague the member for Scarborough-Ellesmere produced in this House; it is a far simpler procedure. Sure, it is not fleshed out with respect to all the steps in the total picture, but in skeleton outline at least one gets directly to the heart of the matter. What has the Solicitor General done? He has set up a bureau, et cetera. The bureau itself has an investigative staff. It may settle informal matters as we want them. But then that again is within the investigative body, which will be either ex-policemen or investigatory officers trained in these methods. That is the first hurdle.

Then it goes from there to the chief of police for review and disposition, and look at the range of review and disposition there. The bill says quite bluntly he may take no action. There are circumstances in which taking no action is advisable, but it is too much to place the plenary powers within the ambit of the chief of police—the new chief of police in Toronto particularly. He has adequate administrative and other tasks to perform without having this task assigned to him. Even Maloney is preferable to this. It should be in civilian hands with the chief having a concerted and working relationship with the tribunal, the judicial body, et cetera—which is insulated and over there.

We want to go a little further in that direction in order to give no possibility of being identified with the very forces that are in question—or at least some members

of it are in question—in the proceeding which started the whole thing.

Then there is another hurdle. If that is unsatisfactory, it goes up to the commissioner and the commissioner again reviews the case. This is the third review we have and nothing is resolved as yet. The commissioner may then go through this elaborate process again, doing a number of things, among which are simply to take no action. Then the matter may be forced by making an appeal. By the end of that process the complaint may be defused. If that is the Solicitor General's purpose in these labyrinthine gyrations he is making, he should say so. This certainly will have that effect. That may be beneficial, God knows.

But I am of the opinion that tempers may be of such a kind—and I don't talk about Miamis in this city—that they are by definition forcing us to come to this legislation. They may be profoundly frustrated and maybe even angrier than they were when they initiated the proceedings on justifiable grounds. That being the case, the Solicitor General is throwing up barricades and hurdles all over the place to make justice as difficult as possible and to get through to the heart of the matter and get a resolution in a serious case, not the informal ones that can be settled out of court so to speak. So he sets up these stages and various pyramids that one has to scale in order to finally get before the board.

10:10 p.m.

I have no particular objection to the constitution of the board nor to its range of penalties and things of that kind. It is just the bloody process of getting there. Why all the difficulty is written into the statute—of deliberation obviously, because he pondered it long; it has been long coming before this House—quite puzzles me. I would like the government to consider stripping it down somewhat and making the procedure somewhat more simple. It is a very easy thing to do, instead of obfuscating the central issue.

I want the government to consider it—and we will ask to have it done—and that the matter be taken into committee so that the niceties may be flushed out and the internal workings of that bill clarified. It is good to have the members and the general public clear as to how all those gears are going to be oiled to turn at the same time and how they mesh. It is complicated legislation. What originally appeared as something fairly manageable is now intricate and difficult. It should go to committee.

Mr. Ziemba: Mr. Speaker, we have waited almost six years for a citizens' review commission of some sort, and I guess we have waited for nothing. After the Maloney commission, the Morand commission, the Pitman commission and even Cardinal Carter's findings, we are right back to where we started from, with the police investigating the police. I say that in a way that I hope is constructive. We have two members of Metro's finest up in the gallery. At least, I assume they are, because who else would sit through this long and boring debate all afternoon and all evening? I saw Mr. Mal Connolly with them earlier so I assume they are members of Metro's finest. I hope they take the words I have to say in the spirit in which I intend to say them.

Opposing this bill does not mean that I am anti-cop or that the New Democrats are anti-cop. I really resent the Solicitor General calling opposition members a bunch of simpletons because they oppose this bill. That is not why we are opposing this bill. It bothers me when the Solicitor General gets frothy-mouthed and cross-eyed whenever anyone speaks up against the police. Maybe it bothers me, but I can kind of understand it. If those galleries were full of packing house workers or steel workers I would get very upset if he criticized their leader.

As Solicitor General he is sort of leader of the police, and when somebody comes up with what he might interpret as criticism he gets his back up, maybe quite rightly. That is a problem for him, because at the same time he is also Attorney General and he has to be independent. I do not see how he can be independent in the administration of justice when, on the one hand, he is protecting the police and, on the other hand, he is trying to be open and fair to the public.

That is the problem he has and he could easily deal with it by giving one of the other Tory back-benchers that portfolio—I think the member for Carleton-Grenville (Mr. Sterling), who is doing a pretty good job as his parliamentary assistant. He is smiling and I am sure he would be really grateful if the Solicitor General would give up one of those portfolios. He does not have to hog them all. Give him one and let him do the job.

Mr. Gaunt: Share the wealth.

Mr. Ziemba: He does not want any more words of endorsement from me, Mr. Speaker.

As to this business about how sensitive the police are to what might be interpreted as criticism, I am sorry this bill is obviously going to pass second reading, because one

after the other of the Liberals has got up and spoken in favour of it.

While this is a Metro Toronto bill, we do have a kind of a Liberal presence in Metro Toronto that disappoints me. However, we do have a Liberal presence in the form of Margaret Campbell, and she is everywhere.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: I believe you are referring to the member for St. George.

Mr. Ziemba: The member for St. George, yes. She is a very able member. Hopefully, we will get to her before the vote and we won't vote on this bill tonight. At least if I have anything to do with it, we won't. The Liberal member for St. George is about the only member I can think of who would be sensitive to this bill. When I say she is a real presence, she really is. She is everywhere I go. If I were to leave this House and attend some ethnic function tonight, there would be the Liberal member for St. George. If I went to another location where there was another meeting of concerned citizens, there would be the member for St. George. I believe the Liberal Party has cloned Margaret Campbell and is sending all these clones out into the community.

Mr. Kerrio: There is one place you have been where you won't find her!

Mr. Ziemba: We have another interjection from the member for Niagara Falls. He is really bad, Mr. Speaker. You are going to have to do something about him. I know it is a problem because he is a member of your party.

The police cannot be above the law and in a sense they are. By having the police investigate the police, what the Solicitor General is saying to us is that we do not trust citizens to investigate the police; only their peers can investigate them. It can only be an in-house kind of investigation. To my mind, that is wrong.

I am going to talk about a couple of personal experiences I have had along this line that convinced me police investigating police is wrong and police being given any kinds of privileges other citizens do not have is wrong. As elected representatives, we have a certain amount of privilege, but we have no privilege whatsoever when it comes to criminal courts. I found that out the hard way. The police do not have any privileges whatsoever when it comes to criminal courts, but in real life they do.

In actual practice, the police do have privileges. I don't believe there has been one case of a police officer being asked to name his source, his informant, where the police

officer was jailed or even threatened with jail. I can be corrected if I am wrong, but I don't believe there has been one case here in this province or anywhere else in Canada where a police officer was put in that position.

Don't police officers have informants? They certainly do. I found out the hard way what happens. When they are faced with that, the police, through the Attorney General drop the charges. They feel strongly enough about protecting their sources that they just drop the charges, and that is the end of it. They are not put in the position of having to give that information, as elected representatives are.

The members of the Legislature don't have a citizens' review court—or do we? It seems every few years we go to the highest court in the land, to the people. There is nothing wrong with that. The police shouldn't be afraid to appear before their fellow citizens if there is a complaint.

I was going to draw on some personal experiences to make the case for an independent review. I am sure the police will initially have all kinds of complaints coming to their complaint bureau, but many of them will be trivial complaints. I had a trivial complaint not too long ago to my local police at number 11 station. I am really pleased with the work of the police there. It is one of the more enlightened stations. In west Toronto, we say that station is doing a good job, not because they are so vigorous in their policing, but because the people in west Toronto—

Mr. Kerr: Are law abiding.

10:20 p.m.

Mr. Ziembra: They are law abiding. That's right. It is not so much that the people are law abiding, but that we do not have alcohol promoted and sold in west Toronto. It's this absence of taverns and bars that cuts down on the amount of police work, and that's true. I think a lot of the drunks in the number 11 lock up over the weekend come from locations other than the riding of High Park-Swansea.

They come from my neighbouring riding of Parkdale, for instance. One just has to go across the border on Roncesvalles Avenue to see all kinds of drunks staggering around the streets after six o'clock. There is absolutely none of that on my side of the street. My colleague the member for Dovercourt (Mr. Lupusella) is considering a private member's bill that I am prepared to support. He is calling for a drying up of the city of Toronto to cut down on the—

Mr. Deputy Speaker: Perhaps we'll deal with that when it comes up.

Mr. Ziembra: Okay. I'm sure you would be interested in supporting it as well, Mr. Speaker. I was going to tell you about some of the problems that I had. Last summer we had a knock on the door about 11:30 at night. Two police officers wanted to know where John was. John is my 12-year-old son. We told them John was out of town. They had a disbelieving look in their eyes. However, after some time I was able to convince them that John wasn't home.

I asked them why they wanted John. They said: "Your John is in big trouble. We have to talk to him." I said, "What sort of trouble?" They wanted to come in; I said: "Sure, come on in. Tell me what trouble John's in."

"Well, we have very good evidence, strong evidence, that John has been involved in a break-and-enter with some of his friends."

To make a long story short, a candy store had been broken into and a pile of candy had been stolen, and John was supposed to have been one of the thieves. The young people who were caught, two or three young fellows, went to the same school as my son and implicated four other friends in this break-and-enter. The police, in spite of the fact that John wasn't home, insisted on talking to him. It was only after I gave them my assurance that I would pick him up the following day and take him to the police station that they left.

They left our house around 12 o'clock and went to the next boy's house. The father wasn't interested in letting them in but, when they told him they would come back with a search warrant, he did allow these two police officers in. Notice the charge is stealing candy in a candy store, and these two officers are investigating it at midnight. They woke the kid up, got him out of bed and he was really frightened. He told them he wasn't involved and, after a great deal of questioning, they were able to ascertain that indeed he wasn't involved and that my son wasn't involved. They called us back around 12:30 or 1 and told us everything was all right, our boy wasn't involved in this break-and-enter, and the information they had received was wrong.

Quite frankly, I was so relieved to find it was a false alarm that I accepted the apologies of the two officers and let it go at that. But I shouldn't have, because I found out a week later they were fairly forceful when they dealt with the other party. The other man was a Ford worker; he wasn't a member

of the provincial Legislature, and they weren't as polite when they dealt with him. In fact, they told him in no uncertain terms that if he didn't get out of their way they would be back with a warrant and would smash their way in if they had to. That kind of behaviour is unacceptable.

When I talked to the young fellow and asked him if his father was prepared to lay a complaint, he said: "Certainly not. My father would never complain to the police. Why would he? He is afraid of what they might do to him if he did." So we let it go.

That is the kind of complaint we get. We cannot expect people to go to the police station with that kind of complaint, and have the police be the ones who deal with it or who mediate. It should go to an independent person, a civilian.

The other incident I experienced dealt with racial discrimination. We have a Hindu temple in my riding that has been defaced on a number of occasions. There are not too many members of that Hindu church who live in my riding. There is one family, however, that was harassed by the young people in the immediate area. The harassment went on for about six months. It finally ended with charges and counter-charges being laid, much the same as we have now, where the individual decided to take the law into his own hands and take on his harassers.

The police were sort of helpful, but not all that helpful. They would tell us they were too busy, had only one cruiser in the area and couldn't be watching the house night and day. This went on for months and months until, finally, I had occasion to visit the house after a rock had been thrown through the front window. At that time, the police had been called and were talking to my constituent. But instead of being sympathetic to him and appearing to be sensitive to his problem, they seemed to be hostile and antagonistic towards him.

I couldn't believe it, sitting there. They didn't know I was a member of the Legislature as this happened in 1976 and I wasn't too well known to the police at this time. They questioned him in a way I thought was most unfair. They wanted to know if he was employed, where he was working and how long he had been working. When I asked them what business that was of theirs, they turned to me and said, "Why are you involved? Do you live here?" I told them no, and they were quite abrupt.

To make a long story short, they walked out of the house in a huff. Of course, I became furious at that point and took my con-

stituent and his wife down to the police station to complain. If I was an ordinary citizen, I would think twice before I did that. When I got to the police station, there was the officer who had been so rude and all of his buddies standing around joking. When I walked in, the joking continued. It wasn't until someone recognized me in my old clothes that they became sensitive to the problem.

They apologized profusely to my constituent, and from that point on corrective steps were taken. All of a sudden, there was a youth officer assigned to the case, and within three weeks the problem was resolved. They found the kids who were harassing him and talked to the parents. To this day there hasn't been a repeat performance of this kind of harassment.

But up until then it was a problem. They weren't sensitive to the East Indians involved. Not only that, they were kind of rude. So that situation has been dealt with. Since then, I've had a number of occasions where I've had to call the police at number 11 station and they have been very good in performing their duties. I've brought this up in estimate debates.

We have a new inspector now. In fact, I found Inspector Schultz, who was criticized by the various ethnic groups as being intolerant to the black community, to be a most sensitive, understanding, compassionate inspector. We felt very badly when he was transferred to the Dovercourt Street station. However, he has been replaced by Inspector Pitts who has been very attentive to the problems of visible minorities or anyone else who has come to him. In fact, I would say the Toronto police force is more enlightened and more progressive than all the other police forces in this province. I will put that on the record. I have been in Barrie and in other areas of this province where one wouldn't find me supporting the police in those areas.

In Metropolitan Toronto, because of police interest in changing their image when it comes to labour, I think that the first reforms took place in that area. Perhaps the Solicitor General can recall back in the early 1970s we had a number of violent labour disputes. There was the Artistic Woodwork Company Limited dispute where the police were seen to be working for the management. That was my first actual brush with the Metropolitan Toronto police. I was asked to attend that picket line by an ex-MPP, a fellows who had held my seat for a few years back in the late 1940s. Bill Temple asked

me to attend the Artistic Woodwork picket line back in 1972.

We would get out there every Tuesday and Thursday morning around six o'clock and try to pass out literature to the strike-breakers that were being driven through the picket line. It didn't do much good because the police really took their work seriously at that time. We had the emergency task force on the job.

Mr. Ruston: Time.

Mr. Ziembra: Has my time expired, Mr. Speaker?

Mr. Deputy Speaker: It is 10:30 of the clock.

On motion by Mr. Ziembra, the debate was adjourned.

The House adjourned at 10:30 p.m.

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No. 54

Legislature of Ontario Debates

Official Report (Hansard)

Fourth Session, 31st Parliament

Thursday, May 22, 1980

Afternoon Sitting

Speaker: Honourable John E. Stokes

Clerk: Roderick Lewis, QC

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Published by the Legislature of the Province of Ontario.

Editor of Debates: Peter Brannan.

LEGISLATURE OF ONTARIO

THURSDAY, MAY 22, 1978

The House met at 2 p.m.

Prayers.

MAPLE SUGAR

Hon. Mr. Wiseman: Mr. Speaker, on a point of privilege: I have placed on all honourable members' desks a package of maple sugar manufactured and produced in the county of Lanark. On the back of the package is a short history of the manufacturing of maple syrup products. We have increased our production in Lanark and Leads so that we now produce about a third of all the maple syrup products sold in this province.

Mr. Speaker: We will call that a point of information as opposed to a point of privilege.

Mr. S. Smith: Mr. Speaker, if I may speak to that point of information, I want to thank the honourable member, of course. I take it this is meant in good faith and is not a deliberate effort to ruin our diets, wreck our teeth and sweeten us up before the question period. However, we certainly appreciate it. I thank him very much.

Mr. Renwick: Mr. Speaker, on the same matter, I would like the minister and the member to know that we here think that when we take Lanark, we will sweep the province.

[Later]

Hon. Mr. Davis: Mr. Speaker, while I don't want to comment on the point of information, inasmuch as I don't consume calories these days, I do agree with the member for Riverdale. When the NDP takes Lanark, it will in fact have 125 seats, but I have to say to the member for Riverdale, it will be long past his normal life expectancy.

Mr. Martel: Do you remember when there used to be only seven over here?

Hon. Mr. Davis: Eighty-one in '81.

Mr. Martel: We are getting there. Our numbers are going up and yours are going down.

Hon. Mr. Davis: I remember when you had a little higher percentage of the popular vote than you got the last time. I remember that too.

Mr. Speaker: I am sure the Premier has something much more important to say.

Hon. Mr. Davis: The member for Sudbury East, in his own inimitable fashion, is provoking me again, Mr. Speaker.

STATEMENTS BY PARTY LEADERS

Hon. Mr. Wells: Mr. Speaker, I would like to ask the unanimous consent of the House to allow the Leader of the Opposition and a member of the third party to make statements after the Premier makes a statement about the Quebec referendum results.

Agreed to.

STATEMENTS BY THE MINISTRY

CONSTITUTIONAL REFORM

Hon. Mr. Davis: Mr. Speaker, May 20 was an immensely hopeful day for all Canadians. Having said that, it is equally clear in my view that the no vote in the Quebec referendum does not mean in any way that we can complacently sit back and assume the issue or the problem has passed.

I understand fully that in making their heartwarming decision to deny the Parti Quebecois government a mandate to negotiate sovereignty-association, Quebecers did so in the conviction that there is now general acceptance in Canada that the status quo will not do. We must not and we will not betray that confidence.

It is not only Quebecers—and I refer to all Quebecers, however they cast their vote—who will be in judgement of the commitment with which this process is now undertaken, but all Canadians. We all want positive results from what I trust will be an exciting and creative process on which we are about to commence. Now is the time to demonstrate a spirit of generosity, to work together to put in place, through the words of our constitution and the deeds of all of us, those ideals which will make this nation a better place for this and future generations.

The singular advantage of this moment in our history is that we have in our hands the potential for making real progress in the constitutional arena. That forward movement is enhanced when the representatives

of many governments are committed to active participation in the process of change.

On a number of occasions in the recent past, as Premier of this province I have reiterated my assurance and given my pledge that we would support wholeheartedly serious constitutional reform within the framework of federalism. This Legislative Assembly unanimously supported that view on May 9. Today, publicly and in this House, I renew that pledge.

Last evening, joined by my colleagues the Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs (Mr. Wells) and the Attorney General (Mr. McMurtry), I met with the federal Minister of Justice, Mr. Chretien, for initial discussions on the substance and process of constitutional change. As many will have heard reported, before this weekend is out, Mr. Chretien hopes to have completed similar discussions with representatives of all 10 provinces.

I am, of course, encouraged by this type of quick initiative on constitutional reform and I have pledged this province's full co-operation for any and all constructive steps in this direction. I do so because, if we are to continue to uphold and to build upon what we have achieved together as Canadians, and to be proud of our nation, we must rise to the challenge and overcome the impasse that has denied us success until this time.

2:10 p.m.

In the recent debate on Confederation in this House, members of all political parties, as I understood what they said, expressed with considerable emotion their feelings toward their sister province and urged, without exception, that Quebec remain within Canada. The debate also saw the passage of a resolution that commits the government of this province to supporting full negotiation of a new Canadian constitution because, as adamant as we are in our rejection of sovereignty-association, we are also deeply committed to developing a new constitution that will meet the express and legitimate aspirations of not only Quebec but all other parts of this nation.

To assist us in the task of preparing for renewed constitutional negotiations, this Legislature will appoint a select committee of the House on constitutional reform, whose mandate will be to consider and report with dispatch on ways to achieve this objective. I suggest to members of this House, with respect, that in view of the rest of the timetable, the words "with dispatch" mean probably by the end of the summer.

At the same time, of course, this government will play its full part on behalf of the people of this province in all ongoing discussions that will take place. The first of those, I expect, could occur very soon. In doing so we shall adopt a flexible and open-minded position to ideas, aspirations and calls for change that will come from all parts of this nation.

Nevertheless, I would not be responsible if I did not indicate at the outset those principles upon which we will be firm. These principles are not new and we have reiterated them on many occasions. They have to do with the maintenance of our parliamentary, democratic and federal system of government.

As their implementation is essential for the eventual success of the endeavour on which we are about to embark, I shall briefly list the key principles that Ontario will seek to achieve in any new Canadian constitution. These are not all-inclusive; I think it would be unwise to start drawing up complete lists at this stage of discussion, but they do highlight some of the basic principles we think are fundamental. They are:

First, patriation of the constitution and a relatively flexible formula for constitutional amendment;

Second, provincial participation in the appointment of judges to the Supreme Court of this nation;

Third, reform of existing national institutions such as the Senate—I use that as an example—to allow for the fuller expression of regional or provincial interests, while keeping the Queen as head of state;

Fourth, recognition of English and French as the two official languages of Canada, including the proposition made at the last meeting of first ministers calling for the entrenchment of the right to minority-language education across this nation;

Fifth, provisions that will allow for more flexibility in certain areas of jurisdiction so that some provinces, such as Quebec—but I emphasize it would also apply to other provinces—could take on more responsibilities than the others if they so desired. In other words, the constitution should be so drafted that if there is to be paramountcy or a sharing of fields, the government in any province of Canada can assume that additional responsibility, at least have the right to assume, but not necessarily decide to do so. This should be available to every province, not just to a single province;

Sixth, greater consultation in areas where the federal spending power could be exer-

cised in areas directly affecting the provincial jurisdiction;

Seventh, entrenchment of the fundamental and democratic rights of Canadians;

Eighth, a precise definition of the essential powers needed by the federal government to run the national economy. I think it is important, as we embark upon this period of constitutional discussion, that we recognize from the perspective of this province any proposal whereby the government of Canada—I don't like the phrase "central government"; I refer to it as the national government—must have not only the responsibility but the power to discharge that responsibility to deal with national economic issues. That, to me, is fundamental and a point of view we will maintain.

Ninth—a principle we think is fundamental, and I think increasingly fundamental—there must be measures to eliminate barriers to the free flow of people, goods and services across this country so as to enhance the economic ties within Confederation. In my view it must be part of the constitution, a principle that is fundamental, that Canadians must be able to work, travel, invest and conduct business throughout this country.

Tenth, a clear commitment to the fair distribution of economic opportunities as a goal of Confederation and as a test of national policies.

I share this very personally, that it is a matter of immense disappointment to me at least and I think to all who have worked for the desired reform—and we worked very hard at it during certain periods—that the piecemeal approach to constitutional negotiation over the past, really now 15 years, has not achieved what we have sought.

Now, however, we have a rare and a fresh opportunity to do a major work of this generation for this country. Let us not allow our vision of the future to be narrowed by the failures of the past. At first ministers' meetings we could all dwell on why things didn't happen, why we didn't achieve success, and what were the limitations. I am suggesting, with respect, Mr. Speaker, that this provides us with a fresh opportunity to look down the road at what we want in the future for our constitution without being limited by the debates of the past 10 to 15 years.

I think we must build. My own perception is that these opportunities don't come that often. There must be a sense of urgency—I happen to believe this—and we must seize the opportunities now, not six months from now or a year from now. We should build upon this sense of urgency at this time. I think it

is also important for us to tap the energy, the feeling, the commitment that all of us sensed Tuesday night and that has been demonstrated by so many from all parts of this nation.

I don't think we should minimize it: it will be a very tough task indeed. It is easy to discuss these issues in isolation. It is easy to expound upon the principles, but I think it is also fair to state, having been a part of this process for a number of years, that it is a very difficult task.

It is now the vital interest, I think, of all Canadians in every province, in every region, whether they be French-speaking or English-speaking, our native people, our new Canadians, young like myself or more mature like others, to refashion, to renew, to strengthen our Canadian Confederation. Now, as I believe we would all agree in this House, we must immediately get on with this task.

Mr. Speaker: In view of the unanimity expressed earlier, can I assume that if we go over the 30-minute time restriction, it will be waived on this occasion?

Mr. S. Smith: Mr. Speaker, I certainly want to thank the House, first of all, for the unanimous permission to make a statement at this time. I want to thank the Premier for his statement, which I thought set the right tone and I think represented well the feelings of the people in Ontario at this time.

We certainly welcome the vote in Quebec. I think all people in Ontario were relieved, full of joy, full of optimism about the future when we saw that vote. The vote was of greater proportions, I think, than many of us would have been ready to believe and it was most heartening to see that.

I think it's important that we now recognize that there are people out there who will need to be convinced about the need for constitutional change. I think the Premier is working on this. I pledge myself to work in the same interest and to try to bring about the same result.

I think it's very important, as we discuss constitutional change, that we find some way to involve a good many of our citizens, other than the political leaders, and, for that matter, find some way also to involve other political leaders apart from the first ministers. There are some real difficulties with the usual first-minister approach. I confess right now I don't have the answer to this, but I put the question anyhow for the consideration of the Premier and other members of the House.

The federal government is formed by a party that has virtually no support in the

House from western Canada, and that is a very real problem when it tries to put the federal viewpoint at a first ministers' conference. Similarly, the present government in Quebec which would be represented at a first ministers' conference, in that way would not have the point of view of the side that has just won the referendum and there is a difficulty there.

In this House, without in any way becoming political about it, we do have a situation where the government party, although it speaks for all the people, has been elected by less than a majority of the people and would be good—

Hon. Mr. Davis: It is very broadly represented.

2:20 p.m.

Mr. S. Smith: Yes, it is probably a representative party.

Hon. Mr. Davis: All areas of the province.

Mr. S. Smith: I am trying, Mr. Speaker, to make a statement that is reasonably non-political. I hope the Premier will permit me to do that. The Premier recognizes that a good many people in Ontario would want their views represented. I take it he would agree that the select committee, at least in Ontario, might be one way that the members of other parties, and certain invited people from the community at large, might be able to contribute to Ontario's position to be taken in front of any eventual constitutional conference, be it of first ministers or any other kind.

I hope the Premier will put his mind to this task. I shall be glad to assist in any way I can to find some way to make sure that representation occurs from more than just the government party in Quebec, the government party in Ottawa, the government party in Ontario, and elsewhere. We have a very important responsibility in this House.

We, certainly, are prepared to work on a select committee. We would like it to start right now, and we would like to work not only on the principles outlined by the Premier but on other principles that other people might wish to bring forward.

The second point I would like to make is that Ontario should state, as clearly as possible, that we are certainly not of the view at present being advocated by the Premier of Newfoundland. I was somewhat concerned about that gentleman's view of Canada in which he stated that the federal government was really the agency of the 10 provinces and governed by the will and the permission of the 10 provinces, as I understood him. I do

not see that. I believe the federal government governs by the consent of the governed, meaning all the people of Canada, and that is how it should be.

It is also important that we not agree with that gentleman's view that this is a time for a common front of all provinces, in a sense, against the federal government. I am very concerned that there is going to be a meeting, as usual, this summer—in August, I believe; the Premier could correct me if I am wrong—of the first ministers of the provinces. I would think it would be very important for Ontario to make clear that that should not be a meeting at which the first ministers of the provinces get together to form some kind of common stand with which to confront the federal government. This is not the time for that kind of common front or confrontation.

The federal government is the government that has very great responsibilities in these matters and should not be regarded in any way as the enemy of the provinces or some kind of outside force. We should all work together and there should be no private attempts to set up a common front against the federal government. I trust the Premier of Ontario will carry forward that particular viewpoint to the meeting this summer.

Je veux saluer très sincèrement M. Ryan. Je pense qu'il a conduit une campagne électorale qui était remarquable. L'organisation dans chaque circonscription électorale était quelque chose merveilleux et en général je pense que c'est l'image de M. Ryan comme un homme de fortitude et d'intégrité qui a assisté avec le résultat que nous avons reçu.

Je veux aussi féliciter M. Trudeau. Je pense que notre Premier ministre a fait une intervention très importante, très puissante et je pense que c'était quelque chose qui a aidé beaucoup la cause fédéraliste juste au moment où on en avait besoin.

I also want to pay tribute to the federal opposition leader, Mr. Clark. I thought his speech saying the Canada they were objecting to in Quebec was a Canada of the past put it very well. He also deserves our commendation for the role he played.

I want, therefore, to summarize by saying this. While we can endorse the principles outlined by the Premier, we want to participate not just as politicians but as Ontarians and as people who represent many viewpoints in the province. We want to participate in the select committee and we want to get on with that as rapidly as possible.

We want to participate in any way possible and reasonable in the eventual constitutional discussions, although we recognize that being

at the table might not be the necessary answer to that. There may be other solutions, and I look forward to discussions with the Premier about them.

We reject the idea of a common front of the provinces against the federal government, and we hope that does not happen at the meeting of first ministers this August.

We look forward to constitutional change. We feel Ontario should present what it wants, as a province, at any conferences which occur. We assume there will be preliminary meetings before we actually get to a first ministers' conference, and we would recommend such preliminary meetings, especially as they sort out in Quebec exactly what attitude they intend to take towards these constitutional discussions.

Ontario has a great challenge in front of it; it has a great opportunity. The way in which we treat the forthcoming negotiations may well determine whether Canada survives and, if it does survive, the kind of country it will be.

We endorse the Premier's statement. We look forward to working with him and with other Canadians of goodwill to reformulate the country we all love.

Mr. MacDonald: Mr. Speaker, we in the New Democratic Party welcome the statement of the Premier today as far as it goes. I have one or two other points I would like to make in a moment.

One of the commentators observed with regard to the referendum vote in Quebec that what it did in effect was to give a suspended sentence on Canada. In other words, we are not yet convicted; we have a job to do. The Premier has many times said we must get on with that job. He is willing to go anywhere at any time to pursue the issue of constitutional reform, and he has reiterated that and elaborated on it in his statement today.

However, there are two areas I would like to touch upon by way of going beyond the Premier's statement today. One is in reference to what I would describe as the substance of constitutional reform. The second is in reference to the whole process we might be following.

Up until now, as the Premier has noted, this ad hoc, piecemeal approach to reform has not been successful. What the Premier has done today is to move away from the ad hoc listing of reforms that might be achieved at any given time, as was done, for example, by the Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs in a statement last December, to enunciating a statement of principle.

As far as those principles go, I think we would agree that they spell out the guiding principles we wish to pursue. But what is the exact position of Ontario now? That is what I want to speak to for a moment.

Ontario's position in the Confederation of today and tomorrow is going to be fundamentally different from Ontario's position in the Confederation of yesterday. Ontario's position in the Confederation of yesterday was that we were the almost automatic beneficiary of the whole system. As has sometimes been described, we in this province were the honest brokers of differences that may have emerged elsewhere.

Things have changed. The whole thrust of economic development in this country is moving west. Ontario, as a have-not province, on as vital an issue as energy supply, for example, finds that it is dependent for 80 per cent of its energy supply from outside the province, either from other provinces or outside the country.

Therefore, in constitutional reform we have to be more in the role of the west and the Atlantic provinces in terms of attempting to restructure Confederation so that it can specifically meet the needs of Ontario, because those needs will not be met automatically from the Confederation setup as they have been in the past.

Therefore, I would like to plead with the Premier to move as quickly as possible to assisting us in the House, and those outside the House who now are interested in this topic, in presenting what Ontario's views are.

It is true, as has been pointed out by a number of columnists in the last few days, that Ontario has put on the table a number of things throughout the last 10 years, and this has been used as an argument that Ontario was not locked in and satisfied with the status quo.

But many of those things have not necessarily been commitments. They have been reports, for example, from the advisory committee on Confederation, which may or may not have been accepted totally by the government. Indeed, in one instance, the Penetanguishene issue, it was not accepted for quite some months. What is the government's commitment?

A week or so ago, the Premier made a very interesting statement, at least in terms of its media coverage, in which he said that Ontario was now putting the finishing touches on the Ontario package, the Ontario position. What is the Ontario package? What exactly is the Ontario position?

2:30 p.m.

The Premier has spelled out certain guidelines. We all agree that we must have a viable national government. On the other hand, we all agree that there are certain powers that the federal government has had in the past which may be decentralized to the provinces. Where do we draw the line in that division of powers so that we have a viable national government and yet we transfer certain powers, which might be exercised more effectively in meeting people's needs, to the provinces?

It seems to me that is the nub of the whole constitutional reform issue. If the government is, as the Premier seemed to suggest last week, putting the finishing touches to a package, when is that package going to be revealed? Then all of us in the Legislature who want to be part of this process would be working with something of substance instead of something that is straight speculation.

Let me move to the second part—the Leader of the Opposition has spoken to some of this already: the process by which we are going to operate. Interestingly enough, Ontario today, in one sense, is a step ahead of all other provinces. We have now, by that resolution that was passed unanimously a week or so ago, agreed to the establishment of an all-party committee. This will be a forum in which we can work out what is Ontario's approach and Ontario's needs as we move towards the whole issue of constitutional reform.

We do not have comparable committees in other provinces so we are left with accepting the views of the provincial governments, which do not necessarily represent the total view of the whole Legislature. I do not know if there is any government in this country, with possibly one or two exceptions, that really represents the majority of the people as reflected in their last electoral votes.

We are going to set up a select committee, and that select committee is going to tackle the job of working out the Ontario package. If the Premier has a fairly definitive statement on which he is putting the finishing touches, can he not give that to the Legislature? Can those who are preparing themselves for work on the legislative committee not then be in a position to work with the substance of that proposal and have their input in terms of where they think it can be improved or where modifications can be made?

I think it is legitimate that governments will have to take the initiative in this whole

process of constitutional reform. But I join with the Leader of the Opposition, at least to this extent—particularly as one is shaping a constitution to serve the needs of this nation for the next 100 years or more—that it is necessary that other people in this Legislature in the opposition parties, and other people on the outside, to the extent that they can make an input, should be involved in that process.

I was interested to learn from Ottawa yesterday that the Prime Minister has indicated he is open-minded to the idea that there will be all-party delegations at the constitutional conferences. I understand that Allan Blakeney of Saskatchewan, on behalf of the province, has indicated they are willing to move in that direction. I hope that here in Ontario we will be willing to do that, so that at least we will bring all parties into the picture. In bringing all parties into the picture, the government will be opening the doors more widely to bringing all different points of view into it.

We are all aware that outside of parties we have groups in this country that have very legitimate claims to having an input in constitutional reform. I think partly of the native peoples who were here before either of the founding nations that we speak so much about.

I want to emphasize another point. I think it will be tragic in the whole process of constitutional reform if we do not do something to dispel that sense of frustration—of being forced to the sidelines—on the part of that growing third of the Canadian population that is neither French nor English. This nation was founded initially with the French and English partnership. That basic dualism is inescapable. One of the messages that came out of the referendum vote in Quebec was a willingness to work out a new arrangement for a modern restatement of that dualism, but we would be making a very great mistake if we did not move beyond that. I do not presume for a moment to suggest how it should be done, but we should reflect the legitimate role, the place and the contribution of a growing third group, the new Canadians who have come to this country and who are playing such a major part in its development.

We welcome the statement of the Premier. We join with the Leader of the Opposition in giving him our assurance that we will work towards the fulfilment of the principles which have been enunciated there. But I note in the Premier's statement that he referred to the select committee as being faced with the task of preparing for renewed constitutional

negotiations. I just raise with the Premier, if that is the case and if the time frame in his own mind at the moment is for his operations to be ended by the end of the summer, that it may well be necessary that we should move that legislative committee even before the beginning of the summer.

Allan Blakeney has suggested on behalf of Saskatchewan that we should be moving within a three-week period with the first meeting of at least the intergovernmental affairs ministers to work out the agenda to start the whole process so that it can be picked up by the first ministers at a later date.

If this Legislature, through its select committee, is going to have an input in that and that process is to start three or four weeks from now, I suggest it is necessary that steps should be taken as quickly as possible to establish that select committee so that it can become the vehicle or mechanism for that broader input beyond the government alone, and I would like to believe that the Premier has no objection to that broadening or that open process.

We welcome the statement and we look forward to sharing what the Premier has described as a creative, exciting process for building this nation for future generations.

IRON ORE PELLETS

Hon. Mr. Auld: Mr. Speaker, in recent weeks some members have expressed their concern about the mothballing this month of the iron ore recovery plant of Inco Limited at Sudbury and the implications of this action on those engaged in the iron ore industry in Ontario.

Although I described in this House only a few months ago the problems encountered with some iron ore pellets produced in our province and their unsuitability for steel plants in the major markets, it may be useful to provide an informational report on the situation.

First, it is worth repeating what the Premier (Mr. Davis) has already told this House on May 8, that Inco advised us it intends to absorb into other operations the 200 employees affected by the mothballing of the iron ore recovery plant at Sudbury.

In the iron ore industry, a serious over-supply and overcapacity has existed since 1974, not only in this country but throughout the United States and the rest of the western world.

The primary cause was the expansion of the iron ore mining capacity in the mid-1970s to

meet forecast levels of steel demand which never materialized—and I do not mean forecasts made by this government. This expansion was followed by very low demand for steel from the end of 1974 to the beginning of 1978. At the start of 1978, iron ore stocks in the western world were estimated to be in excess of 200 million metric tonnes, which was the equivalent of 38 per cent of the iron ore production in the western world during 1977.

Turning to the iron ore pellets produced by Inco in Sudbury, the problems are (1) the presence of higher amounts of alkalis, potassium oxide and soda ash than are contained in the average iron ore pellet, (2) Inco pellets contain some nickel as an impurity and (3) there is pellet dusting during handling, such as in the unloading at steel plants.

The alkalis attack the refractory lining of blast surfaces and shorten their working life. The dusting creates poor environmental conditions for workers. As for the nickel impurity, the majority of steel produced in the world does not contain nickel and the presence of nickel is undesirable.

For some time, Hanna Mining Company, a major iron ore company in the United States, was able to market pellets for Inco by wide distribution among its own and other iron ore inventories. The blending of other ores in the refining process minimized the effect of the contaminants but resulted in added costs of handling. But that market came to an end as stocks built up.

2:40 p.m.

Producers of specialty steels that contain nickel, such as stainless steel, cannot use iron ore pellets because those steels are produced in electric furnaces that require the use of scrap steel or pre-reduced iron ore, which is called sponge iron. In an attempt to overcome these problems, Inco, along with Allis-Chalmers Canada Limited and the National Steel Corporation of Canada Limited investigated possibilities of producing sponge iron in the non-operational SL-RN kiln owned by Falconbridge Nickel Mines Limited in Sudbury.

Although a good product was obtained, the costs were too high for the present and this sponge iron cannot compete in price with scrap in the currently depressed steel market. As further illustration of the effect of this depressed market, Stelco Inc. owns a facility to produce pre-reduced iron pellets at the Griffith iron mine in northwestern Ontario, but that facility has been mothballed since 1976 because scrap steel is much less expensive than sponge iron.

From these facts, it can be seen that marketing Inco pellets is extremely difficult in the present state of oversupply in the iron ore industry. The only exception would be small amounts of the pellets for trial purposes or for special needs. Also, marketing problems with Inco pellets are affected strongly by the fact that all major North American steel companies have their own captive supplies of iron ore.

As for the outlook for the future, the potential for marketing of the Ontario iron ore pellets will be affected to some extent by the current world change in regional patterns of steel production. The growth is happening away from the traditional major steel-producing areas, such as the United States, western Europe and Japan, and shifting towards the emerging countries.

The traditional three areas together produced about 47 million metric tonnes less in 1978 than they did in 1974. Meanwhile, the emerging countries, including the Soviet Union, produced about 51 million metric tonnes more in 1978. What the impact of this worldwide change will be on future markets for our iron ore is difficult to gauge. It is an area that the government of Ontario and its staff, along with the federal government, are watching closely, with the hope of anticipating iron ore needs that our provincial sources can supply in the years to come.

It is natural enough that some concern should be expressed about the 200 lost jobs in Sudbury because of the mothballing of the Inco iron ore recovery plant. But, as I have mentioned, the company has said those workers will be accommodated in its other operations. The iron ore mines in Ontario that have shut down in the past two years either ran out of ore or were small, uneconomic operations compared to the newer and larger mine developments in Quebec, Labrador and Minnesota. In general, it may be said that those mines are more efficient because they enjoy economies of scale.

As further evidence of the current drop in demand for iron ore, I would inform this House that on the day before yesterday, a 15 per cent cutback was announced by the Wabush Mines based in Newfoundland. The reason given was lack of demand from its largest customers, Dominion Foundries and Steel Limited and Stelco. Even that large and efficient operation apparently cannot be completely sustained in today's declined markets.

Each year about 60 million metric tonnes of iron ore are produced in Canada. Of this total, 62 per cent or 37 million tonnes are

exported. Imports of iron ore into Canada are about four million tonnes per year, primarily from the United States, while 17 million to 19 million tonnes of Canadian iron ore are shipped to the United States each year—that is to say, four to five times the amount we import. Constitutionally, Ontario cannot interfere in international trade. Also, any such moves could cause great risk to our own export markets.

It has been suggested that the government should force Ontario steel companies to consider processes that would allow the use of the less-desirable Ontario ores at the expense of the imported ore from the United States. Such an action could well lead to reprisals by the United States. The results may well be that more Ontario jobs would be endangered than we would stand to gain—jobs in such centres as Hamilton and Sault Ste. Marie. That is why it is the government's conclusion that it would be unwise for Ontario to intervene unilaterally in that aspect of the international marketplace.

More than 80 per cent of all steel produced in Canada is produced in Ontario. The steel companies in our province are highly efficient and competitive, and have been leaders in steel-making technology in North America. An estimated 90 per cent of Canadian steel exports to the United States are produced in Ontario. In 1979, exports of Ontario steel producers to the United States were estimated at 1,289,000 short tons, whereas imports from the United States into the whole of Canada were estimated at only 500,000 short tons.

Faced with this market situation, the way to stimulate the increase of employment in our province in this industry is to build on the strength of our steel-making expertise and capabilities. We must build on this strength by encouraging company decisions to expand, modernize and remain competitive and by this means increase employment in Ontario. That is what this government is doing.

FOREST FIRES

Hon. Mr. Auld: Mr. Speaker, I would like to inform the members of the House of the latest developments in the extremely serious forest fire situation in the province. Conditions across northern Ontario are critical because of extremely dry conditions. Three regions, the northwestern, northern and north-central regions, have been declared restricted fire zones; that is, all open fires are banned because of the high risk of forest fires. It is anticipated that before this after-

noon is out, all of the northern parts of the province will be declared a restricted fire zone. This is an almost unprecedented move which emphasizes the extreme severity of the conditions.

The weather is not helping the situation. Temperatures in the north are in the 30s, relative humidities are extremely low and winds remain strong at 20 to 30 kilometres per hour. Unfortunately, there is no change or relief in sight so far as the weather is concerned.

During the past 24 hours the situation has worsened considerably in the Kenora and Red Lake areas. At Red Lake, hospital patients and senior citizens have been evacuated by float plane. The rest of the 3,000 people in the community stand ready to be evacuated, if necessary, because a fire is burning out of control in the vicinity. Two other serious fires are out of control in the Kenora area.

Further to the east, the community of Fort Hope is being evacuated. Two Canadian Armed Forces Hercules aircraft from Trenton and three aircraft from Austin Airways have moved about 400 people from Fort Hope to Geraldton, which is 145 miles south. About 100 residents have volunteered to stay behind to fight the fire that threatens their homes. Four Canadian Armed Forces helicopters have been sent to Dryden and Thunder Bay to assist evacuations wherever they may be needed.

Currently there are 31 fires burning in the northwestern region. Approximately 62,000 acres of forest have been burned by these outbreaks. In the Kenora area, a previously held fire, Kenora-23, has again flared up to spread about 25 miles and forced the evacuation of the community of McIntosh.

Trans-Canada Highway 17 has been closed between Vermillion Bay and the junction of highways 17 and 71 at Longbow Lake. The CPR main line has been closed. Also, highway 105 between Ear Falls and Red Lake has been closed until further notice. The main power line to Red Lake is down and telephone service is disrupted. In the resort area between Kenora and Dryden, an area equal to 17 townships has been declared an emergency area by my ministry to facilitate the protection of human life and private property, and to provide for the orderly evacuation of tourist camps, lodges and private cottages as well as the previously mentioned village of McIntosh.

2:50 p.m.

The overall forest fire situation is critical throughout most of the northern regions of

the province, and we have moved in reserve manpower and equipment, especially from the south, to do battle on other fronts as fires break out. But because there is a general shortage of aircraft and equipment at the moment, we are negotiating with the United States Forestry Service at Boise, Idaho, to supply us with additional firefighting equipment and aircraft.

Our staff and volunteers are working around the clock to keep losses and damage to a minimum. To give an example of the measures being taken, all Ministry of Natural Resources staff in the northwestern region have been put on standby for auxiliary fire duty or support work, and all normal operations have been halted until this emergency situation is resolved.

To get a firsthand look at the situation, I and my colleague the Minister of Northern Affairs (Mr. Bernier), with my deputy minister, will be flying shortly to the northern areas affected. We plan to fly over Fort Hope, visit the threatened community of Red Lake, as well as fly over the Kenora to Dryden area. This evening at the Dryden regional fire centre, we will be holding a news conference to update the many news people who are already on the scene or are on their way at this moment.

1980 OLYMPIAD FOR THE PHYSICALLY DISABLED

Hon. Mr. Baetz: Mr. Speaker, in all the talk about the Olympic Games in the summer of 1980, many people have overlooked the fact that there will be two sets of Olympic Games. Canada may not be going to the 22nd Olympiad in Moscow, but it is definitely going to Arnhem in the Netherlands from June 21 to July 5, to take part in the 1980 Olympiad for the Physically Disabled.

I am pleased to announce today that the people of Ontario through their government and the Ministry of Culture and Recreation, will be assisting financially the Canadian mission to the Sixth Olympiad for the Physically Disabled. We will be granting the mission \$1,000 for each Ontario participant, and we anticipate that 40 men and women from Ontario will be on the Canadian team.

This support of the Olympiad for the Physically Disabled is only one manifestation of our growing support for disabled athletes. The Ministry of Culture and Recreation is heavily involved in the annual Ontario Games for the Physically Disabled, which this year will be taking place in Sault Ste. Marie. In addition, we are helping regional games de-

signed to ensure that, whatever the physical capabilities of the athletes, there will be an opportunity to participate for those who wish to do so.

The extent of activity surrounding sports for disabled people emerges as nothing less than dramatic when one considers there were no formal organized competitions for these men and women anywhere in Canada prior to 1967.

Since then, Ontario athletes have demonstrated conclusively that they can be the best in the world. A few weeks ago we honoured some of the province's outstanding athletes at the annual sports award dinner. Among them were 17 amputee and blind world champions—world champions, not simply provincial or national champions. No doubt the Arnhem Olympics will add to the list of Ontario's world champion disabled athletes.

I am sure all honourable members will want to join the government and the Premier, who has a strong personal interest in disabled athletes, in wishing all Ontario participants going to the games at Arnhem good luck and Godspeed.

ORAL QUESTIONS

HYDRO EXPORTS

Mr. S. Smith: Mr. Speaker, a question to the Minister of Energy, if I might, regarding the remarks made by his parliamentary assistant on Tuesday, speaking as the parliamentary assistant to the Minister of Energy. The minister will know he made statements saying it is time for us to take a serious look at building nuclear plants in Ontario specifically to export power to United States markets.

Would the minister not agree that would seem to be a change from the government's policy as enunciated in February 1979 and before then, which said, "While our policy not to build generating capacity solely for export markets has not changed . . ." then went on to discuss other types of exports? Can the minister explain to us why his parliamentary assistant took it upon himself, on behalf of the minister, to enunciate a new policy in this regard? Is it, in fact, government policy? What is the exact viewpoint of the government of Ontario on this matter?

Hon. Mr. Welch: Mr. Speaker, the member for Durham West (Mr. Ashe) spoke to the Toronto branch of the Canadian Institute of Energy on May 20; it was a fairly extensive paper. During the course of his address he volunteered some personal views on this

particular subject and, perhaps unlike other caucuses, we do not discourage personal views being expressed from time to time. I would perhaps underline at this time that those views do not necessarily reflect the government's position on that subject.

Mr. S. Smith: Since the minister says it does not necessarily reflect what the government's position is, perhaps the minister would be kind enough to respond to the question which I just asked him, which is for him to tell us what the government's position happens to be in this matter. When he is doing it, would he also tell us whether the government has looked into any other alternatives to this, such as working with the federal authorities to sell the Candu reactor to the Americans and have them buy our reactor and produce the electricity there?

Hon. Mr. Welch: I thought I had made my position quite clear. The Leader of the Opposition made some reference to some earlier document that purported to represent government policy. There is no change. This government is not contemplating the construction of another nuclear generating station exclusively dedicated for export. In fact, the nuclear program and the commitments of that program were quite clearly set out in the Energy Security for the 80s paper last September, which was released within a few days of my appointment to this responsibility. There is no change in that.

I am sure the member for Durham West would be pleased to send a personally autographed copy of his speech over to the Ontario Leader of the Opposition.

Mr. S. Smith: I have a copy.

Hon. Mr. Welch: It's not autographed, though, is it? It is not autographed yet. He spends a great deal of time in the paper talking in terms of how anxious we are, and Hydro would be, to work along with the federal authorities in promoting the sale of the Canadian technology, which is recognized throughout the world for its safety.

Ms. Gigantes: Mr. Speaker, the minister tells us that it is not government policy to build additional nuclear plants specifically for the purpose of exporting power to the United States. Can he tell us if this is part of a government gambit that is going to lead us into a rationale for finding a market for the excess power we are going to have when the Darlington reactors are ready to run?

Hon. Mr. Welch: Mr. Speaker, it is one thing to ask, as the Leader of the Opposition did, with respect to some specific comments

made by the member for Durham West, and certainly my response stands there. The nuclear construction commitment is already set out and clearly understood, I am sure, by all members of this House.

As far as the question of export itself is concerned, we are involved in the export of electricity in this province and we are not ruling out the question of the export of electricity. Indeed, I would be very surprised, as we proceeded to discuss this whole question of energy and the sharing of energy and the possibility of interconnections and so on, if there were not a great possibility with respect to including this as part of that program.

Mr. J. Reed: Would the minister then direct his parliamentary assistant to issue a public retraction inasmuch as he was speaking in an official capacity at an official function?

Hon. Mr. Davis: If the members opposite had to retract everything they said all the time, they would be in trouble.

Interjections.

Hon. Mr. Davis: Including what the Leader of the Opposition said to the businessmen at Port Credit. Does he want me to read it to the House?

Hon. Mr. Welch: Mr. Speaker, unlike the other parties, there are no muzzles on this side of the House. If the honourable member who has just raised the supplementary were to take the time to read the speech and would look at page eight, the member for Durham West says quite clearly: "In my view, it might even be time to be taking a look. . . ." Now, that's a very personal comment.

Mr. Isaacs: Mr. Speaker, does the minister agree with the comments attributed to his parliamentary assistant that anti-nuclear sentiment is higher in the United States than in Ontario? If he does, how does he justify that statement given the results of the recent Ministry of the Environment Decima poll showing that 50 per cent of people in Ontario are opposed to the building of more nuclear plants?

3 p.m.

Hon. Mr. Welch: Mr. Speaker, the honourable member now leads us into some other comments which are attributed to the member for Durham West. Whether or not they are his statements is something this member might well want to have a conversation with him about—

Mr. Foulds: We want to talk to you about it; you are the minister.

Hon. Mr. Welch: Just wait a minute. I am answering the member for Wentworth.

The studies to which the honourable member makes reference would indicate that there is general public acceptance with the current building program in so far as the nuclear generation aspects of Ontario Hydro are concerned. There are some questions raised about the future. There are some questions raised as to whether the people are supportive beyond the present commitments. Those facts are set out in those studies.

I repeat that the only commitments at the moment are those that have been quite clearly understood, that were set out in the paper Energy Security for the 80s and those take us up to and including the Darlington project.

SMALL BUSINESS LOANS

Mr. S. Smith: A question to the Treasurer, Mr. Speaker: the Treasurer will recall a few days ago I asked him to call in the heads of the chartered banks to seek a lower interest rate for small businesses such as exists in British Columbia with the Bank of British Columbia. His answer began this way, "Ontario does offer lower-interest loans to small business through the Ontario Development Corporation. The current rate is in the range of 10.5 to 11 per cent, I believe, on eligible loans through that route."

Would the Treasurer kindly correct the impression he left, because some business people heard that statement and called the Ontario Development Corporation. There was a firm in Hamilton, for instance, that did that. The answer was very blunt, to the effect that the ODC simply does not make such loans. Other business people have called and were told that if they could get an 18 per cent or 20 per cent loan anywhere else, they were obliged to take it. It was only for firms that could get no loans anywhere else at any rate that the ODC financing might then be made available. Would the Treasurer care to correct the misleading impression which he inadvertently left with the House?

Hon. F. S. Miller: Mr. Speaker, the Leader of the Opposition asked what rates we gave small businesses and I pointed out that we do give loans at those rates. I think that is still accurate. I will be glad to have the actual figures verified for the honourable member. The ODC is the lender of last resort by definition and always has been.

I might point out to the honourable member that the news today, for example, was that the bank rate dropped to 11.83 per cent. That's a drop—

Mr. S. Smith: No thanks to you.

Hon. F. S. Miller: No thanks to me. But if other governments ran their business as well as this government does, the rate never would have gone up.

The honourable member is fully aware that the inflation in this country is a major function of the poor fiscal management of his federal Liberal friends. The media call that the central government.

Interjections.

Mr. Speaker: Order.

Mr. S. Smith: The question originally asked on May 13 plainly requested the Treasurer to call in the chartered banks and ask them to give a favourable rate to small business as the Bank of British Columbia did. Since the answer to that had to do with the availability of loans here in Ontario, and it turns out that those loans are not available here in Ontario, would the Treasurer be good enough to recognize that he has inadvertently misled some business people in this regard?

More than that, will the Treasurer now agree to call in the heads of the chartered banks and ask them to do exactly the same thing here in Ontario that has been managed by the Bank of British Columbia in western Canada?

Hon. F. S. Miller: The rates will drop at least 1.5 per cent by Monday morning. The honourable member knows that; that is not good enough. There is a price for that commodity. We do offer those loans for small businesses. The rate does vary, but I am told that one can get those loans; they are being given every day of the week. I will be glad to get the details from three ODCs for him, either directly or through the minister responsible. Those loans are being made.

Mr. S. Smith: This company phoned the ODC, asked for money, and the ODC said, "Can you get any anywhere else?" Would the Treasurer not agree that in these circumstances, when the answer was, "Yes, we can, at 18 or 20 per cent elsewhere," the ODC said, "Well then, we can't lend you anything." That being the case, does the Treasurer not think he should go to the chartered banks and ask them to give special consideration to small business?

Hon. F. S. Miller: The Ontario Development Corporation and the Federal Business Development Bank were set up to add to the lending powers of the general banks simply because they would not cover some of the high-risk situations. That is exactly the area we cover and exactly the function. We are not a general bank. We are there to assist specific industries with specific loans.

Mr. Di Santo: Mr. Speaker, exactly because the ODC is a bank of last resort, does the minister not think that at this point in time, when especially the small businessmen in the manufacturing sector in Ontario are faced with a recession, the government should undertake an effort such as it did with the Employment Development Fund?

Hon. F. S. Miller: I am not quite sure I understand that question, Mr. Speaker. Through the EDF, we give specific assistance to companies: sometimes a grant, sometimes an interest subsidy, sometimes a loan guarantee, as properly befits the case before the board.

When I see the central bank rate drop to below 12 per cent today—it is 11.83—

Mr. Kerrio: The feds are doing that.

Hon. F. S. Miller: I have never denied whose responsibility it was. I have never denied it was theirs when it was up. I will not deny it now it is coming down.

Mr. Kerrio: Joe Clark was there.

Hon. F. S. Miller: Joe Clark was there. Probably the fact they copied Joe Clark's budget is one of the reasons it is starting to drop now.

OPTED-OUT SPECIALISTS

Mr. MacDonald: A question of the Minister of Health, Mr. Speaker: While the number of opted-out doctors in Ontario appears to have stabilized at about the 17 per cent level, the number of specialists in Metropolitan Toronto, where 55 per cent of the specialists for the whole province happen to practise, has risen to 36 per cent, and in the region of York it has risen to 57.8 per cent, according to the latest figures. Does the minister not consider that this kind of opting out in a very important aspect of the delivery of medical services deserves his attention?

Hon. Mr. Timbrell: Yes, Mr. Speaker.

Mr. MacDonald: What is the minister going to do about it?

Hon. Mr. Timbrell: First of all, I am glad to have the opportunity to put on the record the fact that the level of opting out has declined. It has declined every month for the past five or six months, which is quite contrary to some of the predictions that came from the other side of the House a couple of years ago, that 35 to 40 per cent of all the doctors in the province would opt out.

As I acknowledged to the House several months ago, the biggest difficulty we have is with anaesthetists. That is one group for whom we have designed a particular response

which now is being discussed with several large anaesthetic groups and which we hope, quite frankly, will have a beneficial effect in providing an alternative to the existing system.

I am not totally satisfied with it. I am satisfied, though, that trying to work out problems addressed to the individual specialties and to the particular regions of the province is far better than using some kind of wide scythe across the whole system.

Mr. Roy: Mr. Speaker, I would like to ask the minister if he kept his promise at the time that a petition was filed in this House by the NDP with 250,000 names. Did he write to all those 250,000 people? If he did not or he changed his mind, would he write to them now and tell them that the same people who were criticizing him are now in bed with him?

3:10 p.m.

Hon. Mr. Timbrell: Mr. Speaker, I can assure you that there is only one person in bed with me.

Hon. Mr. Parrott: Is that one at a time?

Hon. Mr. Timbrell: Mr. Speaker, my colleague the Minister of the Environment is interrupting.

As a matter of fact, I felt the media gave such thorough coverage to my response that I decided not to spend the money in that way. What I did instead was to spend the money on a research project on the question of the donation of blood in the province, which is an ongoing concern to us, considering that only four per cent of the population gives blood. I think that research project should be completed within the next month or so. I hope it will help the Red Cross and the government beef up the donation program.

Mr. MacDonald: I appreciate the Minister of Health acknowledging that the efforts of the New Democratic Party last fall have stabilized or fractionally reduced the overall number of doctors opting out. However, my supplementary question to the Minister of Health is this: Why does he continue to flout growing public concern, particularly with regard to specialists, when the government's own polls a few months ago, now confirmed by a Toronto Star poll a day or so ago, indicated that 69 per cent of the people feel that the government should prohibit doctors from opting out, and 75 per cent feel that doctors who have opted out should be charged for using hospital and treatment facilities?

Hon. Mr. Timbrell: My response might be a little longer than normal, Mr. Speaker, so I

will understand if you add a few minutes to question period.

First of all, let me correct the record. Going back a couple of years ago, when the Anti-Inflation Board program ended, we forecast that we were going to see, because of the pent-up frustrations and pressures during the AIB period, an increase in opting out.

The members opposite will recall that they predicted we were going to see something in the order of 35 to 40 per cent—some even predicted 50 per cent—of all the doctors in the province would be opted out. If we had followed some of the advice coming from that side at that time, we would have seen figures of that order.

This is not a problem that is exclusive to Ontario; it is a problem that is confronting every single province. You can go to any province today and find, especially in the records of the Hall commission, that there are tensions that exist between organized medicine and the governments of the 10 provinces. The question is, what do you do about it?

I don't think the way to resolve the problem is to use the heavy hand of government regulations; for that matter, neither has any other provincial government, and I think that is significant. Regardless of political stripe, every other provincial government has realized that this is going to be resolved only on a national basis. That is why all of us welcomed the appointment of Mr. Justice Hall to review medicare and to make his comments on whether the principles of universality and accessibility are being threatened—there are a lot of us who do not believe they are—and if he does believe that, what he would recommend as a national resolution to the problem.

It is interesting to me that when I walked in this afternoon I was handed a copy of a Canadian Press wire story from Alberta. The province of Alberta has had a balance billing system for several years, I guess for as long as they have been in medicare. The Minister of Health of Alberta announced today that they are going to introduce a system identical to Ontario's to answer their concerns about balance billing.

Mr. McClellan: That is no surprise. They are as stupid as this government.

Hon. Mr. Timbrell: Let's talk about the others. Let's talk about Saskatchewan, where almost 40 per cent of the doctors are on balance billing for some of the patients some of the time. Let's talk about the fact that in this province we have contained the problem to a peak of 18 per cent a year ago

February—not last fall, when the New Democratic Party was tabling petitions—and it has come down steadily ever since.

I am not satisfied that we have the problem licked, but it is not going to be resolved by an earth-shattering confrontation that would only destroy the health-care system that people of this province enjoy.

FRENCH-LANGUAGE SERVICES

Mr. MacDonald: Mr. Speaker, I accept that the Minister of Health says he is going to continue to flout public concerns, as reflected in his own polls.

My question is to the Attorney General: Is the minister aware that registry offices in this province stipulate that all documents must be in English only and that any other document in a foreign language, including French, must be accompanied by a certified translation? Does the minister not consider that this situation, which has been drawn to his attention for many years, is in violation of the government's assurance of providing services in French?

Hon. Mr. McMurtry: Mr. Speaker, the Ministry of the Attorney General does not administer the registry offices in this province. They are administered by the Ministry of Consumer and Commercial Relations. All I can tell the member is that I know some initiatives are being taken by that ministry to resolve this issue.

Mr. MacDonald: I will redirect my question, by way of supplementary, to the Minister of Consumer and Commercial Relations. When are we going to have some action to acknowledge government assurance of delivery of services in French and the recognition of French as part of the language of this Legislature, for example, by amendments to the Registry Act which will not declare French to be just another foreign language?

Hon. Mr. Drea: Mr. Speaker, we are working towards that goal. There will be amendments to the Registry Act and the Land Titles Act very shortly.

I want to draw the member's attention to some of the inadequacies of his presentation. One of the difficulties in providing a registry in the French language alone is that there are a number of technical phrases in conveyancing descriptions that are not easily translatable into the two languages.

Ms. Gigantes: What are they doing in Quebec?

Hon. Mr. Drea: The member for Carleton East asks what they are doing in Quebec.

They do not have a similar registry system. They have an entirely different one. My task would be infinitely easier if Quebec had a registry or land titles system comparable to that of Ontario. I want to proceed in this direction and I intend to, but I am not going to raise certain expectations. What we are looking for is the right of a Franco-Ontarian—or indeed anybody else, but particularly a Franco-Ontarian—to do a conveyance bilingually in which, for the record, because after all it is land conveyancing, the official language will be English. The reverse side of the document or, perhaps, even a separate document can be filled out in its entirety in the French language.

I have talked to solicitors across this province and, as a first step, this is considered to be very practical and very desirable.

When dealing with foreign languages—that is, languages other than French or English—and the ability for someone to come in with information in a foreign language other than French or English, that would be a convenience but there must be a translation into the English language because it is land conveyancing; it is permanent. The next person who comes in to buy that property may not know that foreign language.

I am very hopeful that by the end of this year the program for the filing of a bilingual document—that is, in English and French—will be available in many of the registry offices across the province.

Mr. Swart: After 37 years—

Hon. Mr. Drea: What is the member for Welland-Thorold's problem?

Mr. Swart: I said after 37 years of government you are about to take the first step.

Mr. Speaker: Order.

Hon. Mr. Drea: Mr. Speaker, I will tell you, that man knows as much about land conveyancing as he does about toilet paper.

Mr. Speaker: Order.

Mr. MacDonald: Since the minister's statement is really a rationalization for maintenance of the status quo and says in effect that it is impossible to make a precise statement in legal terms within the French language—which is surely fatuous; there is a fair portion of the world that is doing it now—would the minister not at least accept a document for registration which is acceptable to the partners involved?

Hon. Mr. Drea: Obviously the member does not understand land conveyancing. It

is not necessarily for the partners involved; it is for 10, 15 or 25 years down the road.

Mr. MacDonald: They could get a translation.

Hon. Mr. Drea: Oh well, the member wants an orderly land registration and an orderly land title system. We are taking a first step. I take responsibility for it. It is a very practical and desirable first step. It meets with the approval of the Franco-Ontarian solicitors in areas where this type of conveyancing would be very desirable. But I want to be very honest with this House: It is not yet practical for a person to come in with a French-only document; it must be a bilingual document.

3:20 p.m.

HYDRO MEMORANDUM OF UNDERSTANDING

Mr. Haggerty: Mr. Speaker, I would like to direct a question to the Minister of Energy—

Mr. Roy: We haven't had a chance to ask a supplementary.

Mr. Speaker: You had an opportunity right after the second and third supplementaries over there.

Mr. Roy: On a point of order, Mr. Speaker—

Mr. Speaker: There is nothing out of order.

Mr. Roy: There was only one supplementary.

Mr. Speaker: No, there was not; there were three.

Mr. Haggerty: My question is to the Minister of Energy. Has the memorandum of understanding between the Minister of Energy and the board of directors of Ontario Hydro, which is to define the respective roles and responsibilities of the two parties, been finalized yet?

In view of the fact that this sort of agreement was recommended by Task Force Hydro as far back as 1972, and since we were informed more than a year ago that this agreement was being developed, and since it has also been recommended by the Porter commission, will the minister table the memorandum of understanding now?

Hon. Mr. Welch: Mr. Speaker, the memorandum has not been completed yet. Discussions are still under way. As soon as those discussions are completed and the various approvals obtained, it is my plan to table the memorandum in the House.

Mr. Haggerty: Can the minister give any indication whether it might be two months or six weeks when it will be completed?

Hon. Mr. Welch: I cannot be any more specific than that as there are still a few details to be worked out.

Ms. Gigantes: Mr. Speaker, while the minister is working on agreements, I wonder if he would consider working out one with his parliamentary assistant while he is at it.

MINISTRY OF LABOUR ADVERTISING

Mr. Bounsall: Mr. Speaker, I have a question for the Minister of Consumer and Commercial Relations. Although I applaud the Minister of Labour's very belated conversion to enforce and make known to women of Ontario the equal pay for substantially the same work provisions under the Employment Standards Act, would the minister very carefully scrutinize the newspaper ads currently being placed by the Minister of Labour, with a view to prosecuting that ministry for misleading advertising?

I am not referring to the subway and radio ads, which are okay. But in that newspaper ad, in the section where they attempt to clarify the definition of substantially the same work, they imply that a composite of skill, effort and responsibility will be used. This can be accomplished only by the passage of my private member's bill on equal pay for work of equal value, and cannot be accomplished under the present legislation.

Hon. Mr. Drea: Mr. Speaker, in an effort to have uniform standards, the prosecutions and the investigations on that form of advertising are handled by my friend and colleague, the honourable Andre Ouellet, the Minister of Consumer and Corporate Affairs in Ottawa. I would be very glad to convey the question to him.

Mr. Bounsall: I hope he is not going to do that, under the new constitution.

Is the minister not concerned that a colleague of his is placing advertisements which are, by the implications made therein, not correct with the legislation we currently have? They are implying something which this House and the government over there have decided they are not going to pass because the time is not yet right for such legislation.

Hon. Mr. Drea: Not being a devotee of the advertising field—and, as a matter of fact, feeling intruded upon since I cannot even get the ball scores in the morning from Wally Crouter because of all kinds of government advertisements—I would like to leave it to the federal minister, who can look at it impartially.

DOCTOR JOSEPH O. RUDDY
GENERAL HOSPITAL

Mr. Ashe: Mr. Speaker, I have a question for the Minister of Health.

Interjections.

Mr. Ashe: It is nice to know that I gave such an excellent speech that it has this House so enthralled with it.

The district health council in the regional municipality of Durham recently commissioned Peat, Marwick and Partners to do a hospital needs study. Out of that study there was a recommendation relating to a considerably changed use for the Doctor Joseph O. Ruddy General Hospital in Whitby, which is in my constituency. I must say I have had quite a number of concerns brought to my attention.

Mr. Speaker: Can we have the question?

Mr. Ashe: Is the minister in a position to respond as to his views on the changed role proposed for that hospital?

Mr. Bradley: The minister just happens to have the answer.

Hon. Mr. Timbrell: I had the answer when the member got up on his ill-fated question about ambulance attendants, as a matter of fact.

Mr. Speaker, for the record, the draft report prepared by the consultants for the health council on the hospital role study has said they feel the Doctor Joseph O. Ruddy General Hospital should form the core of the rebuilt Whitby Psychiatric Hospital; that is, the report would put it out of active and/or chronic care. I do not agree with that recommendation and I will be so indicating to the health council in the not-too-distant future.

AGRIPARK TOMATO PROJECTS

Mr. Mancini: Mr. Speaker, my question is to the Minister of Agriculture and Food, and it may also interest the Minister of Energy. Now that the absolute worst fears of Ontario Greenhouse Growers have come to pass as a result of the report in today's Globe and Mail with headlines that say, "Radiation Rate Is High in Tomatoes," would the minister now consider abandoning the nuclear agripark projects at Bruce and Pickering, even though the minister may have felt at one time he had some considerable support in trying to promote these projects?

Hon. Mr. Henderson: No, Mr. Speaker.

Mr. Mancini: Does the minister not feel at all concerned that the consumers who must buy these greenhouse tomatoes may not be

able to differentiate between the tomatoes that are being grown on a project basis at the nuclear plants and the ones that are produced for sale by Ontario greenhouse farmers? Does the minister not believe this type of publicity is going to be harmful to greenhouse growers? Since he has not seen fit in the past to assist the existing industry, why is he taking steps now to help with its destruction?

Hon. Mr. Henderson: Maybe the Minister of Energy can help me, but within the past two weeks we had the opportunity of meeting with the greenhouse operators. They are equally as interested in the Bruce agripark as we are. They want the research work done. They want to know what can be done to reduce their energy costs.

Mr. MacDonald: Mr. Speaker, since the level of radioactivity in these nuclear tomatoes is less than one millirem when the permissible level is five, would the minister investigate whether the radioactivity of that tomato is any more than the radioactivity of the member who asked the question?

Hon. Mr. Henderson: Mr. Speaker, we will be glad to research that.

Mr. Mancini: Unlike the New Democratic Party, I am concerned about the greenhouse industry. It is very important in Essex county.

Interjections.

Mr. Speaker: Order.

Mr. Mancini: In view of the fact that the greenhouse industry has basically asked the Ontario government for assistance in ensuring that the existing type of industry remains viable and has passed resolutions as such, which I forwarded to the Minister of Industry and Tourism (Mr. Grossman), surely the Minister of Agriculture and Food knows that the agripark research being done at the nuclear plants can in no way assist the existing industry; and since the minister has already had his kick at the can in trying to promote these nuclear agripark projects; and since we can now see the failure of these projects, why does the minister not move to try to assist the existing industry? Why does the minister take such an unreasonable position?

3:30 p.m.

Hon. Mr. Henderson: Again, I must respond to the honourable member that the greenhouse growers themselves appear to be much further ahead in their research and the work they have put into this than is the honourable member. The growers themselves

are equally interested in this research. When up to 37 per cent of their cost is energy, and down the road a year from now it looks like it will be 45 to 47 per cent, they are ready to use waste heat or waste energy and put it into operation. Some of them are even ready to move wherever this waste heat or used heat might be to make use of it. They are requesting that we proceed along the lines we have been following.

Mr. Mancini: That is absolutely false and the minister knows it.

Hon. Mr. Henderson: Mr. Speaker, on a point of privilege: I would ask the honourable member if he would repeat what he just said and ask you to rule on it.

Mr. Speaker: I did not hear it. Would the honourable member like to repeat it?

Mr. Mancini: The minister's statement is absolutely false, Mr. Speaker.

Mr. Speaker: Would the member like to substitute a more acceptable word?

Mr. Mancini: The minister's statement is factually incorrect, Mr. Speaker.

DEATH OF ALBERT JOHNSON

Mr. Renwick: Mr. Speaker, my question is for the Attorney General. Has he rejected the proposal I made to him last week with respect to the exercise of his authority under section 508 of the Criminal Code in relation to the death of Albert Cecil Johnson? Does the minister now understand fully and clearly that the community will never know all the circumstances leading up to the death of Albert Cecil Johnson on August 26, because the Ontario Provincial Police investigation report will never be available; and because the Attorney/Solicitor General did not see fit to direct a coroner's inquest to be held? Is he not aware that the failure to provide the venue by which all those circumstances will be known is a matter of deep concern within the community? Will he, therefore, reconsider his position with respect to the exercise of authority under section 508 of the Criminal Code?

Hon. Mr. McMurtry: Mr. Speaker, it has never been the practice in this province, for very good reason, to have an inquest conducted when there is the possibility or, as occurred in this case, the actuality of criminal charges. In this particular case, as the honourable member knows, two police officers of Metropolitan Toronto have been charged with manslaughter. I do not intend to comment one way or the other on the

nature of the evidence that will be introduced as a result of the OPP investigation.

I would think the member for Riverdale might want the trial to have taken place, as the criminal charges have not been dealt with, before engaging in any discussion as to what else might be considered, if anything, in relation to what he refers to as "the circumstances leading up to the death of Albert Cecil Johnson."

Mr. Renwick: Has the Attorney General read and studied the transcript of the evidence given at the preliminary inquiry and the matter of the indictment of the two police officers?

Hon. Mr. McMurtry: No, I have not read the transcript of the preliminary inquiry.

Mrs. Campbell: Mr. Speaker, in the light of the answers of the Attorney General to the member for Riverdale, is the Attorney General now in a position to advise us whether he is prepared at least to make available to me and to the member for Riverdale that OPP report so we may be in the same position to understand exactly what we are about in this particular case?

Hon. Mr. McMurtry: No, not at this time, Mr. Speaker. I would be quite prepared to pursue this conversation privately, but I cannot make any public commitment at this time. I would like to know a little more of the purpose for which the honourable member wishes to have access to this report. Police reports are generally treated as confidential. Whenever possible, I like to share the contents of these reports with members, particularly Justice critics, privately. It has occurred in the past and it will occur in the future, but I am very concerned that nothing take place that in any way might be even perceived to be improperly influencing the outcome of these very serious charges.

Mr. Renwick: Will the Attorney General take the time, along with his senior law officers, to read and study the evidence given at the preliminary inquiry in the case of the indictment of the two police officers?

Hon. Mr. McMurtry: In view of the great interest demonstrated by the member for Riverdale, I am quite prepared to review the matter. As to where this will lead, I do not know, but I am quite prepared to do that.

GASOLINE CONTAINERS

Hon. Mr. Drea: Mr. Speaker, on Tuesday, the member for Windsor-Sandwich (Mr. Bounsall) asked a question about filling five-gallon containers with gasoline and the safety

hazards in and around the city of Windsor. First of all, the ministry is quite aware of some difficulties that service station proprietors have had in insisting that any container that is filled with gasoline be the container approved for use in this province.

We have had great co-operation from the state of Michigan. We have had co-operation from the media in the state of Michigan, as well. There is a widespread information campaign on the fact that only the approved container will be filled because, as the House will recall, the service station proprietor or the person at the pump is forbidden to put gasoline in other than an approved container. Much of the difficulty is as a result of the lack of knowledge by nonresidents of this province.

Where the gasoline goes really begs the question. There are a number of Americans who reside in that area during the summertime. That gasoline can be used for power mowers, for boats or for a great number of things.

The purpose of the approved container in the province is to make the transportation of the petroleum product, whether it is in the back of a vehicle, in the front of a vehicle, by hand, in a wheelbarrow, or whatever, as safe as is possible.

Mr. Bounsall: Mr. Speaker, is the minister saying to us that the transportation of gasoline in those approved containers in the trunks of cars and in vans is a good and valid highway safety practice, which is where the concern is coming in? The firemen and those involved with highway safety in Windsor are saying that is much less safe than even the old Pinto design in terms of a rear-end collision. Is the minister saying that is not correct?

Hon. Mr. Drea: First of all, if a person goes to a central place to obtain a petroleum product, he must have some method of transporting it home. Whether that container was looked at in terms of safety, it was introduced in this province, it was phased in. There was a lot of resentment in Ontario by Ontario residents that they could no longer use a plastic milk jug, a paint can or something they had purchased some years ago.

3:40 p.m.

The problem in Windsor, as I understand it, is that people from outside of this jurisdiction want to use a container that is acceptable in the state of Michigan, the state of Ohio or some other place. The service station proprietors are complying with the law and saying they will not dispense gasoline into those containers. That is leading to some difficulties and some arguments. The service

station proprietors in Windsor, as well as other authorities, want an information campaign. I agreed to go there last week and would have been there except that, unfortunately, I had a medical appointment that precluded it. I will be there myself.

How one gets gasoline from a service station to one's power mower or boat without transporting it, I do not know. If the member is going to tell me that he does not want gasoline transported for a boat in any kind of public vehicle, then I do not know how people are going to get fuel to operate any kind of power boat in this province, in the majority of cases.

Mr. B. Newman: Mr. Speaker, I think the minister has failed to answer the question I put to the Minister of Transportation and Communications yesterday which was in the case where there are add-on tanks to private cars, but generally to mobile units, which are simply welded on and give the vehicles additional mileage capacity by carrying more gasoline.

Hon. Mr. Drea: Mr. Speaker, there are two courses of action in that regard. As members know, there are standards at point of sale for a new vehicle. If those things are added on or modified prior to point of sale, then obviously they are covered by federal standards. They may be modified after the point of sale; I do not know whose jurisdiction that is in formally, but I have asked our director of energy safety to look at auxiliary devices.

It seems to me a very practical consideration. If only an approved container, other than a gasoline tank which is already approved as a national standard, can be used to hold gasoline, obviously we should be looking at either a standard or an inspection or a declaration that there are additional tanks.

As I said, the jurisdiction may be somewhat vague but we will take the responsibility of attempting to sort it out.

QUEEN ELIZABETH WAY WIDENING

Mr. Bradley: I have a question for the Minister of Transportation and Communications, Mr. Speaker. In view of the considerable alarm that has been raised amongst a number of residents adjacent to the Queen Elizabeth Way where it proceeds through the city of St. Catharines, could the minister assure the House that his officials will set up a public information meeting to explain all of the details of the proposed widening of the Queen Elizabeth Way? Would he also assure us that his officials

will meet in the very near future with officials of the local municipalities to explain fully the plans for his ministry, particularly in the light of the fact that the population growth patterns in the peninsula have changed considerably and that vehicular use of the highway may not increase at the anticipated rate because of the energy crisis?

Hon. Mr. Snow: Mr. Speaker, I can say that the normal procedure followed by my officials on every construction project of any significance is to meet with the elected councils of the municipalities involved where the highway is passing through. Also, when the plans are developed to the appropriate stage, public information drop-in centres are established. These are well advertised and everybody is invited to come in and look over the proposed plans. I am not aware of any particular plan for the widening of the Queen Elizabeth Way in the St. Catharines area that has reached the stage where we would be in a position to present plans.

What the member may be discussing is the plan for the highway 406 connection with the Queen Elizabeth Way. I am not sure.

Mr. Bradley: Could the minister indicate to the House why his officials apparently have eliminated all alternative proposals to the widening of the Queen Elizabeth Way? I am talking about the long-term plans for the area probably between Stoney Creek and Fort Erie. It appears from preliminary plans that have been presented to St. Catharines city council that they have eliminated any alternative, for instance, of going across the southern part of the Niagara Peninsula, which would be in keeping with the announced plans of the provincial government to preserve as much of the prime agricultural land in the province as possible.

Hon. Mr. Snow: I am somewhat confused as to what plans the honourable member is referring to. It is my understanding that the Queen Elizabeth Way can be widened from Hamilton to Fort Erie without any acquisition of new property or without any effect whatsoever on farm land as far as the actual Queen Elizabeth Way corridor is concerned.

However, additional land will be required for any arteries taking off from the corridor. This is certainly so for the highway 406 connection to the Queen Elizabeth Way at St. Catharines, once it leaves the existing right of way.

MIRACLE FOOD MART

Mr. Swart: Mr. Speaker, my question is to the Minister of Consumer and Commercial

Relations—and I hope he will note that we got the terminology right.

Does the minister recall that almost two months ago I asked him to intervene and advise Miracle Food Mart to rescind its new pricing policy whereby it was retagging and marking up the goods on the shelf as soon as the price on the new stock from the supplier increased? The minister will recall also that I reported they were instituting removable, come-clean tags. He said he would look into it and report back to the House. Apart from wanting to let this issue die, can the minister explain why it has taken all this time to get an answer and can he now report to the House?

Hon. Mr. Drea: Mr. Speaker, I thought I made it abundantly plain subsequent to that time that the issue was part of the ongoing deliberations into the whole question of electronic scanning with or without prices. I said I intended to report on the two of them together as soon as all of the surveys were in on the electronic scanning.

Mr. Swart: I don't think there was any such statement made by the minister in this House. But when he does report on this, will he make an investigation into the additional cost to the consumer by this marking up of goods on the shelf, not only by Miracle Food Mart but also by all the major supermarkets in this province? And will he table the results of such an investigation?

Hon. Mr. Drea: That was why I wanted to tie it in with the electronic scanning without prices. The only reason a store does it is to facilitate electronic scanning without prices. There is to be no—

Mr. Swart: No, they are removing tags—

Hon. Mr. Drea: Oh, please. If there is going to be electronic scanning without item pricing, then that would become the most expensive thing ever foisted on the supermarket. People will never hear of it again.

Mr. B. Newman: Mr. Speaker, has the minister set a deadline as to when the committee is supposed to report on the survey that is being conducted at the present time?

Hon. Mr. Drea: It really is not a committee. It is being done in the ministry. As the member will recall and as the House will recall, it employed a great many surveys into particular areas. We are only short about one.

I have put a deadline on it—I really want to table it before the House adjourns. I would like to have the matter settled by then. I am waiting for one piece. It is not from the government and it is not from the consumers'

association; it is from a segment of industry. That should be forthcoming very quickly, because the survey was done in the first three months of the calendar year.

COMMUNITY COLLEGE PLACES

Mr. Roy: Mr. Speaker, I want to ask a question of the Minister of Education pertaining to questions I have asked her before. It concerns the problem of the high-technology industries in Ottawa getting enough people to fill those 800 jobs that are apparently vacant at this time and their great concern for the future.

I would like to ask the minister whether she is aware of the comment made by the president of Algonquin College, Dr. Isabelle last week? He stated that there are some 2,000 Ottawa area students who are deprived of a higher education each year while remote area community colleges sit empty. Algonquin College has satellite campuses, for instance, in areas such as—is it Timmins? Is it Cornwall? Apparently there are heavy vacancies in those areas, whereas in the Ottawa area there is a shortage. Something like 14,000 students apply and 10,000 are rejected.

Are there any plans in the ministry to change that as there would not be this situation where there is a lack of space in the Ottawa area while at the same time there are apparently many vacancies in some of the other campuses?

3:50 p.m.

Hon. Miss Stephenson: Mr. Speaker, the registrars of the community colleges this year have developed a program of pooling information regarding applicants in order to better share that information so as to provide potential students with all the information about alternative courses or similar courses in other institutions if they cannot be admitted to the first institution of their choice.

It is hoped this will encourage many of the young people, who apply for a specific course at one institution and cannot be admitted there, to seriously consider going to the other area where that course is being provided in order that they may not be deprived of the educational program they want.

Mr. Roy: Following up on Dr. Isabelle's comments that out of the 10,000 who will be rejected because of lack of space in the Ottawa area, some 8,000 will apparently get an education elsewhere, his estimate is that 2,000 young people in that area will not be able to get in anywhere and will not be able to get that education.

In view of the very special situation involving high-technology industry in the Ottawa area, which we should do our utmost to encourage because in the Ottawa area there are not many things going well besides that particular industry, would the minister agree with her government's policy, which states that the funds for institutions like Algonquin will not increase until the smaller schools are full? In view of the problem in the Ottawa area, does the minister think she should continue that policy?

Hon. Miss Stephenson: I am not sure where that quotation came from. I doubt that it was Dr. Isabelle's statement, because Dr. Isabelle knows well there were additional funds provided last year, which will be continued this year, specifically for the introduction of new programs related to high-potential employment opportunities. The community colleges took great advantage of that last year. In fact, they did not meet the quota set for them, but, I believe, it is their intention to do that this year.

I think it would be well to reiterate that in my conversation with Dr. Isabelle, which took place on Tuesday, May 20, he informed me the information related to this high-technology program, which had been publicized in the Ottawa Citizen, was entirely erroneous; that the Community Industrial Training Council, in which he or members of his staff participate, had been very actively pursuing the matter; that there was a survey going on at this time; and that Algonquin was quite prepared to be of great service in the development of programs for the young people who might consider entering such high-technology programs.

REPORTS

STANDING COMMITTEE ON RESOURCES DEVELOPMENT

Mr. Villeneuve from the standing committee on resources development reported the following resolution:

That supply in the following amounts and to defray the expenses of the Ministry of Transportation and Communications be granted to Her Majesty for the fiscal year ending March 31, 1981:

Ministry administration program, \$28,395,000; planning, research and development program, \$12,839,000; safety and regulation program, \$45,130,000; provincial roads program, \$455,742,000; provincial transit program, \$74,159,000; air program, \$4,411,000; municipal roads program, \$419,902,000; mu-

nicipal transit program, \$156,318,000; communications program, \$2,162,000.

STANDING COMMITTEE ON GENERAL GOVERNMENT

Mr. Cureatz from the standing committee on general government presented the committee's report and moved its adoption:

Your committee begs to report the following bill with certain amendments:

Bill Pr26, An Act respecting the City of Brantford.

Mr. Speaker: Those in favour will please say "aye."

Those opposed will please say "nay."

In my opinion the ayes have it.

Report adopted.

MOTIONS

WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION BOARD REPORT

Mr. Wells moved that any subcommittee consideration of the annual report of the Workmen's Compensation Board committed by order of the House on Tuesday last be concurrent with sittings of the standing committee on resources development.

Motion agreed to.

COMMITTEE SITTING

Hon. Mr. Wells moved that the select committee on Ontario Hydro affairs be authorized to sit from noon to 2 p.m. on Wednesday, May 28, 1980.

Motion agreed to.

INTRODUCTION OF BILLS

COUNTY OF OXFORD AMENDMENT ACT

Hon. Mr. Wells moved first reading of Bill 74, An Act to amend the County of Oxford Act, 1974.

Motion agreed to.

Hon. Mr. Wells: Mr. Speaker, this bill proposes to alter the method of selecting the city of Woodstock's representatives on county council. It also proposes to authorize the Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs to defer applications for change to wards or to council composition in Oxford, to allow county council to provide insurance benefits to members of council, to remove the requirement that county council consolidate its roads bylaw every five years and to permit county council to purchase and rent machinery for the municipality's purpose.

REGIONAL MUNICIPALITY OF OTTAWA-CARLETON AMENDMENT ACT

Hon. Mr. Wells moved first reading of Bill 75, An Act to amend the Regional Municipality of Ottawa-Carleton Act.

Motion agreed to.

Hon. Mr. Wells: Mr. Speaker, this bill would add two members to the regional council, one each from the city of Nepean and the township of Gloucester. The proposed amendment also provides for the method of selecting the representatives from Nepean and Gloucester who would sit on regional council and deletes reference to the position of deputy reeve in Gloucester.

It also includes a number of amendments affecting regional powers and responsibilities. It would add permissive powers to enable the region to enter into agreements with respect to commercial development over or under regional roads. Further amendments would enable the region to pass bylaws implementing an honour transit fare system. Another important provision of the bill would add a section to the act, enabling the region to undertake responsibilities with respect to a regional convention centre.

As requested by the region, there is also a provision in the bill to enable regional councils to require in its debenture bylaws that any currency premiums or debenture issues in foreign currency be paid into a special reserve fund and not be used for other regional purposes before the debt has been repaid in the foreign currency concerned.

Certain other amendments in the bill are similar to those proposed for other regional acts. These common amendments include benefits to councillors, road consolidation bylaws and homes for the aged.

MUNICIPALITY OF METROPOLITAN TORONTO AMENDMENT ACT

Hon. Mr. Wells moved first reading of Bill 76, An Act to amend the Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto Act.

Motion agreed to.

Hon. Mr. Wells: Mr. Speaker, this bill allows for an increase in membership on Metro council by the addition of one more representative each from the city of North York and the borough of Scarborough.

Also included are amendments common to other regional acts concerning a number of items. An important one also, in this act is that there is a provision that will provide that Metro will have the power to reclaim, recycle

and incinerate its solid waste and sell and distribute the resulting materials or energy.
4 p.m.

AGE OF RETIREMENT ACT

Mr. Leluk moved first reading of Bill 77, An Act respecting the Age of Mandatory Retirement.

Motion agreed to.

Mr. Leluk: Mr. Speaker, the purpose of the bill is to ensure that no person shall be required to retire before reaching the age of 70 where the person is willing and capable of performing his or her job.

ONTARIO WILDERNESS GUIDES ASSOCIATION ACT

Mr. R. F. Johnston moved first reading of Bill 78, The Ontario Wilderness Guides Association Act, 1980.

Motion agreed to.

Mr. R. F. Johnston: Mr. Speaker, first let me apologize for having written it out, because I left my cover sheet upstairs.

Mr. Speaker: It was barely legible.

Mr. R. F. Johnston: The purpose of the bill is to provide for the establishment of standards for wilderness guides and leaders and standards of safety applicable to outdoor activities that relate to the wilderness.

The bill provides statutory recognition to the Ontario Wilderness Guides Association as an association established for the purpose of promoting and maintaining standards of professional guiding. The bill further provides that the Lieutenant Governor in Council may make regulations respecting standards of safety applicable to wilderness activities by adopting all or part of the standards established by the association.

WILD ANIMAL AND REPTILE SANCTUARIES ACT

Mr. Van Horne moved first reading of Bill 79, An Act to license and regulate Wild Animal and Reptile Sanctuaries.

Motion agreed to.

Mr. Van Horne: Mr. Speaker, this is not intended to regulate in any way the NDP caucus room. The purpose of this bill is to provide for the licensing and regulation of wild animal and reptile sanctuaries. The bill prohibits the operation of a wild animal or reptile sanctuary in Ontario except under the authority of a licence issued by the Minister of Natural Resources.

The bill provides that a person who is licensed to keep a wild animal or reptile in

captivity must comply with certain safety and health-related requirements, including the requirement that the pens in which wild animals and reptiles are kept be constructed in a manner that will prevent such animals and reptiles from escaping.

Mr. Martel: Mr. Speaker, I was glad to hear the member for London North indicate that the bill was not for the New Democrats. In fact, it was for his own party.

FAMILY BENEFITS AMENDMENT ACT

Mr. Martel moved first reading of Bill 80, An Act to amend the Family Benefits Act.

Motion agreed to.

Mr. Martel: The purpose of the amendment is to remove any reference to the sex of the parent, thereby enabling either the mother or the father of the child to be eligible for benefits.

LEGISLATIVE PAGES

Mr. Speaker: Before the orders of the day, as is customary when we have a group of pages leaving us, as they will tomorrow, we like to take advantage of a time like this to read their names into the record, namely, Jennifer Anderson, Cambridge; Ian Bird, Frontenac-Addington; Brian Byers, Lambton; Lisa Dent, Essex South; Judi Dickens, Wentworth North; Scott Dunville, Lake Nipigon; Dawn Elliott, Victoria-Haliburton; Adrian Foster, Halton-Burlington; Stephanie Gaunt, Huron-Bruce; Allan Hansen, Oxford; Michael Hearn, Eglinton; Darlene Kelly, Leeds; Elaine Kleine, York Centre; Aart Kraay, Carleton-Grenville; Philip Lee, Windsor-Walkerville; Laurianne Mackey, Timiskaming; Malcolm McKay, Ottawa South; Heather Morrison, Muskoka; David Rowe, Sarnia; Brenda Scully, Kitchener; Carol Stevenson, Middlesex; and Bobby Williamson, Kenora.

Will you join me in thanking them for their services to this House.

ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS ON NOTICE PAPER

Hon. Mr. Wells: Before the orders of the day, Mr. Speaker, I wish to table the answers to questions 122, 157 to 159 and 168, standing on the Notice Paper. (See appendix page 2108).

ORDERS OF THE DAY

PRIVATE MEMBERS' PUBLIC BUSINESS MACKENZIE-PAPINEAU BATTALION

Mr. Young moved resolution 18:

That in the opinion of the House, Cana-

dians who served as members of the MacKenzie-Papineau Battalion of the XV International Brigade and as members of other units in the Spanish Civil War (1936-39) are recognized veterans with all the dignity and rights of other Canadian veterans of the Second World War.

Mr. Young: Mr. Speaker, on July 1, 1936, Francisco Franco landed his Spanish Foreign Legion and Moroccan troops on the mainland of Spain. They were ferried from Africa by the navies of Hitler and Mussolini and protected by the air power of these unsavoury dictators.

It was in 1931 that Alfonso XIII of Spain was forced into exile. A provisional republican government was set up. It began a series of desperately needed reforms: breaking up of feudal estates, more autonomy for the provinces, free elections, free press, universal free education and so on. That meant Spaniards, under the new government, were to acquire rights and privileges long taken for granted in most western democracies.

These measures were bitterly opposed by the aristocracy, which saw its privileges threatened; by the church, which at the time was a spiritual bulwark of the old regime; and by the professional army, which still believed in imperial Spain and hated the new republic. So, from 1931 to 1935, Spain found itself in the throes of bitter, often violent battles between the new democracy struggling to emerge and the old tyranny trying to retain its ancient power and privilege.

A general election in 1933 resulted in stalemate. By January 1936, the various groups of the political centre and left formed their Popular Front, and they were faced in the election of that year by a right-wing coalition of generals and landowners, among whom was Francisco Franco. After a violent and extremely tumultuous campaign, the Popular Front won a majority and proceeded to carry out its program of reform.

4:10 p.m.

I want to put on the record how that election turned out. The People's Front won 277 seats in the Cortes. The right group won 196. In other words, 277 for the government; 196 for the opposition at that point. More than that, I want to point out that the People's Front was a liberal coalition. There were no Communists in it. There were not even any social democrats. It was a liberal popular-front government. I think that is very important for our understanding of the situation.

An article in the *Globe and Mail* of October 8 points out that the new government

stepped up land reforms and banished men like Franco to hold posts in the Canary Islands and Morocco. But on July 18, 1936, the Spanish generals counterattacked and asked Franco to come across and help. Franco, of course, tried to cross the Straits of Gibraltar but he was prevented by the Republican navy, which was loyal to the government at that time.

Then, of course, the other cities threatened by the generals built their fortifications and did their best to turn back the threat.

Of course, Franco did not cool his heels very long in Africa. Hitler and Mussolini sent their ships and their planes. They landed Franco's army in Spain and the so-called Spanish Civil War was on as the new democracy fought to hold against the Fascist invasion and to continue the mandate it had won at the polls.

This war was, in fact, the opening of a violent phase of a world-wide struggle. On the one side, was the rising right-wing force of fascism represented by Hitler, Mussolini and Franco; on the other were the democratic centre and left, ultimately to be buttressed by the totalitarian left of Russia.

Unfortunately, men like Britain's Chamberlain could not or refused to understand the nature of the resulting crisis. Too many European leaders saw in Hitler a bulwark against the Communist threat from the east. They also listened when Franco branded the new Spanish government as Communist.

In 1933, there were only 3,000 Communists in all of Spain. As I have pointed out, none of the new Spanish government elected in 1936 was Communist—not one. But the western democracies listened to the siren song of Hitler and Franco and set up a non-interventionist policy towards the Spanish struggle. This simply meant they would sell no supplies to the Spanish government and would give them no official help of any kind. At the same time, Hitler and Mussolini poured in troops, tanks, air power and supplies in unlimited quantities.

Under these circumstances the Spanish government welcomed aid from any source, including Russia. There is no doubt that sympathy for communism grew in Spain as outside Fascist intervention intensified, as western democracy stood aside and as Russia tried to counteract the Fascist threat—not too successfully as it turned out. Russia was too far away and the Fascist naval blockade of Spanish government ports was too effective for Russian ships.

Then, too, because of the non-interventionist policy of the democracies, including

Canada, it was left to Russia and to the Communist parties of the various countries to fill the gap and try to mobilize help for the Spanish government. They could see what was happening. They thought that since Hitler and Mussolini were deeply involved in Spain it was the place to stop them, if at all possible. So they helped to raise manpower and aid for Spain.

What no one seemed to realize at that time was that once Hitler had honed his war machine razor sharp in Spain, he would first try to destroy the democratic centre and then go after the Communist left. But it was not only the Communists who saw the danger. Believers in democracy everywhere were concerned over the destruction of democracy in Spain and they began to organize assistance.

In Canada we were at the very bottom of the Depression then. The unemployed were riding the rods looking for work they could not find. Frustration deepened when they were herded into unemployment relief camps with poor food, useless work and 20 cents a day. Many of these men were ready when the appeal came to go to Spain to fight fascism. Perhaps the challenge was only intensified when the government which had failed to provide them jobs passed Bill 23, the Foreign Enlistment Act, which in effect provided a \$2,000 fine and two years in prison for anyone enlisting for service in Spain or elsewhere.

In addition to the unemployed here and in other countries, the Spanish Civil War drew the adventurers, the idealists, the intellectuals, the trade unionists, the students—40,000 from across the world made their way to Spain and formed the International Brigades. Among them were 1,239 Canadians, 114 of them from the city of Toronto and the largest group from the province of Ontario. They went first into the Washington and Lincoln Battalions of the United States. Then, in September 1937, they became the Mackenzie-Papineau Canadian Battalion.

It is not my purpose here, and I haven't the time either, to detail the agony of the Spanish war in which the Mac-Paps played vital and heroic roles. War is hell under any circumstances, but in Spain the government forces were denied the right to buy equipment or even food from those who should have been their friends. They made do with what they could manufacture, grow or smuggle past the blockade. Against them were the superbly equipped and trained armies of Franco, Hitler and Mussolini. The Fascists were trying out their new

weapons, new tanks, guns, aircraft and techniques for the war against the democracies which they were already planning. In all this, the Mac-Paps fought and died before Madrid, on the Ebro, at Tervel and in countless other blood-drenched areas in Spain.

Only 639 Canadians returned to Canada, many of them wounded and disabled for life. When defeat seemed inevitable, the Spanish government sent the International Brigades to France. They made their way back home from there. As far as the Mackenzie-Papineau Battalion was concerned, the Canadian government refused to arrange to pay for its passage home. Private appeals were made and money was raised. Interestingly, Garfield Weston contributed \$1,000 to this cause. Greg Clark, the Star columnist, met the first group in Halifax and accompanied them across Canada, writing their stories and building up public support for them.

At Toronto a huge crowd met the train and Reverend Salem Bland, one of the saints of the past generation, whom some of us knew and who certainly was not a Communist, said: "Canada didn't understand at first what you were doing, but understands now. As time goes on, you will have more friends, more honour, because you have done one of the most gallant things done in history."

That night there was a great rally in Massey Hall and a drive was launched there to pay for medical bills and rehabilitation for the Mac-Paps. This was February 3, 1939. The RCMP urged that the government of Canada prosecute the Mac-Pap survivors under Bill 23. But the government took no action against them; neither did they take any responsibility for the veterans nor help for them in any way.

Meantime in Spain, Barcelona and then Madrid fell. A week later Chamberlain signed the Munich agreement. Within the year, Hitler had launched his attack on the rest of the democratic world. Many of the Mac-Paps enlisted in the new war to fight Hitler. Most of them quietly tried to resume civilian life. The new war gave them jobs. Many of them have played important roles in the economic and community life of Canada.

Recently, the survivors of the Mac-Paps have initiated a move to have their services in Spain recognized by the Canadian government. Ross Russell, a machine gunner in Spain, is chairman of the committee. He re-enlisted for the Second World War but, when they found Spanish shrapnel in his

lungs, they discharged him. He and many others in the Mac-Paps would have been in the gallery today, but they have a convention in Ottawa and could not be here. There is representation which will be introduced later.

Several cities have already endorsed the resolution I have introduced today. Among them are Toronto, North York, Ottawa, Winnipeg, Calgary and Vancouver. The committee is anxious that Ontario, from which the largest group enlisted, set the pace at the provincial level. These men, down to about 200 now, fought the first battles against Hitler. They suffered and died in the same fight against fascism as did those who went overseas a little later.

The Mackenzie-Papineau Battalion was a Canadian unit and is universally recognized as such. Its members deserve to be recognized as men who fought for Canada in the war against fascism. The survivors should be allowed to march proudly with other veterans on Remembrance Day. Their dead should be included in Canada's honour roll.

Bill 23, the Foreign Enlistment Act, under which they are still branded as criminals, should be rescinded. As far as veterans' benefits are concerned, the grim reaper has already taken care of most possible claims.

4:20 p.m.

Ross Russell says this in a letter: "We suffered the highest losses of any modern war on a pro rata basis. Today less than 200 are still alive. We consider it important that we be recognized while some of us are still alive, recognized as patriotic Canadians, so that our children and our children's children can be taught this in the schools. We want recognition now."

The argument is that Communists played a large part in the Spanish Civil War and that with that kind of association, the Mac-Paps cannot be recognized. As I pointed out, if the Communist influence grew in Spain it was because the democracies adopted a non-interventionist stance and left the field wide open to the left. More than that, to say that the Communist association condemns the Mac-Paps means that we completely ignore the fact that we fought the Second World War with the Russian Communists as our allies, that we supplied them with war materiel—just as they tried to supply the Spanish government a few years earlier—and that we shared a common victory in 1945. If that does not brand our Second World War troops as Communists, why do we do that sort of thing to the Mac-Paps?

Last year, 40 of the Mac-Paps went to Spain for a reunion and to look over the old battleground. In September 1979, the 40 visited Spain. The National Film Board gave them a copy of its award-winning film *Los Canadienses* to present to the *Filmoteca Española* in Spain.

Ross Russell states: "In Madrid, the officials at the Canadian Embassy held a reception for our group. More than 100 persons were present at the home of the Canadian Ambassador. Mr. Emile Martel, the chargé d'affaires, spoke glowingly of the Canadians who fought in Spain, calling us heroes. We presented the film. . . . It might be said this was *de facto* recognition by the Canadian government."

"Another indirect form of recognition . . . from the Canadian government is that in 1979 they gave to us, as a New Horizon grant, \$16,000 for us to write the story of our fight in Spain in book form." Ross Russell says that book is now being written.

One argument remains. The church in Spain stood steadfastly behind Franco against the government. Many devout Canadian Catholics justify their stand against the Mac-Paps for this reason, but perhaps they do not realize what happened in the Spanish church itself.

Let me quote Francis Allen in the *Montreal Star*, October 9, 1971. This, it should be noted, was before Franco's death and before the end of his regime. To quote a section of this: "Bishops and priests in Spain have drastically redefined their relationship to Spanish society and the regime of General Franco."

"A joint assembly of the hierarchy and clergy of all the dioceses in the country—the first of its kind—approved a series of resolutions recently in Madrid calling for an end to the traditional links between the Spanish church and the government, and for the establishment of human freedoms, and social and economic justice."

"In what was perhaps the most dramatic and historically significant moment of the assembly, held in Madrid, [was this resolution]: 'We humbly recognize, and ask pardon for it, that we failed at the proper time to be ministers of reconciliation in the midst of our people, divided by a war between brothers.'"

"The significance of the event has been recognized by the Vatican, which has worked quietly to bolster reform in the Spanish church."

The name of the Mackenzie-Papineau Battalion stems from two Canadians, Mackenzie and Papineau, who were ahead of their time and who fought the reactionary Family Compact in this land. Those two men

were reviled and persecuted, but today they take their rightful place in the Canadian struggle for freedom, and they are recognized. It took a long time.

The Mac-Paps will eventually be recognized for their part in the struggle against Hitler's tyranny. Let's do it now while some of them are still with us.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: The honourable member has three minutes in the allotted time. Do you wish to reserve that?

Mr. Young: No.

Hon. Mr. Drea: Mr. Speaker, I will make my remarks brief because of the unfortunate shortness of time both for this and for the subsequent private member's bill.

What we are being asked to consider today is the urging upon the federal government to bestow an extraordinary recognition upon a certain category of Canadians. That is, the recognition of having participated in the Spanish Civil War on one side, and the accordance to that person of all the dignity and rights of other Canadian veterans of the Second World War. I am not going to go into the causes of the Spanish Civil War or any of the activities during it. I am not going to romanticize one side or the other. I want to look at this very logically and very plainly.

There are a group of Canadian veterans in this country who responded to an international call in 1950, 1951 and 1952. They volunteered their services, they trained, they went and fought in the Korean conflict. The federal government does not recognize those Canadians. They still do not have a service medal for their participation in an international event that was sanctioned not only by the federal government of this country but indeed by the United Nations.

When we look at the bestowal of this title, that rather pre-eminent group of veterans known as the Royal Canadian Legion has not taken a stand as such, but its officers convey a less than enthusiastic response for this proposal. They point out that in the Spanish Civil War there were Canadians who intervened on the other side and that the recognition of one side for very special status in this country obviously is only going to lead to difficulties.

When Canadians decide to intervene in other civil wars, no matter how meritorious those wars may be, and no matter for what reason, there is inevitably going to have to be a subjective judgement as to whether the cause the person intervened and fought for was indeed the right one, which is hardly the position on trying to judge the status of a veteran.

The great failure of the Spanish Civil War was that the politics of non-intervention, which would have kept it to a localized disturbance in much the same way as many of the African civil wars and some of the Asian civil wars we have witnessed, simply were not present.

It is all very well to fault the United States, Britain and France for saying they should not intervene. I am not going to get into the question of intent, because intent covers a lot of ground. For example, I worked with the late Hugh Garner, and he had a far different interpretation of why he went to the Spanish Civil War than that conveyed in this resolution today. People went for a great number of reasons. I am not going to get into each and every one of those reasons, but we are being asked to convey a status that we have not conveyed on those who responded to the call for the Korean conflict.

Mr. J. Reed: That is not so.

Hon. Mr. Drea: Yes, it is. There is no service medal. Obviously we are creating not only somewhat of a precedent, but somewhat of a double standard.

4:30 p.m.

In the matter of a person who goes to serve abroad in a conflict that is not for king and country, the person may want recognition—the person may deserve recognition—but surely the recognition comes from the locale or the country for which the person fought, not from Canada. The very basic and fundamental characteristic of a veteran in Canada is one who responded to king and country. The Boer War was not an internal conflict; that was in part of the British Empire. The First World War was again for king and country. The Second World War was again for king and country.

Mr. R. F. Johnston: The Tory view of history.

Hon. Mr. Drea: It's a little bit more accurate than the highly romanticized one that there was a moment ago. I am quite sure that the member has 15 different versions which will make his ideology prevail in the end.

They went for king and country, and part of the reward of a grateful nation for the response to king and country was the bestowal of veteran status.

There are specialized benefits. If these people from this conflict are disabled and are in need of assistance, then perhaps there can be some form of assistance through either the federal government or the provincial government. I have no quarrel with that. But bear

in mind at the moment that the legion itself is having the greatest of difficulty in convincing the Department of Veterans Affairs that more aid should be provided, particularly for the old sweats of the First World War. They are now in their 80s and going into their 90s, and they are being told there are not funds, or there are not services or what have you. Here we are being asked to put another group in when we cannot even deal with a recognized problem with our own from the First World War.

There is getting to be a very concerted effort by the Korean veterans as they get older, not just to get the recognition of a distinctive service medal, but to get many of the benefits they do not have. Even a Canadian veteran who by luck of the draw was not sent overseas in the Second World War has not had the full range of veterans' benefits. Here today we are being asked to confer that on those who chose, for whatever reason, to participate and to intervene in a civil war in another nation.

For these reasons, and recognizing the good intent of the mover of this resolution, I do not consider that it is practical or realistic. Until we have met the problems of the Canadian veterans, I don't think we should begin bestowing the particular dignities, rewards and benefits upon those who participated in a foreign conflict.

One thing that I think can be achieved very readily is removal of the legislation that still prevails from the 1930s about their enlistment and the penalties that would apply to them when they came back. That would be very easy for the federal House to remove. It is a stigma that prevails and was, I suppose, a deterrent that really was not a deterrent. I would think the removal of that alone would bestow the recognition, but it is far too premature and far too unfair to bestow veteran status.

I am sure, had we more time, I could go into more of the lack of logic and the lack of fairness in this but, in order that more may participate, I will confine myself to those remarks.

Mr. Breithaupt: Mr. Speaker, the resolution before the House this afternoon is of great interest to me. I have been a reader of military history and I have become somewhat familiar with the events in Spain which followed the military rebellion on July 18, 1936.

I have taken this occasion to reread the history of the Mackenzie-Papineau Battalion which was written by Victor Hoar in 1969. Those 1,200 Canadians who served in the battalion came from a variety of backgrounds.

Yes, there were some Communists and there were many Socialists. There were also those who sought adventure and others, perhaps without a job or prospects, who just joined up. And there were those who also saw the menace of Adolf Hitler and who were prepared to start their war against him in Spain.

While there were many atrocities committed both by the zealots of the Republic and by the Fascists of the Falange, it is my clear view that in no case was there ever any involvement of Canadians in such events which, unfortunately, are too often a commonplace occurrence in a civil war.

As we all know, the German dictator sent the Condor Legion of the Luftwaffe and certain armoured units to Spain, and the soil of Spain became the testing ground for the tactics of 1939. In support of the Republic, the government of Russia, as well as Communist and Socialist leaders from Europe and America, joined the fray. Looking backwards, it is certainly much easier today than it was at the time to see the events in Spain as the first act of the Second World War.

I have considered at length the intent of this resolution. I have reviewed the contents of the resolution with senior officials of the Ontario command of the Royal Canadian Legion. The opinion which I have received from them sets out two particular themes. As the volume to which I referred mentioned, in 1937 the government of Canada passed an act respecting foreign enlistment which is still on the books. The comment with respect to that legislation from the officials of the Royal Canadian Legion is as follows:

"It would be our opinion, prior to any representations made on their behalf, that this legislation would be required to be deleted. In any case, it is our indication that since Canadians served on both sides during the Spanish Civil War it would be difficult to differentiate."

The second theme is set out in the following two paragraphs which I will also quote briefly:

"We have discussed this matter with elected officials of the Ontario command and it is their opinion that former members of the Mackenzie-Papineau Battalion are not veterans of Canada's forces, nor of an allied force, and therefore would not be entitled to benefits under the Canadian veterans' charter. We might add that veterans of World War II who served in Canada only are not entitled to benefits under the War Veterans Allowance Act unless they are in receipt of a disability pension.

"If one were to accept the principle proposed, it would seem imperative that those Canadians who volunteered and served with the forces of the United States of America in Vietnam and those who voluntarily fought in Israel to gain the independence of that nation would require inclusion. One could probably cite several instances that would require the same consideration and, simply stated, it does not appear to be practical."

I know the member for Yorkview (Mr. Young) means well to bring this resolution before the House. I sympathize very much with the concerns that he has expressed as we look into the history of involvement by a group of Canadians who were involved in some of the most bitter fighting of the Spanish Civil War.

I regret I cannot accept at this time the view that those to whom the resolution would apply would have all of the dignity and rights of other Canadian veterans of the Second World War. To achieve that result, the Parliament of Canada alone can decide. I hope that the Parliament of Canada will fully consider the situation and it may be that the member's views will be accepted there at that point.

Mr. Germa: Mr. Speaker, I am proud to associate myself with this resolution, and I am more proud to associate myself with the members of the Mackenzie-Papineau Battalion and those Canadians who served in other units in what has come to be called the Spanish Civil War but which I choose to call the beginning of the Second World War.
4:40 p.m.

I submit that the only crime these men are guilty of is that they had too much foresight. They were exactly three years ahead of people such as myself—I am old enough to remember those days—such as my Prime Minister at the time; such as Neville Chamberlain; such as all the leaders of the western democracies. These men, who volunteered to go and defend the world against what they saw to be a threat—the growth of fascism—I think have to be considered heroes. The resolution asks not that they be heroes, just that we lift from their shoulders this weight that has been burdening them for some 45 years.

Contrary to what the member for Scarborough Centre (Mr. Drea) implied, the resolution was written very carefully; I had input into the resolution. It makes no demands upon the federal government whatsoever; the federal government is not mentioned. We are not looking for medals or monuments. There was no monetary consideration whatsoever

when the resolution was drafted. Dignity and rights are all we are asking. We are not requesting any other person to take any other action.

I am just asking this House to make a simple expression after 45 years, and in retrospect, looking back at the events as they have unfolded since 1936, whether they were wrong or right. I submit that they were right.

Documentation of the role played by the more than 1,200 Canadians who went is very difficult because of the position of the federal government. There is nothing in the archives, and the libraries are empty. It is very difficult even to know exactly how many Canadians ended up in Spain, because they went by various routes. They were under-cover at the time. Some of them were breaking the law and some of them were not breaking the law.

I would suggest that of the first 600 who went, approximately half of the group were in Spain before the Foreign Enlistment Act came into effect 1937. They cannot retroactively be called criminals, because those people who went between 1936 and 1937 were breaking no law. The first half of them are not even technically guilty.

The lack of documentation makes things very difficult to put into perspective. We have to rely on various sources. There have been various books written describing the formation of the Mackenzie-Papineau Battalion, describing the horrors of civil war and describing the heroism of civil war.

I would like to introduce to the House, Mr. Speaker, a person in the gallery whom I consider to be one of those heroes, in the person of Jimmy Higgins from Peterborough. I would ask Jimmy Higgins if he would like to stand and be recognized.

Let me just tell members a little bit about Jimmy Higgins and why he is recognized in a book that just came out, entitled *The Tall Soldier*. It is a wonderful story of a Canadian who came upon an 11-year-old Spanish boy who had been hit with a bomb and had two broken legs and a broken arm. Jimmy Higgins, this Canadian, carried this 11-year-old boy on his back to a first-aid station. The boy would surely have been swept into the river in the torrent of water had Higgins not picked him up.

To this day, Manuel Alvarez is alive and well and living in Canada, in Vancouver. He has paid tribute to the Canadian soldiers, and particularly to the man who saved his life.

I would like to read what Manuel Alvarez has to say about the Mackenzie-Papineau

Battalion and those Canadians. I won't read the whole epilogue.

"The nightmares dwindled slowly and eventually departed. Then I knew I was truly a free man. For this, and all the blessings and privileges I have received in Canada, I am grateful. I am grateful, as only a man can be if he has known life without freedom, but this gratitude does not lessen my abhorrence of the attitude of successive Canadian governments to the Mackenzie-Papineau Battalion. Those men who fought fascism in Spain, while the democracies deluded themselves with appeasement, deserve the country's recognition. And I, a Canadian now, am cleansed of nightmares. I can say in me you see a living testimony to your courage and ideals."

That is a Canadian citizen alive and well and living in Vancouver who has paid tribute to the Mackenzie-Papineau Battalion from first observation from the age of 11. It took Manuel Alvarez 40 years to find Jimmy Higgins. He searched this world and, because of lack of documentation, he could not find him until 1978. Lo and behold, this man was living quietly in Peterborough.

There are many stories that can be put together, but the official documentation will never come together. To some degree, what this resolution is trying to do is correct history, to put the thing in perspective, to recognize that these people, far from being criminals, are heroes, as some of us recognized in 1939 when we realized that Hitler had honed his machine, as was enunciated by my colleague, in Spain. Hitler perfected his 88-millimetre rifle in Spain. Hitler perfected his Stuka divebombing attack technique in Spain. That is what the Canadian troops had to face in 1939 when Canada and the rest of the western world realized what they were really facing.

In order to respond to the member for Kitchener (Mr. Breithaupt), in his response from the Royal Canadian Legion that there were Canadians on both sides of the confrontation, I have tried to find out if there were any Canadians serving on the Fascist side. I have been unable to document any evidence that any Canadian fought on that side. But even if there was, Mr. Speaker, let me remind you what the Spanish government has done on behalf of the veterans on both sides of the confrontation.

I am quoting now from a letter from the Spanish embassy in Ottawa addressed to Mr. Russell, the chairman of the Mackenzie-Papineau Battalion (Eastern Division): "By decree of March 5, 1976, the Spanish government established the granting of pensions

for Spaniards who were left handicapped in the civil war while fighting on the Republican side. A royal decree of March 6, 1978, establishes pensions for the military professionals who took part in the civil war on either side. A royal decree of November 16, 1978, establishes pensions for the families of those who died as a result of the Spanish Civil War whether fighting in the National or the Republican zone."

Surely if the government most concerned and closest to the problem, the Spanish government, can recognize both sides of the confrontation, I see no reason why this resolution could not apply to all Canadians, despite the fact I have not been able to document one on the Fascist side.

We are not alone in asking for the support of this Legislature.

Mr. Acting Speaker: The honourable member's time has expired.

Mr. Germa: I will close by saying that the city of Glasgow has recently erected a memorial to the International Brigade volunteers who fought fascism in Spain over 40 years ago. Along with the councils in other countries, I think we would be justified in supporting such a resolution.

4:50 p.m.

Mr. Kennedy: Mr. Speaker, the resolution we are debating here today is one of these heartfelt, emotional questions of principle. The eloquence of the previous speakers certainly testifies to that.

The question of the Mackenzie-Papineau Battalion is one of typically divided principles, and both pro and con have strong cases to make. These days the former members of the battalion are often seen as heroes. They opposed fascism when democracy still believed in appeasement, and isolationism was in vogue as well.

The cause has been taken up by many notable Canadians, as was mentioned by the member for Scarborough Centre (Mr. Drea) and others—Hugh Garner, Dr. Norman Bethune, Eugene Forsey, Greg Clark and Dick Beddoes. In other words, there is no shortage of praise and honour for members of that battalion. All of us can salute their courage and admire their dedication to what they believed was right.

Praise and honour are not the point of this resolution. We are talking about recognizing as veterans the Canadians who went to Spain between 1937 and 1939, with all the dignity and rights of other Canadian veterans of the Second World War, as is stated in the resolution.

I took the time to look up some of these dignities and rights of Canadian veterans. Most prominent is the bewildering array of benefits administered by the federal Department of Veterans Affairs, including the Veterans Land Act, war veterans' allowance, treatment benefits for medical expenses, medications, glasses, prosthetics, disability pensions, allowance for veterans' children and many other benefits. All these depend on the veteran's age, income and length and theatre of service.

They are available to Canadian veterans who served overseas during the Boer War, the First and Second World Wars and some in respect to Korean wars. Allied veterans who have lived at least 10 years in Canada also qualify, but veterans of the Spanish Civil War do not qualify.

Obviously these pensions and allowances are important in dollars and cents for those veterans who need them. If the issue were merely one of pensions for surviving veterans of the Mac-Paps, I would not be opposed, because no one wants to see people in need, whether they are veterans or whether they have any other background.

But these are not the only things the members of that battalion desire. They want to be allowed to march with other Canadian veterans on Memorial Day. They want the names of their dead inscribed on the honour roll of Canadian dead. They want to receive Canadian Second World War honours for participating in what many historians have dubbed the prelude to the Second World War.

I, for one, think that the veterans of the Spanish Civil War—while I acknowledge their courage and dedication—should not be granted these rights and dignities. I base my objection on the belief that Canada should not grant official recognition to men who engaged in what are essentially their own private wars, noble and dedicated as they were at that time. Canada, neither as a people nor as a state, participated in the Spanish Civil War. The men who went to Spain did so as individuals, without any sort of encouragement from the Canadian government. Indeed, as was mentioned, the government went out of its way to hinder their going on this principle of non-interventionism.

It is quite a contrast to situations when Canada was officially at war. In the First and Second World Wars alone, millions of Canadians volunteered for or were conscripted into the armed forces. The government threw itself into the huge task of mobilizing and directing the Canadian war effort. In one case the relatively small number of individuals

joined the cause for reasons of conscience or in search of adventure. In the other case an entire nation mobilized itself for total war against worldwide threat to the democratic way of life.

If we were to grant the Mac-Paps what they want, what else might be demanded with respect to rights and privileges of veterans? Vietnam was mentioned. There are many other revolutions and conflicts in which Canadians participated as individuals. But I think in saying this I have pointed to a major problem in granting official recognition to those who fought their own private wars.

I salute the courage of the members of that battalion, but at the same time I must oppose the resolution. I can do this because I believe that only those who fought in Canada's own wars should be officially recognized as having a claim on the dignity and rights of Canadian veterans as expressed in the resolution.

I do acknowledge the sincerity and interest of the sponsor of this resolution. The Spanish Civil War was not a war in which Canada as a nation participated. Therefore, recognizing the factor they have brought forward, I regret I must oppose the resolution.

Mr. Eakins: Mr. Speaker, I rise to speak briefly. I realize that time is running out. I just want to say that in my mind what is at stake here is a fundamental principle: the definition and status of a veteran. I do not believe that principle can be altered or dealt with very lightly.

This status has always been reserved in the past, and it must be in the future, for those who responded to Canada's call in a war recognized by Canada and in which this country would be involved. The veterans of Canada who responded in the past are special, very special indeed, and this must never be forgotten. It is my feeling, therefore, that this special category must not be altered and legislators should tread lightly when endeavouring to widen this definition.

While the actions and deeds of those who served in foreign conflicts for a principle they strongly believed in are most commendable, we must not dilute the definition or status of our Canadian veterans. As I have said, our veterans are very special indeed, and therefore I cannot support this resolution.

Mr. Acting Speaker: The time for debating this item has expired.

ELECTRIC HYBRID HEATING

Mr. J. A. Taylor moved resolution 21:

That it is the opinion of this House that Ontario Hydro should commence a program

to develop and demonstrate the positive benefits to the people of Ontario of electric hybrid heating, and that this program include an appropriate public awareness component.

Mr. J. A. Taylor: Mr. Speaker, there have been a number of matters that have concerned me in the field of energy for some years. One is the mandate of the minister himself; that is, to ensure a secure supply of energy for the people of Ontario. That is a very serious and onerous commitment. It is a very strong responsibility placed upon any minister of the crown.

5 p.m.

I remember looking at this some years ago myself. In reviewing Ontario's resources in terms of energy, it seems we were very restricted. It was said that 80 per cent of the energy used in Ontario was imported from either foreign jurisdictions or other provincial jurisdictions within Canada. There was this dependence on foreign supply. How could we as a province feel comfortable with that? I say that especially in terms of what has happened. We know something of the problems in depending on nations of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries.

There was another aspect of this that concerned me, namely, the federal government's commitment on an international basis with the International Energy Agency to commit Canada to certain maximum amounts in terms of imports of crude oil. Those commitments were made without provincial involvement. The effect could very well be the rationing of fossil fuels within Ontario. I wondered how Ontario could respond to that type of exterior control. If our resources are limited, we must take up the slack in some way. We must put into place mechanisms that are going to introduce more efficiency, economy and conservation.

Another factor that troubled me was that we depend on the private sector to ensure a secure energy supply in this province.

Mr. Foulds: That is our first mistake.

Mr. J. A. Taylor: How would the member know if he were the Minister of Energy? I put that to him in a very hypothetical and unrealistic way.

Mr. Foulds: You put it to us in a very practical and real way.

Mr. J. A. Taylor: I am not inviting response. We can all dream. How would the member be able to ensure a secure supply of fossil fuels—for example, natural gas and oil—to the people of Ontario when he traditionally relied on the private sector to ensure

that the oil was in his oil tank when he needed it for his furnace or that natural gas was in the pipe?

I throw that out as a challenge to the private sector. I am not suggesting that the mechanism has not worked well to date. What I am saying is that people are looking for more comfort in terms of the long-term guarantee of energy supply.

Mr. Foulds: And more security.

Mr. J. A. Taylor: We are dealing with the question of security.

That was a question that an admiral of the British fleet dealt with when the conversion was made from coal to oil for the British navy. Those were the days when Britannia ruled the waves. I am sure you remember that, Mr. Speaker. I see you as you smile and reminisce that you are mindful of that great day of the British Empire. That was another form of security. It was the security of the Empire that was at stake in terms of dominance on the seas. If you do not remember that—and I am not commenting on your age—you may have read that it was because of this concern of security of fuel supply for the British Navy that the British Petroleum Corporation was established. There was not much oil in Britain in those days.

I am going to put these problems together in a moment and get directly into my resolution and the reason I am promoting it. But another question that concerned me was the inefficiency of a gigantic hydroelectric generating capacity. That inefficiency seemed to be magnified as the years went by—just tremendous capital costs.

I made a note on some of Ontario Hydro's capital expenditures of fixed assets from 1968 to 1978. The investment in fixed capital assets went from \$329 million in 1968 to \$447 million in 1969, to \$511 million in 1970, to \$507 million in 1971, to \$576 million in 1972, to \$890 million in 1974—I am sorry, I missed out 1973. It wasn't because I couldn't read my writing. I think it is \$497 million, but it could be \$997 million. Maybe it is because I can't read my writing.

Mr. Foulds: What's \$500 million?

Mr. J. A. Taylor: What's 500 million, my friend says. In 1975, it went to \$1,441,000,000; in 1976, to \$1,326,000,000; in 1977, to \$1,425,000,000; in 1978, to \$1,694,000,000. Those are tremendous capital investments.

I also saw plants that were idle for so much of that time. I remember so well a plant in my own riding that was working to approximately 26 per cent capacity. I wondered whether business could function that

way. Could the system that we on this side of the House subscribe to so fervently and sincerely really argue that with that kind of a capital investment we could afford to keep on producing? We have to use that plant.

When I saw these two factors—the unused capacity and the need for more security in terms of supply and conservation of our fossil fuels—it struck me that there had to be some combination that could make some contribution to the people of Ontario.

Mr. J. Reed: You are not going to start up Lennox again?

Mr. J. A. Taylor: I do not have to suggest Lennox; and the member knows I don't. I think he realizes just what some of that unused capacity is, and I think he knows that it has been argued we could increase that unused capacity by about 40 per cent.

With an electrical generating system, if one is talking about using electricity for heating, one has to develop a system that is going to cope with extremes. It is like building a highway for July 1 or a sewer pipe for Hurricane Hazel; we do not do those things in terms of that kind of service. With electrical service we do, and we have the problems of the peaks and the valleys. I think members are familiar with that. If there is going to be economy and more efficiency, we have to level out those peaks and valleys and we have to make use of the system we have.

5:10 p.m.

At present, in my view, the utility looks at overcapacity as a matter of fact. It is there to meet the sudden demand. It is viewed as simply a part of the cost of doing business. It is simple from an accounting point of view to factor in this cost and pass it along to the consumer. In my view again, it is easier than sponsoring change. What I am suggesting by my resolution is change.

What is hybrid heating? Maybe I should have called it dual heating. It is a dual heating system in which electric space heating provides base-line heating but is supplemented or replaced entirely by fossil fuel heating as other demands on the electric power system dictate. I have another point that I come to. With a dual system, with the backup, we have the advantage of heating reliability.

One may ask, what is the price of this? Everything costs something and there is going to be a consumer outlay. I know we are in times of economic constraint and accountability. A consumer needs some incentive. He is not going to speculate on his saving. He

wants to have his financial gain guaranteed in some way. I am advancing a suggestion which members may want to consider. I am not the author of the thought. I have not developed hybrid heating as a concept.

It has been used in industry for some time. I do not think it has been really utilized in terms of the householder. In that regard, I think credit should be given to Richard Clayton, who is a policy adviser with the Ministry of State for Science and Technology in Ottawa. I think he should be given credit for the work he has done on it.

I want to bring members to this thought of incentive. Ontario Hydro could offer a space heating credit to the amount of a retrofit cost. When this is consumed, a special off-peak rate for hybrid heating could be made applicable. I throw that out because I feel that if something is going to get moving, there has to be some incentive. I think that might be an appropriate incentive, because in this way we can utilize that surplus off-peak electricity we are having so many problems with now.

In the question period today, my colleague across the floor from Carleton East (Ms. Gigantes) was concerned about the export of electricity to the United States. We have looked to the United States as a purchaser of surplus electric power. I am suggesting we have demand for that electricity right in our own province if we want to utilize it.

I am suggesting the generation of electrical energy is becoming more expensive all the time. The capital outlay is accelerating very quickly. I will not get into the arguments in regard to nuclear energy, but I think we all agree the capital cost of generating electricity by nuclear energy exceeds any other method.

I throw this out to the House and seek the members' support of my resolution. I will sit down to give other persons an opportunity to say something on this motion.

Mr. Acting Speaker: The member for Prince Edward-Lennox has about two minutes left. Do you wish them reserved?

Mr. J. A. Taylor: Yes.

Mr. J. Reed: Mr Speaker, it is a pleasure to be able to address an issue of energy in the Legislature. In the last few months we have not witnessed very much action on one of the most vital economic topics in Ontario.

I have read and studied this resolution, and I am really torn, because I believe I know what the honourable member is getting at here. He is fundamentally trying to get at the optimization of the electric utility in

Ontario to move towards utilizing that un-generated electric power.

However, when I read his resolution and when I look at the actual nuts and bolts of the thing, I think he has taken a shot at it and missed the target. I sympathize in spirit. In reading the press release along with the resolution, I can understand what he is driving at. But if anyone in future years reads this resolution, they will wonder seriously just what we were trying to get at.

The other interesting thought that came to me is that the honourable member, being a former minister, may know something about the electric power system that the rest of us do not know. If we look at the capacity of electric power generation in Ontario, we find that more than 6,100 megawatts is hydraulic, non-fossil, as the resolution addresses. About 5,000 megawatts currently is nuclear, which is non-fossil. The rest, 10,000 or more megawatts, unfortunately is fossil. This is where I am concerned with the premises he puts forward in this resolution because the non-fossil areas are the areas of base load that currently are mostly running flat out, with the exception of some hydraulic plants.

In order to function properly, the nuclear system has a great limitation on it: it runs on a flat framework, on a base-load frame. The hydraulic system can be more flexible, but most of it is used. What I do not understand is in the wintertime, at the time when we presumably need this heat, how much of a dip in that hydraulic capacity is available to take that up without having to fire up base-load fossil stations.

5:20 p.m.

I am particularly intrigued in the light of a newspaper article the other day which talked about the shutdown of Pickering and the very high cost of supplying that base load with fossil fuel which is apparently going on today. Maybe the article is not correct. Maybe we are not using fossil fuel to provide base loads at this time of the year.

The article—I believe it was in the Star, but I stand to be corrected on that—had a statement that it was going to cost additional moneys, after shutting down Pickering, to supply the power that Pickering is supplying. And that is base load, regardless of how you look at it.

There are some other interesting things, too, which the former minister talks about in his debate, and very valid things. He talks about mechanisms for efficiency. He talks about levelling out the peaks and valleys, and I think I have addressed that. He says the consumer needs incentive; Hydro could

offer space heating credits. In other words, he presents some sort of possible mechanism.

Yet the resolution as printed on the Notice Paper does not address those very obvious parts of this scenario. The resolution says: "whereas Ontario is dependent on uncertain outside sources of fossil fuel, and whereas the province has a surplus non-fossil-fuel generated electrical capacity, it is the will of this House that Ontario Hydro commence a program to develop and demonstrate the positive benefits to the people of Ontario of electric hybrid heating . . ."

What it is saying is that we do have a surplus of non-fossil-fuel-generated electrical capacity. Perhaps the honourable member would delineate for me just what that is, and how much of that is in place as available capacity in January during the peak months.

It is also obvious that Ontario Hydro has never accepted recommendations that have been made by this party for years that the pricing system be changed. One of the options we have presented time and time again in estimates, and wherever we get the opportunity, is that peak and off-peak incentive pricing be considered. I understand that it is being done experimentally at present, but there is no mechanism to provide an incentive for anybody to go in this direction.

The other thing is that he talks about mechanisms for efficiency. I do not know whether the hybrid system he describes includes heat pumping, but it seems to me that for us to promote a concept of simply increasing the demand for baseboard or resistance heating in Ontario is the least efficient way to utilize that energy. I can think of other far more efficient ways. I can think of the heat pump that can be utilized in a hybrid system, and I can think of the potential for hydrogen production that there can be for off-peak power in the years to come.

All of that, to me, has a ring of validity to it. But to promote straight-on baseboard or resistance heating is something that I am going to continue to question until it is proven to me that it is an economic route to go.

In terms of practicality, how can Ontario Hydro commence a program to develop and demonstrate the positive benefits when there are no mechanisms in place to demonstrate any positive benefits? The only thing Ontario Hydro could do would be to expand its advertising program and tell us all how lucky we are to have a surplus of 4,000 megawatts in the system, how we can use it in the most inefficient way from here on, and continue to convince us that it is the only way to go.

Let's look at the cost. One wonders how much incentive could be given in this kind of situation. I spoke to the Minister of Energy (Mr. Welch) during his estimates a few weeks ago, and the ministry and Ontario Hydro have been looking very hard at the feasibility of utilizing more electric heat. Some statements were made which got to the public that pretty soon electric power would be competitive with fossil fuels.

I asked the minister to expand on that during estimates and he said that in the future he expects electric power to be competitive with oil. I said: "Mr. Minister, what year do you expect those lines to cross?" He said, "Our studies show 1991." I said, "All right, what do you expect the price of oil to be in 1991 that will make electric power at that time competitive?" Do you know what his answer was? "Eighty-two dollars a barrel."

Mr. Speaker: The honourable member's time has expired.

Mr. J. Reed: Mr. Speaker, I understand the honourable member's intent, but I do not see him targeting on his intent with this resolution.

Ms. Gigantes: Mr. Speaker, to begin, I just want to note for the record that I believe the figures just quoted by my colleague from Halton-Burlington are not an accurate reflection of the information we were given on the crossover point for the competitiveness of electrically generated space heating.

If he will recollect, I believe he will remember the Minister of Energy and the deputy minister telling us that the crossover point for oil would be in the mid-1980s according to their projections, and the crossover point for natural gas in terms of competitiveness of electricity for space heating would be in the early 1990s.

Mr. J. Reed: Mr. Speaker, on a point of privilege, in response to the honourable member, I will now go and try to get the Hansard as quickly as I can, and I will stand corrected if what I said was not the case, but my recollection is that 1991 remains with me in the case of oil, and \$82 a barrel for crude.

Mr. Speaker: There is obviously a difference of opinion.

Ms. Gigantes: Mr. Speaker, as long as we have warned the unwary reader of Hansard that this may be a point in doubt, I am quite satisfied.

I think I should explain that when I first looked at this resolution I was irritated. I thought, what a resolution for this particular member of the Legislature to be putting for-

ward; this member, who was the Minister of Energy, who suffered greatly as Minister of Energy and had the sympathy of many of us as Minister of Energy, who after he was placed in forced retirement from the role of Minister of Energy talked about how he had been mugged in the corridors of power—mugged by Hydro, presumably.

I believe that to have been an accurate description of what happened to him. It could happen to the best of us; I think we all recognize that.

I thought, when I looked at this resolution, what is happening with the member for Prince Edward-Lennox these days? Is he now being mugged by the Canadian Nuclear Association to come forward with such a resolution? But as I listened to him speak to the resolution, my heart went out to him. I cannot support the resolution, but it is clear to me that he has put it forward with the best of intent. The intent he has placed before us and explained to us today is that this proposed hybrid system would be a system which would allow nuclear energy to become an efficient mechanism for safe heating.

That is his intent. It is an honourable intent. But it leads me to think one can paraphrase that old rhyme, somewhat along these lines: Oh what tortured plans we meet when first we invest in nuclear heat.

5:30 p.m.

The extent of the convolutions of logic and financial consideration that one has to go through in order to be able to justify the use of nuclear-generated electricity for space heating purposes is indicated in the attempted defence by the member for Prince Edward-Lennox of this resolution now before us.

I want to say quite clearly that I consider it yet another scheme by which proponents of nuclear power within and without Hydro are attempting to justify to us the kind of overexpansion of the electric system we have seen in the nuclear expansion plan. We have had one scheme after another. It runs the whole gamut now, from talk of how the electric car would justify the nuclear expansion system to how we are supposed to be using electric power in the near future to be electrifying our railways for transportation purposes to how we would see a massive expansion in the heating demand for nuclear electric energy.

One of the latest schemes is the whole notion that we can turn to what is called by some of these proponents a hydrogen-based energy economy—the hydrogen, of

course, to be produced by nuclear electricity. We also have this scheme suggested of a hybrid what the member calls surplus non-fossil-fuel-generated electrical capacity. What a euphemism! Why does he not say surplus nuclear capacity? Why do we not talk about the system as it actually is? Why do we not face the facts of the system as those facts actually sit before us?

As the member for Halton-Burlington (Mr. J. Reed) pointed out, one of the basic tenets of this resolution is inaccurate. The resolution as printed on the Notice Paper states that the province "has a surplus non-fossil-fuel-generated electrical capacity." We do not have that at all. In a system which counts 24,000 megawatts of potential capacity and provides us with the 17,000 megawatts we use on the coldest day of the year in Ontario, our nuclear capacity currently is about 5,000 megawatts. There is no surplus of nuclear capacity. If we add together those two elements that Hydro melds in order to build the base load for our electric system in its day-to-day planning of which plants are up and which plants are down, the 5,000 megawatts of nuclear capacity and the 6,000 megawatts of water power capacity, we still do not have a surplus. There is no surplus in nuclear capacity in this province.

In order to make the tenet of this resolution true, in order for us to have a surplus of nuclear capacity, we would have to engage in a nuclear generation program even beyond the magnificent scope of Hydro's current program. I am sure that is not the intent of the member for Prince Edward-Lennox. I do not understand how we can have it proposed to us that we should be engaging in efforts to put a dual system of heating into Ontario homes so that once demand for electric heating was high, one could switch to gas or some other form of energy and thereby relieve the peak of the electric demand so that it would not be so expensive to operate the nuclear system.

We have this proposed to us here. We have it proposed to us by the member for Prince Edward-Lennox that there should be incentives brought forward by Hydro in order to demonstrate and develop this hybrid, double-barrelled system, and we do not have any system here. We do not have any incentive program from this province or from Ontario Hydro to help people to cut back on heating demands, to lower the basic heating demands on the electric system, on our oil supply and on our natural gas supply.

Instead of going through the convolutions of a hybrid, double-layer heating system for

Ontario homes to try to make nuclear-generated heat look efficient and economic for heating purposes in Ontario, why do we not provide incentives for people on a pay-back-as-you-save-energy basis for insulation?

Why is it that we go through these enormous, sophisticated systematic shifts and programs and grant schemes and new justifications and rationales for ever and ever to justify using nuclear-generated electricity for heat? Why do we not forget nuclear-generated electricity for heat? It is not an efficient way to produce low-level space heating; it is a very expensive way. It is, as the member recognizes in his very proposals, a demand that, if it grows on the electric system, is going to produce even greater inefficiency.

Why, instead of fooling around with all this sophisticated jazz—

Mr. Speaker: The honourable member's time has expired.

Ms. Gigantes:—do we not put the money where it should be going: in energy efficiency, on the development of alternative renewable sources of energy?

Mr. Ramsay: Mr. Speaker, I rise in full support of the resolution under consideration. I can see any number of good reasons for it.

Essentially it is my feeling that Ontario Hydro is a publicly owned company, mandated to supply the people of this province with electrical energy in the cheapest and most reliable ways it can. I believe it is incumbent upon the provincial utility to seek maximum flexibility and diversity. In this way it can best serve Ontarians over the long run.

It shocks me to realize that something in the order of two thirds or more of the homes in our province depend on uncertain, out-of-province sources of fossil fuels for their home heating needs. As things stand, the resources of oil and gas we depend on come from sources over which we have no control.

I am not a strong critic of the oil and gas companies. I am not one who accuses them of ripping off the public to make so-called windfall profits. As a general rule, I think we are served well by the businesses which provide us with our fossil fuels.

I have to confess, though, that it bothers me to see the people of Ontario being forced into filling the coffers of other governments. Those governments rarely do the work involved in bringing new sources on stream, considering the generosity with which Ontario has supported the concept of fiscal

equality in Canada's Confederation. It also seems unfair that we should now find ourselves unjustly penalized for being good customers of products that come from other jurisdictions, but that seems to be the case. That is why I strongly support the measures taken over the past few months by our Premier (Mr. Davis) and the Minister of Energy (Mr. Welch), as well as other officials of this government, to negotiate a fairer settlement of oil and gas prices and revenues.

It is also one of the strongest arguments I can find for supporting any possible measures that might be undertaken by our province's electrical utility to maximize our control over our source of energy for such basic needs as residential space heating. Certainly the incentive is there for our consumers to be open to new and more flexible ways of fulfilling their heating requirements. There is no abatement in the pressure on the federal government to let Canadian-produced oil go to world price.

5:40 p.m.

As a nonproducing province, Ontario must therefore do all it can to move away from the relentless dependence on oil and gas. Electricity is a very versatile form of energy. Ontario at present generates a substantial surplus above peak load requirements. This is a very valuable asset to the province. It provides us with a strong selling point when we encourage capital investment both from indigenous and outside sources. This is because we can assure energy consumers that they will experience none of the so-called brownouts that plague utilities in neighbouring jurisdictions.

At the same time I support the resolution of my colleague from Prince Edward-Lennox because I truly hope that we are not overlooking any possible avenue of improving our direct service to householders in the province. By using offpeak power as a source of home heating fuel, I believe we can move the province closer to our stated goal of security of energy supply.

No one is suggesting a large-scale move to replace other sources of home heat by electricity in a total way, although I understand that more and more new homes in the province are being equipped with electrical heating. Rather, it is a question of gearing ourselves to an energy mix at the point of application. Electrical hybrid heating is feasible for both new homes and existing residences at a relatively low cost that surely can be amortized over a relatively few years. The payback period will, of course, decline as the cost of oil goes up.

A great quantity of the energy we use in Ontario comes from beyond our borders. We are very vulnerable to fluctuations in price and supply. These factors, though of primary significance to our economic and physical wellbeing, are beyond our control. It is only common sense for us to do all we can to maximize the use we make of our own resources. Every \$1 increase in the price of a barrel of oil costs Ontario something in the order of \$300 million a year. Our electrical generating capacity is a high-performance engineering achievement. It is a solid foundation on which we can build.

I am well aware of past controversies surrounding Hydro's so-called surplus generating capability. As I mentioned, I do not believe this is a weakness or a miscalculation. What surplus there is, is there to ensure full service and future security. In fact, it is not that backup generating capacity that is at issue today but rather the valleys in demand. The generating capacity is that drawn off the system only during peak periods when people are using their stoves at suppertime, for example.

The demand for oil is going to put greater and greater pressure on producers as time goes by. We are not the only people who want to continue to consume it. While we are prepared to pay a fair price, others are too. That means we are competing with some pretty high-powered customers for a diminishing resource. There are some pretty important strategic considerations that have to be factored into this equation as well.

How much will we be able to spend on supplies from the Middle East, given the increasing instability in that area? What kind of deal will officials of the Canadian government and oil refining companies be able to strike with suppliers in Mexico and other regions? What is the potential of the east coast offshore oil fields? How long will these and Arctic sources take to come on stream? What will be the impact of down-sized cars on our fossil fuel consumption?

These and a host of other factors remain unresolved. The situation is fraught with uncertainty. It is as critical as anything else facing us. It may be five or more years before we can reasonably expect to be able to plan with any more predictability than at present.

Ontario has played a leading role in the overall Canadian effort to work out a fair pricing and distribution scheme. Perhaps now that the Quebec issue has resolved itself, or at least begun to resolve itself, energy security can assume a higher place on the federal list of priorities. As a basic element

in our lives energy in one way or another will undoubtedly be part of the agenda in any forthcoming constitutional talks.

The debate over energy has been a highly visible public issue for quite some time. People have become very attuned to such energy-conserving measures as car pooling. In residential construction and retrofitting, it is quickly becoming standard practice to incorporate very high insulating standards. Undoubtedly, many Ontario home owners would welcome the opportunity to retrofit existing oil or gas furnaces with an electric unit that would permit them to serve the public interest while economizing on their own fuel needs.

Mr. Speaker: The member for Niagara Falls for about three and a half minutes.

Mr. Kerrio: Mr. Speaker, most of the speakers on the government side believe the propaganda Hydro has been pumping out. It is obvious they have them all convinced that they have a good cause. I have to suggest that if this kind of resolution were to pass and be put in place, we would encourage Ontario Hydro's bureaucratic monster to continue running away with itself without being able to put any kind of brake on it.

I could support such a resolution if we had done many things that would have some kind of priority with this government and with Ontario Hydro. The first priority is to develop every bit of hydraulic power we have in the country. Then we should talk about the management of the hydro electric system itself. The schedule of rates is absolutely ridiculous. It costs some poor retired couple more money to fry an egg than it does some person who has a lot of bucks to heat his swimming pool. That just isn't right and shouldn't wash with the public out there. Unless we turn that around, this kind of inefficiency is going to continue.

There are so many things we could do. We talk about peaks and valleys in the system. With good management we could cut the peaks off and fill in the valleys. We could do things about insulation that would see to it that would happen. We could also go on a grand program that would take Canadian gas into Ontario with a pipeline built using Canadian ore, a Canadian smelter, a Canadian pipe plant in Welland, Ontario, and with Canadian labour to put the whole thing in. That is the kind of management we need over there.

We are one of the few countries in the world that is self-sufficient in fuel if we stop wasting our energy. But there is nothing coming from this government that would sug-

gest that if their friends in Alberta could compromise and make decent agreements with us here in Ontario we could burn natural gas in place of imported oil. We could put our government to good use, take this great overbilled system of ours and use the capacity from Niagara where God puts the water there day after day. We would not be going this route then.

Mr. Speaker, I can see by your actions that my time must be nearly up, or is it just your unwillingness to stop me in mid-stride here? I suggest there has been a long overdue time in technology across this great province of ours when we should have built smaller nuclear plants so we would not have transmission lines all over the place. Perhaps the Minister of Agriculture and Food (Mr. Henderson) would understand that if we had small nuclear plants across the province instead of these huge monsters we have built, we could grow food with the waste heat. We would not have the farmers chasing the plant. We would have the plant where the people are, where we produce our power. For many years in Europe, they have put the power where the people are and used the waste energy for heating where it is required.

Mr. Speaker: Now the honourable member's time has expired.

Mr. Kerrio: Ontario Hydro must be slowed down. We must put the brakes on. If we do not, we could pile resolutions like this to the ceiling and it will not get any more efficient.

Mr. J. A. Taylor: Mr. Speaker, I am going to ask the members of the opposition to get off their political pogo sticks and think positive.

I am going to list some of the benefits. In two minutes I am going to tell them some of the benefits. Number one is increased energy efficiency. Number two, we have the technology now in Ontario and the productive capacity for the retrofitness necessary. All of the materials can be made in Ontario. We can make a large saving in oil and natural gas consumption. That is conservation. I say to the members opposite, commit yourselves to conservation, support this resolution.

Ontario would not be as dependent on fossil fuel and would have this additional backup system with the additional security. Even members opposite deserve that kind of comfort. It would smooth out the peaks and valleys. We know all about the peaks and valleys and the base loads. We could lower that out. It is not a big cost to the consumer. It could provide a big saving for

the consumer. Don't members opposite like the consumers? Why don't they protect the consumers and support this resolution?

5:50 p.m.

Hydro could set up an off-peak rate structure and the members opposite know it could. I am asking them to support that kind of proposition as well. If the growth forecasts are off, and we have had some experience in that, then the system is much more adaptable and we could go with a cheaper source of energy.

The off-peak electric heating in a dual or hybrid system is unquestionably an economic, simple and secure means of maximizing the people's investment in our electric supply system.

Mr. Speaker: I am required to put the question at 5:50 p.m. If the member has a brief comment.

Mr. J. Reed: Just a very brief point of information, Mr. Speaker. During this debate, there was a question brought up as to some times and dates. I have a note signed by the chairman of the standing committee on resources development, and I will read it into the record. It says: "Julian, you are right—1991 oil per barrel projection, \$82."

Mr. Speaker: I know the member for High Park-Swansea has what he thinks is a point of order. I will hear it after I put the vote, as I am required to do.

6 p.m.

MACKENZIE-PAPINEAU BATTALION

The House divided on Mr. Young's motion of resolution 18 which was negatived on the following vote:

AYES

Bounsall, Bryden, Charlton, Cooke, M. Davidson, M. N. Davison, Di Santo, Foulds, Gaunt, Germa, Gigantes,

Hennessy, Isaacs, Kerr, Lupusella, Makarchuk, Mancini, McClellan, Roy, Swart, Warner, Young, Ziemba.

NAYS

Baetz, Belanger, Blundy, Bradley, Breithaupt, Brunelle, Cunningham, Cureatz, Drea, Eakins, Eaton, Edighoffer, Epp,

Gregory, Havrot, Henderson, J. Johnson, Kennedy, Kerrio, Lane, Leluk, MacBeth, McCaffrey, McCague, McGuigan, McKessock, McNeil.

W. Newman, B. Newman, Norton, Peterson, Ramsay, J. Reed, T. P. Reid, Riddell, Rowe, Ruston, Scrivener.

J. A. Taylor, G. Taylor, Van Horne, Villeneuve, Walker, Watson, Wells, Williams, Wiseman, Worton.

Ayes 23; nays 48.

ELECTRIC HYBRID HEATING

The House divided on Mr. J. A. Taylor's motion of resolution 21 which was agreed to on the following vote:

AYES

Baetz, Belanger, Blundy, Brunelle, Cureatz, Drea, Eaton, Gaunt, Gregory, Havrot, Henderson, Hennessy, J. Johnson.

Kennedy, Kerr, Lane, Leluk, MacBeth, McCaffrey, McCague, McKessock, McNeil, W. Newman, Norton, Ramsay.

Rowe, Roy, Scrivener, J. A. Taylor, G. Taylor, Villeneuve, Walker, Watson, Wells, Williams, Wiseman.

NAYS

Bounsall, Bradley, Breithaupt, Bryden, Charlton, Cooke, Cunningham, M. Davidson, M. N. Davison, Di Santo, Eakins, Edighoffer.

Epp, Foulds, Germa, Gigantes, Isaacs, Kerrio, Lupusella, Makarchuk, Mancini, McClellan, McGuigan, B. Newman.

Peterson, J. Reed, T. P. Reid, Riddell, Ruston, Swart, Van Horne, Warner, Worton, Young, Ziemba.

Ayes 36; nays 35.

Mr. Ziemba: I have a point of privilege, Mr. Speaker. One of your recent rulings caused me some difficulty this afternoon.

A friend visited me this morning. His name is Gian Singh. He is a Sikh who feels very badly about what has happened to the Sikh temple. He was demonstrating, or he had prepared to demonstrate, this afternoon in front of this building and he was observing a fast until he could get justice or until his case was dealt with. He had been in and out of the building. He had been to visit me and I had taken him in to see two of my colleagues.

Somewhere along the line we had a phone call this afternoon from security. They wanted to know if we gave this man permission to enter the building. We said we certainly did. However, shortly after that he was asked—and I have the police statement—according to the police, if he had an appointment with me, and he said no, he did not have an appointment.

The security then told him that he did not have the right to enter the building because, according to your ruling, Mr. Speaker, demonstrators were not allowed into the building.

At this point, he asked permission to enter the public gallery and again he was refused access to the building because of your ruling.

Then there was a shoving match, one thing led to another and my constituent was charged, by the security, with assault. The police at Number 52 station were called and arrested him. He is being held in custody at this very moment.

This is a man who is under a great deal of stress, and he was demonstrating for what he believed to be a just cause, and he was just one man. I would like to know what gives you the right, Mr. Speaker, to deny my constituents access to my office?

Mr. Speaker: This has a number of points. I had delivered into my mail box, just before the incident, something that was sent from the gentleman you referred to. He lives in Mississauga. He is seeking redress and he was, in every sense of the word, demonstrating. He was allowed in. He did meet with you personally earlier today and tried to get in again under the guise of having another meeting with you when, in fact, he didn't have another meeting with you.

Mr. Ziemba: That was no guise, Mr. Speaker.

Mr. Speaker: Order.

You have asked me by what right I had to have this person ejected because he was actively demonstrating in this building. Demonstrations are quite legal as long as they are done outside of the barrier. This gentleman chose to forcibly make entry into here and start demonstrating out in the foyer. That is clearly illegal. I am just carrying out the wishes of the majority of the members of this House and that I will continue to do.

Hon. Mr. Gregory: On a point of privilege, Mr. Speaker, just to correct the record: The honourable member is in error. The person,

Mr. Singh, is a constituent of mine at 3315 Fieldgate Drive in Mississauga.

Mr. Ziemba: I consider him to be my constituent.

Hon. Mr. Gregory: The member should check his records.

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE

Hon. Mr. Wells: Mr. Speaker, pursuant to standing order 13, I would like to outline the business for the rest of this week and next week.

Tonight, we will continue the budget debate. Tomorrow, we will consider the estimates of the Ministry of Intergovernmental Affairs.

On Monday afternoon, we will continue consideration of the estimates of the Ministry of Intergovernmental Affairs.

On Tuesday, in the afternoon, the House will do legislation—Bill 73, a labour relations bill, followed by the adjourned debate on Bill 47, the police review bill. In the evening, if necessary, we will continue with Bill 47, followed by Bill 46, then Bill 62 and, if time permits, Bill 43.

On Wednesday, the resources development, general government and justice committees may meet in the morning.

On Thursday, in the afternoon, there will be private members' public business, with ballot items 17 and 18. In the evening of Thursday, the Ministry of Intergovernmental Affairs estimates will be considered, and they will be considered by the House on Friday.

Mr. Speaker: It being after six o'clock and, since tonight we are having a little party for the pages and we have taken from their time, we will resume at 8:15 p.m.

The House recessed at 6:10 p.m.

APPENDIX

(See page 2090)

ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS
ON NOTICE PAPER

JUVENILE DETENTIONS

122. Mr. McClellan: (i) How many juveniles (under 16 years) have been held (currently and in the past) in facilities which can or may be used by adults? The annual reports of the Ministry of Correctional Services lists some figures. On what authority have these juveniles been so placed? Where are they placed? At what stage in the process—awaiting trial; after conviction? How many other juveniles are detained overnight in adult facilities on a short-term basis? Where has this occurred? (ii) What policies have been defined by the government re: procedures to be followed by police in questioning juveniles? What provision has been made to ensure that parents are informed immediately when their children are detained? (Tabled April 16, 1980. Interim Answer May 1, 1980. Approximate date information available May 14, 1980.)

Hon. Mr. Walker: (i) There were 20 juveniles admitted to our institutions a total of 31 times during 1979. All were admitted under the Juvenile Delinquent Act, section 13(4). This section of the act covers the remand of juveniles that "cannot safely be confined in any place other than a goal or lock-up."

They were held at: Kenora Jail, 17; Sudbury Jail, 1; Sault Ste. Marie Jail, 1; Metro Toronto West DC, 1. Kenora's count is due to the fact that prior to the week of May 12, 1980, there was not an observation or detention facility for juveniles in that area. Such a facility is now in operation in Kenora.

Juveniles housed in facilities under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Correctional Services are held separately from the general inmate population.

(ii) The Solicitor General (Mr. McMurry) advises me the general practice of Ontario's police forces is to make every effort to notify the parents or guardians of juveniles in custody as quickly as possible so that they can be present during questioning. However, this is not always possible, as in some cases the parents or guardians are not immediately available. Certain circumstances, such as the apprehension of a fleeing suspect, would require that the investigation proceed despite the absence of a parent or guardian.

INCOME TAX PAYMENTS BY
FOREIGN STUDENTS

157. Mr. Isaacs: How many foreign students in Ontario are paying Canada income tax but not paying Ontario income tax because Ontario has no provision in the Ontario Income Tax Act deeming them to be residents of Ontario? What is the total amount of revenue being collected by the federal government from these foreign students as a result of the fact that they are not granted the 43 per cent abatement of federal income tax for which they would be eligible if they were deemed to be residents of Ontario? (Tabled May 9, 1980.)

Hon. Mr. Maeck: Since Revenue Canada taxation administers the Ontario Income Tax Act, all tax returns are filed with the Canadian government on behalf of the province. Consequently, I am unable to provide the information. My staff has contacted officials of Revenue Canada, but they do not have the requested data on foreign students readily available. The cost of obtaining this information would be extremely high.

REPAYMENT OF TAX CREDITS
BY FOREIGN STUDENTS

158. Mr. Isaacs: How many foreign students are being asked to repay Ontario property tax credits and Ontario sales tax credits which they received as a result of filing tax returns for 1978, for 1977, for years previous to 1977? What is the total amount of money involved? (Tabled May 9, 1980.)

Hon. Mr. Maeck: In 1978 a test audit of Ontario tax credit claims was conducted. This test showed there was a strong possibility that claims were being made by foreign students who are not considered residents of Ontario, and consequently not entitled to claim Ontario tax credits. In 1979 an audit of the 1978 foreign students' claims commenced, and to date 400 have been asked to return credits previously allowed.

As reported in response to Order Paper question 58, it is estimated that approximately \$750,000 may be recovered. No figures are available in respect of recoveries for 1977 and prior years, as these were not separated from other amounts to be recovered. But the amounts recovered and to be recovered are negligible.

INCOME TAX PAYMENTS BY TEMPORARY RESIDENTS

159. Mr. Isaacs: How many temporary residents of Canada, other than students, are living in Ontario and paying Canada income tax but not paying Ontario income tax because Ontario has no provision in the Ontario Income Tax Act deeming them to be residents of Ontario? What is the gross income tax revenue which would be collected if temporary residents of Ontario, other than students, were deemed to be residents of Ontario for the purposes of the Ontario Income Tax Act? (Tabled May 9, 11980.)

Hon. Mr. Maecck: Revenue Canada taxation administers the Ontario Income Tax Act and as such all tax returns are filed with the Canadian government on behalf of the province. My staff has contacted officials of Revenue Canada, but they do not have the requested data on temporary residents of Canada readily available. The cost of obtaining this information would be extremely high.

OHC TENDERS

168. Mr. Dukszta: Will the minister table in the Legislature: (a) a list of all those individuals or corporations submitting tenders for the Ontario Housing Corporation property on Bergamot Avenue, and the value of the tenders submitted; (b) any and all appraisals that were done of the value of the Bergamot Avenue property, and/or of the cost of reno-

vating it, between the time it was acquired by the Ontario Housing Corporation and the present? (Tabled May 13, 1980.)

Hon. Mr. Bennett: (a) The last advertisement for the sale of the Bergamot property appeared in the Globe and Mail and Toronto Star on January 17, 1980. As a result, the following offers were made: 1. Cannone (Northern) Ltd., \$1,250,000; 2. Parwest Construction Ltd., \$1,200,000; 3. Academy Consolidated Developments Inc., \$1,051,000; 4. Labour Council Development Foundation, \$1,050,000.

(b) Two independent appraisals were carried out on the property, viz: 1. by Mortgage Insurance Co. Ltd., valuation \$1,250,000; 2. by E. J. Strachan (1978) Inc., valuation \$1,150,000.

The property was acquired by OHC as an existing building in 1965, when the corporation, which was established in August 1964, was attempting to deal quickly with a long waiting list of rent-geared-to-income applicants and at the same time to move forward with its own construction program. The purchase price for the 112-unit project on approximately six acres of land was \$1,686,944.

Records of replacement costs during the early years of administration are not available. However, from 1973 to 1977, inclusive, approximately \$295,000 was spent on special items such as window replacement, water-proofing, roof repairs and the heating system in order to keep the units fit for occupancy.

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No. 55

Legislature of Ontario Debates

Official Report (Hansard)

Fourth Session, 31st Parliament

Thursday, May 22, 1980

Evening Sitting

Speaker: Honourable John E. Stokes

Clerk: Roderick Lewis, QC

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Hansard subscription price is \$15.00 per session, from: Sessional Subscription Service, Central Purchasing Service, Print Procurement Section, Ministry of Government Services, 9th Floor, Ferguson Block, Parliament Buildings, Toronto M7A 1N3. Phone (416) 965-2238.

Published by the Legislature of the Province of Ontario.
Editor of Debates: Peter Brannan.

LEGISLATURE OF ONTARIO

THURSDAY, MAY 22, 1980

The House resumed at 8:15 p.m.

BUDGET DEBATE (continued)

Resuming the adjourned debate on the amendment to the motion that this House approves in general the budgeting policy of the government.

Mr. Charlton: Mr. Speaker, I'm very pleased to be participating in the budget debate again this year, as I have for the last two years, as our party's Revenue critic. I'm going to start out by talking about some of the things that were in the budget that we, as a party, were comfortable with and were pleased about. There are some things, in fact, we attempted over the last year or two to egg the government into considering. So we feel we have accomplished something in the last year or year and a half.

We've taken some abuse and some flak over the last number of months from the Leader of the Opposition (Mr. S. Smith) and some members of that caucus over our reluctance to support their motions of no confidence. On the other hand, it's quite clear to the members of this caucus—it is clear from the very accurate records that Hansard keeps in this House—that there are issues that we, as a caucus, have pushed repeatedly. I can't, as an individual member, take credit for them, but I have to take credit for them as a part of this caucus.

It is members of this caucus who have repeatedly raised the issue of special education. We've had, over the past three years that I have been a member, at least three private members' bills on the question of special education. We have also had numerous questions during the course of question period over that three-year period.

The same is true with the developmental funds for the mentally retarded. The same is true for day care facilities. And the same is especially true when it comes to the health care issue and the health care system in this province, the funding of our hospitals, and the funding of those programs that the Minister of Health (Mr. Timbrell) so often likes to refer to as the alternatives—the programs that have to replace those things he's been

cutting back over the past three or four years. These things unfortunately were cut back up until a point this spring when the Treasurer (Mr. F. S. Miller), and whoever else he consults with, decided to start to swing that process around.

8:20 p.m.

Up until this budget, we were in a situation in the health-care system in this province of almost total cutbacks and total reduction of an existing system, without additional provisions for the alternatives the Minister of Health talked about.

I think the Speaker is well aware of the efforts members of this caucus made during the past year specifically, but also during the past four years. He is aware of the efforts that have been made by this caucus to raise the issue of increasing deficiencies in the health care system and of complaints about service that was not the same as it had been in the past in dealing with specific emergencies or specific health care needs. As one member who is a relatively new member of the House, I am very proud of the role this caucus has played in that process. Even though I have not been involved of the whole process, I am proud to say it has been my colleagues who have consistently and repeatedly raised those issues.

The things we see in the budget this year as progress in terms of health care spending are not obviously all we would want and are not obviously the answer to all the concerns we raised last year during our health care campaign in the fall and that were raised in the petitions we presented here last fall. But at least it is a step in the right direction and a reversal of the policy this government has pursued for the last four or five years.

There should be additional funds not only for the current structure in health care, but also for the alternative structure which the Minister of Health so often referred to in the past, but he was unwilling to provide any additional funding for the nursing home sector and the home care sector. These are alternatives that are real issues in the major urban centres in this province.

In the city of Hamilton we have been in a situation of which I have been personally aware for the last three years—and probably it has been going on for some little time past that three-year period—where for all intents and purposes the number of nursing home beds have been frozen. At the same time, the Minister of Health was saying to the hospitals in the city of Hamilton, "Cut back active treatment beds. Get those people out of active treatment beds who should rightfully be in nursing home beds or in continuing care beds."

There is nothing wrong with getting those people out of beds that are too expensive for the kind of care those people require. On the other hand, there has been over the past number of years something wrong with eliminating those beds without providing the alternatives. It has created hardships in this province, more so probably in the urban ridings than in some of the rural areas of the province, though the government's philosophy in terms of cutback in health care has caused problems even in the rural areas of the province. We have seen it in a number of issues that have been raised by my colleagues in terms of northern Ontario, ambulance services, airlift services and other issues.

In addition to those basic reversals on the part of the government in its cutback program, there was the whole issue in this budget of senior citizens in this province. There is the issue I have personally raised in this House a number of times each year for the last two and a half years since I became this caucus's Revenue critic: the issue of the whole question of the property tax credit.

I must admit that I never raised the issue in the specific terms it has been dealt with in this budget. I never felt, and still don't feel, that the senior citizens of this province should have been taken out of the present property tax credit structure and put into specific, different if you like, legislation to provide them with more money without dealing with the rest of the residents of this province in a like, related-to-income fashion.

In fact, I have raised it in almost the opposite manner—that the property tax credit in Ontario was a good and useful mechanism for redistributing income when it was introduced in 1974. It was a reasonable approach to dealing with the regressive nature of property taxes in Ontario. It was reasonably fair, understanding and beneficial in the economic sense of putting money back into the hands of residents of this province.

I have raised the issue repeatedly in terms of the fact that since its implementation in 1974, the property tax credit has been neglected in terms of its original intent; that in fact it has almost been forgotten; that those seniors, people on fixed incomes, disability pensions, workmen's compensation, on very low and fixed incomes, people working at the minimum wage who work a full week, and all of those people at the bottom and middle end of the income spectrum, in 1974, in the case of pensioners, or those people on fixed government subsidies, got all, or virtually all, of their property taxes back.

We had regressed to a stage where they received something in the neighbourhood of 40 to 50 per cent, half or less of their property taxes back. These are people who, under the federal income tax structure, were eligible to pay no taxes and under the provincial income tax structure were eligible to pay no taxes. These are the people whom we as a party have always felt that, if they were eligible under neither of those criteria, should pay no property taxes either, or that the province should take responsibility to see that they were refunded those taxes which they paid to the municipality for the services that municipality was required to provide to its citizens.

There were also those people out there who didn't get virtually all of their property taxes back in 1974, but whose incomes were such that they got a portion. Some people in 1974 got \$75 back. I was one of the people in that particular category at that time. Some people got \$150 back. Some people got as much as \$300 back.

A majority of the people in this province, under the Ontario property tax credit structure, got some portion of their property taxes back. And the vast majority of those people today have incomes that have risen rather substantially. Those people have not changed their real place in the economic structure at all. Their incomes may have gone up by a third or a half—in some instances perhaps even as much as 100 per cent—over the last decade, but so too has the cost of living and the cost of their property taxes over the last decade.

8:30 p.m.

The property tax credit has failed to serve consistently the people it was originally intended to serve in a recurring fashion year after year. People who got \$150 one year, got \$110 the next year and \$60 the year after that until they reached the point where they no longer got anything, regardless of the fact

that their real economic situation had not changed at all. I made it a point here in the House, in committee, in estimates and on every occasion I could find, to raise with the Minister of Revenue (Mr. Maeck) and the Treasurer the fact that the property tax credit was failing its original purpose, what was intended by this House when the original legislation was passed.

We were extremely happy to see the small but significant turnaround this year in the budget. We were not totally happy to see the way in which it was done, in that seniors now will be taken out of the mainstream and put into separate legislation in order to give them an increase in the number of dollars of tax credit or rebate, call it what you like, over what they got this year and last year. We are happy to see the increase but not necessarily happy to see the way in which it was granted.

We are not happy simply because the increase of \$75 to \$100 a year on average for seniors in this province is at least in large part what we were looking for as a caucus. It was done in the way it was done in order to avoid having to give that increase to the rest of the property taxpayers in this province—the people who receive disability pensions or workmen's compensation because they have been permanently or temporarily totally disabled as a result of a work-related accident, but regardless have been put in a position where their income and their ability to improve their income has been reduced.

People temporarily on unemployment insurance or temporarily on welfare, if they are no longer eligible for unemployment insurance, who for whatever reason have been put into categories in terms of income less than what they had a short time previously, are not getting any effective increase in the property tax credit. The government has taken the road of taking the seniors out of the mainstream, out of the basic credit approach that we have had for the last six years in this province, and putting them into separate legislation that we will be dealing with shortly in this House. The government has effectively avoided the overall question and that to some degree disappoints me.

The improvements in the money seniors will be getting provides some satisfaction to me and other members of my caucus, probably also to the Liberal Party caucus and perhaps even to some of the government party members. There are, however, a number of omissions from the new program because it is a program that is in totally separate legislation. There are a number of omissions be-

cause Ontario, in attempting to administer the program itself, has found that it can't easily identify all of the people that the federal income tax structure could identify.

Within the first week after the budget was presented, my colleague from Downsview (Mr. Di Santo) told the Treasurer his new grant program was going to exclude people on the basis that they are not eligible for old age security from the federal government, it would exclude people who under the tax credit system were eligible for the full tax credit, it would exclude some people who are citizens of this country, because after three years they can become a citizen but they are not eligible for old age security until they have been here 10 years. He said the program would exclude people who, although they were not yet citizens, fully intended to be and have paid federal and provincial taxes in this country, and people who were eligible under the credit system who were not going to be eligible when we passed the bill on the property tax grant for senior citizens.

When my colleague raised that issue, it was very obvious that the Treasurer had great sympathy for the question that was put. The Treasurer made the commitment that if he could find a way administratively to do what the member was asking, to include those people who were neglected by the budget proposal because of only administrative problems, he would do it.

It seems to me to be almost irresponsible of this government to exclude people in order to avoid paying an increased property tax credit to other categories of people who are not 65 years of age or over, or in order to avoid implementing a new property tax credit formula—a formula along the lines that was presented in the 1978 budget but was never implemented—a formula that would have effectively dealt with every person in this province based on his or her income. In order to avoid all that, strictly because of administrative problems, this government has said, "We are going to have to exclude some people that we don't really want to exclude from the new program, because the data we get from Revenue Canada won't identify them for us, simply because they are not eligible for old age security."

That to me seems inexcusable. It seems incumbent on me, on all of us in this House, to find a way around or over that kind of administrative hangup; that kind of administrative stupidity.

We have, in the weeks that have elapsed since the budget was presented in this House,

raised the question a number of times and in a number of different ways. The Liberal caucus has raised the issue of those in certain institutions that were previously eligible that will not now be, or that will get less than they got before. That too is true, and that too is probably inexcusable. It is inexcusable because this government, in order to satisfy the majority in a particular segment of society, the seniors, has rushed to find a way to satisfy them without effectively satisfying the needs of the society as a whole.

8:40 p.m.

This has caused some serious problems in this caucus. We intend, as a result of that, to attempt to move some amendments, if the Treasurer and the Minister of Revenue can't find it within themselves and their staff to find a way to make those amendments possible without them having to be moved from this side of the House.

We are well aware that most of the amendments we have in mind will be ruled out of order if they are moved from this side of the House. They certainly wouldn't be if the Treasurer or the Minister of Revenue were to move them.

But we are prepared to move those amendments regardless. We are prepared to fight for those people who will be losing something that they cannot now, in the economic circumstances we have in 1980, afford to lose. They cannot afford to lose any dollars, never mind in some cases some fairly substantial dollars, in terms of tax rebates.

We had a debate last week on a number of the revenue bills that were presented by the Minister of Revenue and emanated out of the budget. One that was debated at fair length in this House—I think the Minister of Revenue was somewhat taken aback by the fact that so many members got up to speak on it—was the bill to amend the Retail Sales Tax Act.

On Tuesday afternoon when we were debating the gasoline tax amendment, the minister took it upon himself to take objections to things that I had said about some of the sections in the Retail Sales Tax Act amendment and the gasoline tax amendment. I had said it would become a joke if the government didn't do something constructive to make exemptions provided in those two bills accessible and available to the majority of the people of this province.

I refer to the exemptions in the Retail Sales Tax Act which exempted ethyl and methyl alcohol from retail sales tax when they were going to be used as fuel for an internal combustion engine, and the exemption from retail sales tax of vehicles which

would use those fuels. In addition, there were those vehicles which would use electricity and a number of other fuels—natural gas, manufactured gas.

Unfortunately, I think the Minister of Revenue misunderstood my comment when I said to him I didn't want to see, 10 years down the road, these amendments and the Minister of Revenue becoming a joke because nobody had been able to take advantage of these amendments and these tax exemptions. I wasn't in any way trying to imply that the exemptions themselves were a joke, or that the conservation which they could represent should be a joke.

My point to the Minister of Revenue was then and is now, if the government does not take some constructive action in terms of seeing that the kinds of vehicles we are talking about are widely available to the people of this province, the exemptions will become a joke.

The minister took it upon himself to point out as clearly as he could that kits to convert existing gasoline vehicles to methyl or ethyl alcohol and a number of other substances were available for, he estimated, somewhere in the neighbourhood of \$1,500. I am not even going to quarrel with the minister about his estimate of the dollars involved. I would, however, like to point out to the minister that a fairly substantial number of people in this province do not drive new cars, in fact buy used cars, and a fairly substantial number of people have a certain degree of difficulty in finding the \$1,500 to buy the car, never mind the conversion kit.

If a conversion kit is worth \$1,500, I question how much it would cost those people in addition to have it installed, if they do not have the personal, technical expertise to install it themselves. It is well and good to say the conversion kits are available or will be made available as the demand increases, but that is not the point. The point for a fairly substantial number of people at the bottom end of the income scale is, because they have never bought a car any less than five or six years old with any less than 80,000 or 90,000 miles on it, the only way they are ever going to get into a converted car that will burn the kinds of fuels that the minister has set out in amendments to the Retail Sales Tax Act and the Gasoline Tax Act, is if and when they can buy one on the used car market. The only way that is effectively going to happen is if and when the automobile producers in this province, not the conversion kit sellers, produce those kinds of vehicles in a substantial way so they are

readily available in the marketplace and also eventually in the used car market.

I do not expect the minister to talk to his colleagues about seeing that all happens tomorrow. But I certainly expect a government that takes steps to see that all tax exemptions are available will take whatever action is necessary to make sure other things are happening in the economy to ensure the vehicles that can make use of those exemptions, both for the vehicles themselves and the fuel, are also available.

Hon. Mr. Maeck: What's wrong with private enterprise? Can't they do something about it?

Mr. Charlton: The minister knows full well there are literally hundreds of different approaches to energy conservation that have been researched and engineered, and have never become publicly available. They never will as long as it is in the best interests of some of those out there in the private sector to see they do not. The minister knows full well, unless somebody steps in to see they become available, they will not until the time is right for those in the private sector.
8:50 p.m.

We also talked, Mr. Speaker, during the debate on the amendments to the Retail Sales Tax Act, about a number of other reductions, whether existing reductions that should be further reduced or new reductions or exemptions, if you like, from the Retail Sales Tax Act that, in general, would have been far more beneficial in terms of putting dollars back into the economy of this province, far more beneficial for the residents of this province than the exemptions the Minister of Revenue this year provided in his amendments.

It was very nice to see the exemption on grain storage bins and grain dryers. During the debate on the bill the member for Brant-Oxford-Norfolk (Mr. Nixon) made the point of trying to take credit for his caucus for the inclusion of that particular item. He indicated that the farmers of Ontario were swinging back to the Liberal Party because of the position it had taken and that the tax should never have been applied in the first place.

Having looked through the records, I found it rather significant to note, having sat and listened to comments that this party had no roots and no understanding at all of the rural communities in this province, that the only times in recent years private members' legislation was put forward that would have covered the specific exemption the minister this year included for farmers were when they came from this caucus, from my col-

league from Algoma (Mr. Wildman). That is significant in terms of the way in which things in this House are dealt with. It is also significant of the way this party views this province and the people of this province who have to deal with its economy and its tax structure.

But I have to say that while we welcome the exemptions included this year, there were, as I have already said, a number of exemptions that would have been far more universal, even if not totally universal, and far more appropriate to the economic circumstances we are faced with in this province.

On a number of occasions I have raised personally, as have several other members of this caucus and even some of the Liberal caucus, the question of the retail sales tax exemption on shoes, which is set at \$30 and which has not changed for a number of years. This was an exemption that was intended to reflect the dividing line between the price of the majority of shoes sold in this province and those that are obviously above average and luxury in nature. The \$30 point was set to reflect that kind of situation and yet we are still stuck at that price after four or five years. All members of the House know full well that exemption no longer serves the people buying the same type of shoes they bought in 1975 for substantially greater prices now.

In the same fashion that the property tax credit no longer serves the people it was intended to serve, the exemption on the cost of shoes from retail sales tax no longer serves the people it was intended to serve and no longer serves the same quality of shoes it was intended to exempt. During the debate on the bill, one of my colleagues made the point—and I can't even recall the exact figures—that the prices of those shoes have gone up somewhere between 80 and 100 per cent.

We're in a situation where an exemption exists that no longer means very much at all. People in this province can probably still run out and buy a pair of sneakers and get the tax exemption, but they certainly can't, even when they are buying the cheapest pair of shoes they can find, buy the pair of shoes they will wear to church or to their club meeting or even here in the Legislature.

Then we have the whole question, which is a question that has also been raised with the Minister of Revenue a number of times, of the exemption from retail sales tax on children's clothing. That is an exemption that is based exclusively on sizes that are set out in the textile industry that the industry says will fit children.

The problem is those families who have average children or less than average children in terms of size all get the exemption on the clothes for their children. But when a child gets into the teens and happens to be above average—and I'm talking about size, not about anything else—his family, all of a sudden, loses the exemption on children's clothing, regardless of the child's age. Some 10-, 11- and 12-year-olds happen to be rather huge. Some of them may not grow any taller but, none the less, at 10 or 11 or 12 they're huge. They are no longer able to wear children's sizes; they're wearing adult sizes.

As a result, because of the way this tax is structured and regulated, those families get no exemption on the retail sales tax. They pay the tax on the clothing that child wears for no other reason than that they were unfortunate enough to have a large child. I've talked to the minister about it a number of times and I understand full well that providing the exemption for those children is going to create some administrative problems.

As I said when I was talking about the property tax credit and the new property tax grant for seniors, if we exclude people from a basic principle we establish in this province because of administrative difficulty, we have failed the people of this province. We have failed to deal reasonably and fully with the things we have committed ourselves to them to do. In effect, that is what we have done with the retail sales tax exemption on children's clothing. We have failed as a Legislature to provide in an effective way a commitment that clothing for children will be exempt from retail sales tax.

9 p.m.

There have been a number of other omissions. Most of them were raised during the debate on the retail sales tax bill. But there was one that unfortunately was ruled out of order by the Speaker—not yourself, Mr. Speaker, but the real Speaker if you like. Unfortunately he returned to the chair in mid-flight of a speech and cut the member off. Rightly so, but it was ruled out of order none the less. So it was one exemption that has not, to date, been put on the record.

This Legislature has legislated the use of seatbelts in this province. We made it mandatory because of a number of very well done, in-depth studies. They came from elsewhere, but none the less were well done studies. They showed quite clearly the differences between the physical danger to human beings of wearing seatbelts as compared to not wearing seatbelts. Yet when we tried to raise in this House the possibility

of an exemption from retail sales tax for restraining devices for infants and very small children—seats and belts to be used in cars so that those children could benefit from what for this Legislature was conclusive proof of safer conditions in an automobile—we didn't get that exemption.

Although everybody in this province obviously does not have children every year, that is an exemption that is far more universally applicable over time at least than some of the exemptions that have been presented to us this year. Some of the exemptions this year the Minister of Revenue has readily admitted will not cost the government very much money at all. But we can't even get from the Minister of Revenue and from the Treasurer of this province a commitment to make devices for infants and very small children, to make them safe when they are in automobiles. We can't get any exemption on the retail sales tax to make those devices more easily and readily available for those who are having difficulty finding the money for them.

We also were somewhat pleased to see the increases in Gains presented in the budget. It is the kind of thing we are always pleased and almost relieved, I suppose, to see—increases in workmen's compensation benefits and pension benefits under the Workmen's Compensation Act. We are pleased and relieved because the government of this province has not seen fit to be as flexible as the federal government in this country has been.

I have to give some credit where credit is due. I can't say that I agree with everything done by the present and fairly long-standing federal government, except for a very short interruption last year. I cannot say I can agree with all they have done or all of the things they have presented, but at least they have been flexible enough to deal with most of their social programs on a fairly regular basis, providing increases, as I understand it, in most cases on a quarterly basis and trying to deal with the cost of living and with the kind of inflation we have had in the past decade. This government in Ontario has been extremely reluctant to get involved in that kind of humane, regular process.

We are glad to see the increase in Gains. But I have to raise as strongly as I can that this government lives under some very serious delusions. They live under the very simple and very easy-to-avoid delusion that somebody who is single and living on his own can actually live for half of what it costs two people to live. You know that is a joke, Mr. Speaker, and I know it is a joke. I think

all the members on this side of the House and all the members on that side know it is a joke.

One person cannot live now, and although I will not speak back into the extreme eons of history, probably has not for a long time been able to live for half of what it costs two people to live. All one has to do to understand that is to take a very quick walk around the social and economic structure in which we live. Rents for one-bedroom apartments are not any different for one person than they are for two. The rent does not change one stitch in most cases. There are a very few cases in this province where rents are based on a base level, plus so much for each occupant. While that is true, the rent is certainly not cut in half if the number is reduced from two occupants to one.

In most cases there is no reduction at all in rent on a one-bedroom apartment or a two-bedroom apartment. The difference between a two-bedroom apartment and a one-bedroom apartment is certainly not 50 per cent if two people need a two-bedroom apartment because they may need the additional storage space or whatever.

Certainly one cannot walk through any supermarket in this province and buy enough food to feed one person for half of what it costs to buy enough food to feed two, partly because of the way supermarkets are structured and partly because of the way the food processing industry is structured and the way food is packaged. Unfortunately, it is very rare in the food processing industry in this country, and in most countries for that matter, to find quantities of a particular substance or commodity that is ideally suited to one person.

That creates a serious problem for people who are on their own because of the amounts of food commodities they end up wasting. It is absolutely ludicrous. It is even more than ludicrous: it is either deceitful or extremely naive on the part of this government to think or profess, which it does by the rates it presents for senior citizens under the Gains program, that one person can live for half of what it costs two people to live.

9:10 p.m.

I would like to raise a couple of other items during this debate. There have been a number of gains in this budget but there are still a number of things that we in this caucus would like to see happen. I'm going to raise a couple of things that were raised by other members during the budget debate over the last couple of weeks.

One was presented last week by the member for Haldimand-Norfolk (Mr. G. I. Miller) when he was quoting a newspaper story he had read about an Ontario doctor who had gone to Texas to practise medicine. The newspaper quoted the doctor as saying how deficient the health care system in this province was and how much happier he was practising medicine in the more open atmosphere of Texas. In the article, he alluded to the fact that socialized medicine in Ontario had created the problem.

I hope that some of the colleagues who are present in the party to my right tonight will refer the member for Haldimand-Norfolk to my comments tonight, because I want to tell the House that the Hamilton Academy of Medicine had heard all the stories about doctors going to Texas and about all the lucrative and nice things that were going on down there. They had heard about those things, and some of them obviously had thought about making that move.

Instead of just packing their bags and going, the academy sat down as a group and decided to put together a committee to send down to Texas to have a look at what was going on—to talk with some of the doctors from Ontario who moved, to talk with hospital administrators, to talk with people in the health care system who could tell them how the health care system compared to Ontario's.

I would appreciate it, as I said earlier, if some of the members of the Liberal caucus would point out to the member for Haldimand-Norfolk that the committee came back to Ontario and said: "Look, friends, brothers"—whatever they call each other in a local academy of medicine group like that—

Interjection.

Mr. Charlton:—"fellow businessmen, doctors, if you go to Texas, yes, you can make more money. There is no question about that. But we as a committee that has been mandated by this group in Hamilton recommend strongly that you don't go to Texas. We doctors are in the profession of medicine and healing for more than just the money. Yes, we like the money and, yes, we would like to get more money out of the Ontario government, but we want no part of the kind of medicine that is being practised in the state of Texas.

"We want no part of their system, their approach, the facilities that are available and the cost involved to the people. We want no part of that and we would only go to Texas as an absolute last resort because we are not happy at all with the kind of medi-

cine that is being practised in the state of Texas."

That is not a story from a fairy tale. It is a story from a real committee from the Hamilton Academy of Medicine. That academy actually paid to go down and study the problem. I want the member for Haldimand-Norfolk to understand that sometimes magazine articles are printed in the fashion they are printed because it is sensational and controversial. But the kind of recommendation the committee of doctors who went to Texas from Hamilton brought back is real in terms of the comparisons between the kind of health care system we have in this province, in spite of the cutbacks that have gone on over the last three or four years, and the kind of health care system they have in the state of Texas, regardless of the money there is to be made by doctors.

There was also some discussion during earlier portions of the budget debate on property assessment and the section 86 program the government has been involved in. There was a specific reference last week to the market value assessment on farms and the way in which the market value assessment under the section 86 equalization program was affecting and substantially hurting some farmers in those areas where the municipalities had chosen to have a section 86 equalization done.

This was a criticism of the government put by one or two members of the Liberal party. The criticism was that instead of using market value, for example, speculative value on farms, this government should have been using a use value related to the value of that farm land to a farmer for the production of crops and not the value that farm land may have had to a speculator or an industrialist or a commercial mall developer, or whatever the case happened to be.

I was somewhat glad to hear those comments from the Liberal caucus because, in the three years I have been here, I have been in this House as a former assessor raising a number of issues related to property tax assessment, one of which was the whole question of use value. I have raised it on a number of occasions. The Minister of Revenue will confirm this.

He has got deeply enough involved now in assessment and in the revision of assessment that he understands some of the problems inherent in full and pure market value. He understands, for example, when I talk to him about the fact that all sectors have to be assessed by the same method. One cannot assess one sector by one method and another sector by another method. Even if the ap-

praisers tell one that one must come up with market value by using those different methods, he understands that from time to time as a result of economic pressures one does not always get exactly the same result.

He understands that because of that we were in a situation in the 1970s and are now in the early 1980s, where because of market pressures, shifts would occur if we implemented market value. Unfortunately, I do not think, up until at least very recently, members of the Liberal caucus have understood that. They certainly didn't understand it and didn't support my comments on occasions over the past three years when I have stood in this House and suggested as clearly as I could that not only farm land, but every kind of property, should be assessed based on its current use and not on whatever speculative potential it might have.

9:20 p.m.

They certainly haven't supported my comments when I have said that if this government wants to try to get out of speculators those moneys which are reaped from the speculation it can't do it through the property tax structure. It should be doing it through a land speculation tax. The minister will recall that I and my colleagues opposed the government when it withdrew the land speculation tax. The minister will also recall that on a number of occasions during estimates and during the budget debate over the past two or three years we have raised the question of the possibility of a provincial capital gains tax—not myself specifically in that instance, but my colleague from Nickel Belt (Mr. Laughren).

Those members of the Liberal caucus didn't seem to understand what we were saying when we talked about use value, not only on farms, but on all classes of property. We said that all kinds of property should be assessed specifically and strictly on their present use so that a residential home owner, or a farmer for that matter, since the Liberal caucus likes frequently to relate itself to rural Ontario and the farm community, who owned a home for 15 or 20 years, but now finds himself in the middle of a rezoning and a commercial development, or in the rural case a rezoning and a residential development or a rezoning and a commercial mall, isn't taxed out of existence on his property taxes.

If he has arrived at that stage where his farm or residential property as a result of zoning changes has become eligible for a different kind of development, whether it be residential, commercial, industrial or high-

rise apartment, when that property is sold and used for that new use, when the dollars that are paid for that property reflect that new use, that is the time at which this government should try to extract the extra tax dollars that new use reflects, and not before that time.

The member for Haldimand-Norfolk was correct when he said that taxing a farmer, based on the speculative value of his farm land, was making it virtually impossible in some cases for that farmer to continue the farm operation. I am suggesting to the members of the Liberal caucus that it is time they sat down and listened for a change to some of the things that are said from this caucus because the very comments that were made by the member for Haldimand-Norfolk have been made by this specific member for at least three years running. Those comments have been laughed at and chided by members of his own caucus. If he has problems with members of his own caucus in terms of the kinds of tax policies he was spouting last week in the budget debate, then he certainly isn't going to have any effective way of getting the government across the way to change its policies.

I think I have just about wrapped up the comments that I had for this evening.

Mr. Foulds: No, no, continue.

Mr. Charlton: Does my colleague want me to continue?

Mr. Foulds: Yes, the Liberal caucus needs some enlightenment.

Mr. Charlton: I am running out of throat.

Mr. Speaker, I think I have made it reasonably clear tonight that there were some things in the budget that this caucus was happy with. In fact there were things we felt somewhat proud about having played a major role in providing to the people of this province through our tenacity and consistency.

There were also a number of things that were omitted from this budget that we feel reasonably strongly about. We are going to continue to raise them and we want to see them happen in the very near future. We have no more reasonable expectation to get support from the Liberal caucus for some of those measures than we have to get that support from the government. So we will continue to fight for those with which we have at least been somewhat successful in getting concessions from in terms of benefits to the people of the province. We are fairly confident that even if we can't get all we ask for, we will continue to make some gains from the government.

I referred very early in my comments this evening to a question asked by my colleague the member for Downsview right after the budget was presented. He asked the Treasurer if he was prepared to see that all those people were included who would be excluded from the new seniors' property tax grant because they were not eligible for old age security. The Treasurer's response was that he would do everything he could to find a way to make that administratively possible.

We are prepared to fight for that but we are also prepared to work with the government whenever possible to get whatever we can along those lines for the people of this province. There are a number of areas where we have every intention of doing exactly that over the next few months.

Mr. Watson: Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to have this opportunity to spend some time on the debate. I did ask the member preceding me how long he was going to be and he said 30 minutes. He was about an hour and 15 minutes; so I hope I am not that far out on my calculations.

Before getting into my remarks on the budget, the last time I rose to speak in this House was during the Confederation debate. I join with the other members of the Legislature in welcoming the results of that referendum, a basic decision made by the majority of the people of Quebec to remain a part of Canada.

With regard to the budget, I believe it represents a great achievement and a great service to the fine people of this province. It is almost incredible, in a period of rising costs and rising expectations, that this government has been able to deliver a budget with no tax increases to people of the province. And we did not even have to cut back in services. In fact, we have made increases in assistance to pensioners and other groups in this community for whom this government has a special responsibility.

9:30 p.m.

I represent part of the rural area of this province, one of the main fruit-producing areas, and I was particularly pleased to see the way the Treasurer's budget will assist the farming population. It will help in a number of ways. We have promised to take independent action with respect to the impact of high interest rates on farmers.

I have been very disappointed about the federal government's inaction on this problem. Although rates are beginning to come down, it seems a shame that farmers who work hard all their lives to supply this country with the food it needs to survive,

as well as with export commodities, should suffer from them. Thus, it was welcome news to learn a couple of weeks ago that the Ministry of Agriculture and Food was establishing a program of farm interest assistance to farmers.

Many farmers, particularly the younger people and those who are just starting out, are facing severe financial strain because of the lack of short-term working capital and, more than that, the high cost of it. The record high interest rates, the cost of borrowing the money farmers need to buy seed, fertilizer, pesticides, livestock feed and for crop maintenance and harvesting, in some cases are higher than the potential return, considering the outlook for some of the crop prices.

We simply cannot permit outside influences to turn farming into a losing proposition. I think that's obvious to everyone. The \$25-million Ontario program will subsidize interest rates up to a maximum of three per cent on short-term working capital borrowed at more than 12 per cent.

Mr. McKessock: You realize the most they can get is \$1,150.

Mr. Watson: That might be very helpful to some farmers, particularly those from Grey county. It's payable on loans up to \$50,000 over a nine-month period running from April 1 to the end of the year.

Interest rates have been dropping in recent weeks but they do remain high. The prospect of future lower rates does not help the farmer faced with the need to borrow now to get his seed, fertilizer and insect control products which must be paid for. Farmers do not get cash return from their crops until they are sold. Cash flow is a major concern for the interim period. Money is needed to finance all of those input costs, as well as the cost of harvesting.

Stable farm operations are essential to the operation of our whole nation. They are crucial to the maintenance of the stability, and I hope this program will have the effect of triggering similar measures from the federal government. We certainly cannot afford to take our farmers for granted and must continue to give them all of the help we can.

Recognition of the viability of farming operations is a strong plus factor on the part of this government. The budget also proposed tax relief for the purchase or the construction of new grain storage bins and dryers. This section of the proposed amendments to the Retail Sales Tax Act came up for second reading this past Tuesday, as members are aware. These amendments are

a recognition that these pieces of equipment are vital to the farming operation.

In terms of the farming area that I represent, I do not have the breakdown of figures for my own riding but if I add to them the figures for Kent, part of which area the member for Kent-Elgin (Mr. McGuigan) represents, the estimated gross farm income from crops and livestock last year was recently given to Kent county council; that figure is \$227,147,000.

To put agriculture in perspective, Mr. Speaker, if you take any two Maritime provinces and add them together, that's about the figure you come up with. The value of agricultural produce in Kent county is equivalent to any two of the Maritime provinces.

Some people wonder why we, as a government, have problems in coming up with the absolute dollars to support agriculture to the same extent as other provincial governments. In some cases, I would like to point out, the money spent in other provinces would cover only a portion of one county in this province.

Last fall, when the new Minister of Agriculture and Food (Mr. Henderson) was appointed, I noted that within the first 10 days of his appointment he appeared at four different functions in Kent county. I reminded him then, and have reminded him since, that four out of 10 was about 40 per cent and that was about the right proportion of time the Minister of Agriculture and Food should give to Kent county because of its agricultural importance.

One of those occasions was the International Plowing Match. I know some people in this Legislature were at that particular event. Some took more part than others in the actual ploughing; others came and then went home. We think we had a tremendous event in Kent county. It brought the people from the city and from the urban areas together to put on a tremendous show. I do hope that the Minister of the Environment (Mr. Parrott) has a successful match in Oxford county next year, and that they have as good weather as we had in Kent.

Farming is a healthy occupation and quite often a high percentage of our farmers live to be a ripe old age. It is also a family-oriented enterprise and one often finds that farm families pass their operations on to the next generation. Thus, the aid and assistance for pensioners that comes out of the 1980 budget is good news for the agricultural community as well as the community in general.

Some of the members opposite have been very critical about these measures, but I believe their judgement is misguided. It is a very positive package. It alleviates a great part of the tax burden for our senior citizens to ensure security with dignity. We have been offsetting the burden of municipal and education taxes for seniors since 1968.

Under the new system, pensioners who own or rent their homes and pay property tax on them will receive a rebate of up to \$500. In addition, they will get the \$50 sales tax grant. Pensioners whose annual incomes are under \$5,000 will receive an increase in their guaranteed annual income supplement from the province. This will amount to \$120 a year for a single pensioner and double that for a couple.

The spinoffs from this will be very constructive for the people in rural areas and in the small towns. It is important to realize that all senior citizens receive a fair share of this assistance program in one form or another.

The new grants in this program will distribute direct benefits to many more senior citizens than did previous programs. Also, the elderly will be spared the necessity of filling out the Ontario tax credit forms, since they will receive their benefits in the form of a cheque, which is a lot easier for them to understand.

This is the sort of benefit the people of Ontario have come to expect from their government. It is the payoff of the tight financial management and the disciplined financial restraint. The dividends from this restraint program are being redirected to our senior citizens.

I cannot let this opportunity go by without paying tribute to the former member for the riding of Chatham-Kent, the former Treasurer of this province, who started that program several years ago. We in this province today, as a result of things he started, probably have 5,000 fewer civil servants still providing excellent service to our people—a real comparison with what is happening to our bureaucracy in Ottawa.

There have been some related developments in recent weeks which will be of tremendous benefit to our communities. I am strongly in support of Bill 60, the Non-resident Agricultural Land Interests Registration Act, 1980. It was drawn up in response to expressions of concern by municipal officials, individual farmers and the Ontario Federation of Agriculture.

9:40 p.m.

Our productive land is one of our most precious assets. It is only sensible for us to

keep track of how much of it falls into the hands of nonresident interests. I do not think anyone believes that we are being taken over by mysterious beings from outside. It is a fact that farm land is a very attractive investment for people in other areas, and we must ensure that nothing happens to destabilize our farming enterprises. This becomes increasingly possible as other parts of the world experience political and social unrest. People with money to invest naturally want a nest egg in a reliable area.

The registration of foreign ownership of farm lands proposed in this act will allow the province to formulate accurate records reflecting a clear picture of the development of nonresident ownership of our most valuable resource, the land used to produce our daily food.

Similar protection is extended to farmers through amendments to the Live Stock and Live Stock Products Act which received royal assent at the beginning of this month. It provides financial safeguards for the sellers of livestock from heavy losses as a result of buyer defaults on payment. It protects individual producers and dealers when a buyer goes bankrupt. Sellers of livestock are financially vulnerable. This is especially true of smaller operators who may sell their entire herd to one buyer. Losses can amount to thousands and thousands of dollars, an amount that can ruin an enterprise and set a farming operation back for the rest of an individual's life. The bill requires dealers to make prompt payment for livestock. Regulations and record-keeping procedures are also streamlined. The amendments are both extremely responsible measures.

Of great value to the rural community is the money being made available as of last March for the drainage grants. This covered a backlog of projects which had been completed and inspected but for which funds were not available. More than \$10 million was required to cover this backlog, and the government has turned over the necessary funds. Municipalities retain the authority and the responsibility for this program. This ensures that the funds are fairly distributed among the eligible recipients. Loans to an individual enterprise cannot now exceed \$20,000 in any one year. The total balance of loans to an individual farmer cannot exceed \$60,000. These sums are fairly reasonable and should be of great value in assisting farmers to get their land into peak productivity. The program is important to improve tile drainage. Beyond any doubt, if a land needs tiling that is where the money should be spent.

Rural electrification rates are a big bone of contention with farmers. Many feel that as contributors to the economic and social well-being of everyone in this province it is not right that they should have to pay rates higher than those paid by urban residents. The agricultural community welcomed the commitment expressed by the Premier (Mr. Davis) last month to bring their rates more in line with those paid by urban residents of Ontario. The Premier suggested that Ontario Hydro officials come up with new rate proposals this fall. This is good news for rural residents, all of whom are caught in the same cost-price squeeze as everybody else. At the present time, Ontario's hydro rural system serves more than 770,000 customers, or 27 per cent of the electricity customers in this province. As municipalities expand, fewer and fewer people in our more sparsely settled regions share the total rural costs.

On October 19, 1978, I was elected to this House. On December 4, 1978, I had the opportunity of debating my first budget debate. One of the things I stated at that time was sort of adopted. It was the saying from the Ontario government, "We treat you royally." I would like to repeat that tonight from the standpoint that I have felt very royally treated in this particular Legislature. I appreciate the courtesies extended to me not only by members of this party, but also by members from all sides of the House on a personal nature.

Everybody who comes into this Legislature has some advantages and I suppose some disadvantages, but everybody brings their experience. In my particular instance, I was the agricultural representative in Kent county, and for 20 years a civil servant in this province.

I would like to pay tribute to the civil servants who work in this province. We hear about the bad ones once in a while, but there are not very many. There are thousands and thousands who are dedicated people, who take their jobs very seriously, who do things above and beyond the call of duty and who succeed very well.

If one asks the general constituents what they think of most of the civil servants, usually they come up with the opinion most people are looked after pretty well in this province. Sometimes I think people complain just a little too much because something doesn't go quite right for them. But having had experience in the civil service, when I am confronted with a problem I do have a pretty good idea where to go in the civil

service to get an answer. I know at about what level a policy was made, and it is a lot easier to get the answer when one can go to the person who made the decision or who suggested the policy to get an explanation.

In the last couple of weeks I had a problem with an old gift-tax claim, but when I got to the assessment department in the Ministry of Revenue and explained the situation as I saw it, we were able to get the situation corrected without any fuss or bother. I happen to think that is what the constituents wanted and everybody comes out happy.

I would like to say a word on behalf of some of the ministries which are providing funds in my particular riding. The Ministry of Agriculture and Food has indicated it will participate in getting the holes plugged in two portions of the dikes in Dover township.

Some of them have been repaired and rebuilt, but there are still some that have to be done.

The Ministry of Natural Resources is working, actually in Lambton county, but it affects my riding in terms of the Darcy McKeough dam and diversion project that is going ahead. It will protect the town of Wallaceburg from flooding on the Sydenham River. We hope it proceeds on schedule and will give some degree of protection in our area.

I am particularly pleased that the Minister of Housing (Mr. Bennett) is here tonight. We like the Minister of Housing in the riding of Chatham-Kent. We have a downtown redevelopment program on stream, for which the Minister of Housing is responsible. We have a main street revitalization program going in Wallaceburg, for which he is responsible. We have a neighbourhood improvement program going in Wallaceburg, to the extent of some \$900,000 at the present time, for which the Minister of Housing is responsible.

We have a planning study in Chatham township to update its official plan. The Minister of Housing has been of particular importance. Maybe he has been bugged a lot in the year by the member for Chatham-Kent, but we do appreciate him very much.

We also appreciate the recent announcement from the Ministry of the Environment for a watermain extension out of Wallaceburg. I think it was a little more than \$360,000 for a grant. We do appreciate the Minister of the Environment's consideration for that. We had a delegation down from

Chatham to see him, and they explained that a line currently being used for water distribution was the original intake from the Sydenham River, or from the Lake St. Clair system, into Wallaceburg. That was put in back in 1910 or 1912, some time in that area, and it is just getting beyond the stage where it can be fixed.

9:50 p.m.

One of the things that the Ministry of Culture and Recreation is doing for our riding this year is the erection of a plaque this summer to honour the French people who settled in Dover township in the area of Paincourt. It will be an Ontario Heritage Foundation plaque. That is a historic area of this province settled very early before most of the other areas because it was on the water system.

One of the things scheduled in honouring some of our famous people—provided they get their little strike settled—for those members who are baseball fans, is to have a Fergie Jenkins appreciation day at Exhibition Stadium on June 15.

Mr. Foulds: Have it anyway. He deserves it.

Mr. Ramsay: He might be available then.

Mr. Watson: Yes, he might be available.

For those who are baseball fans, the Blue Jays will be playing the Texas Rangers and we invite members to come out to honour one of Canada's great national athletes who was raised in the city of Chatham.

I would like to extend a word of congratulations to the people from Ridgetown College. Tomorrow afternoon they will be having their graduation, as many of the other agricultural colleges have had theirs. There are a lot of people from my riding going to that college who then go back and farm with their parents. The education they get there is extremely worthwhile and I think it is only fitting that we honour them.

I would like to look to the future with some optimism. I do recognize the downturn that we have in southwestern Ontario with the auto industry. My riding is partially affected by that. We are on the fringe. We do benefit from the spinoffs when things are good but we also suffer a little when things are bad.

Mr. Foulds: How are things now?

Mr. Watson: Just so-so. It is all right for a company like International Harvester that is making trucks. There is all kinds of demand. It is not so good for some of the ones that are making parts for some of the other companies.

In the city of Chatham a lot of the industry is related to agriculture; these are companies like Campbell Soup Company Limited, Libby McNeill and Libby of Canada Limited, Canadian Cannery Limited in Dresden, and all the seed corn companies. One cannot really document it with figures, but I suspect that within 30 miles of the city of Chatham there is more seed corn produced than any other concentrated area in the world.

I know we do not produce as much seed corn in Canada as they do in Illinois, but there it is spread out over the whole state; one town will have a seed corn company producing seed and then one will have to go 50 miles to find another one. In southwestern Ontario all of the major companies have at least a third of their growing areas within 30 miles of Chatham. It does present some problems when you try to get 3,000 or 4,000 detasslers about July 12 to go out there, rain or shine, to pull the tassels on those corn plants to make sure the seed goes the way it should go.

If a person from the country wants to strike up a very interesting conversation with a city person, one can start talking about the male or female corn in the seed fields and how you make hybrid corn. After a while fellows like the member for Scarborough Centre (Mr. Drea) just look at you and say, "Really, you are putting me on. That isn't really what happens." But it is what happens. We do differentiate between the male corn and the female corn, and it is a very interesting process. We would be glad to show members everything.

I am optimistic. I think the budget was an excellent document and an optimistic document. I find it interesting that the speaker who preceded me insisted that the New Democratic Party take all the credit for all the good things that ever happened here in the last few years, the government—the Tories—all the credit for the bad things and the Liberals all the credit for the things that didn't happen at all.

I do not know where most of the people in this province would sooner live. I think it is a pretty good place. I am optimistic. I think the budget the Treasurer delivered reflects that optimism.

Mr. J. Reed: Mr. Speaker, it is a privilege to be able to rise once again and address the budget for this year. Before I begin my remarks, like the previous speaker I would allude for one minute to the outcome of the most critical and important referendum we have just experienced in Quebec. I want to go on record as saying that while this

province will enter into participation in change and in a renewal of Canada, I look forward to that change with renewed confidence in the country as a whole.

I think we are headed into a new age with a new spirit and sense of rededication. It is incumbent upon every elected member in every legislature across this country to take the responsibility of the months and years ahead very seriously.

I happen to have had the privilege of speaking in the town of Arnprior two weeks ago. The good mayor was on the platform and he suggested that the weeks and months ahead would require consideration of both the mind and the heart of all Canadians when we were thinking about the renewal of our country. I think those were probably the best chosen words I have heard that suit this particular time in our history. We must go with wisdom and we must go with a very clear idea of the direction in which we are headed. We must also go into this new time with a generosity of spirit that perhaps has not been expressed as universally as we hope it will be in these months ahead.

I couldn't help listening to some of the remarks of the previous speaker, as much as I tried to avoid them. He did happen to mention some bills that were passed in the Legislature in the past few months. One he referred to particularly was Bill 60, An Act to require the Registration of Non-resident Interests in Agricultural Land in Ontario. I felt it should be put on the record that the original author of the idea of Bill 60 was none other than my colleague the Agriculture critic and member for Huron-Middlesex (Mr. Riddell).

There are a couple of other important bills too that apply to the rural area, and the riding of Halton-Burlington is that wonderful changing combination of rural and urban. The two bills I refer to are Bill 203, An Act to protect against Trespass to Property, and the companion Bill 202, the Occupiers' Liability Act.

When one lives in a rural area on the fringes of an urban area, it becomes very quickly evident that this kind of legislation has been badly needed in the province and is long overdue. We hope it has the teeth in it it is intended to have and that it will once again foster a very healthy relationship among all people in the province so that there will be at least less misunderstanding regarding the tenure of land. I hope it will be a strong enough bill that those misunderstandings will be eliminated.

10 p.m.

The riding of Halton-Burlington also has another unique feature that is not quite as positive; that is, we still have with us regional government. One would think, after years since the inception of regional government, that the concern about it would gradually fade away. I was one of those who as far back as 1970 was speaking out in opposition to regional government, because of the inequity of the tax load from various municipalities that carried different levels of debts.

Since regional governments came into being, millions of dollars have been pumped into them in terms of startup money and added advantages of one sort or another. Even with all these, taxes have risen at a rate greater than in those municipalities that have not had regional government. This kind of phenomenon has spawned a new concern about regional government in my riding, and the government should know that the citizens of Halton-Burlington are very seriously concerned about how regional government has evolved and what it has meant to the tax load for each and every one of us.

We are at the point where we cannot take any more. We are at the breaking point. I warn the government there is going to be a most serious reaction among taxpayers if some ameliorating influence does not come into play in areas where there is regional government.

The riding of Halton-Burlington is in that area where we are experiencing pockets of very rapid urban growth. On the other hand, it contains some of the best agricultural land in all the province.

The problem of land use will be with a riding such as mine and in all the ridings around the periphery of the metropolitan area, partly because it is a very desirable place to live. We are a peaceful lot, we try to live in friendship with our neighbours, and we are concerned with one another in the various communities where we live. But the growth has put a pressure on the agricultural industry in this area. I have spoken many times about the problem we have in preserving a vital agricultural life in Halton. That is not to say that one is opposed to growth or development. But where we find ourselves deeply concerned is where land is purchased by a speculator. The pressure, the campaign then begins for an amendment to an official plan and, whether the land is needed or not, it ultimately is zoned.

I had the privilege of speaking to an Ontario Municipal Board hearing regarding a process that was taking place in the city

of Mississauga on December 12, 1979, where a move was under way by a developer to change the zoning on 680 acres, I believe it was, in an area of Mississauga known as the "hole in the doughnut" south of Highway 401.

A group of young students the previous year had done a survey of the need for industrial land in Mississauga and discovered there is in existence more than 3,000 acres of industrial land not in use. Yet the OMB, following the policies of the government of course, saw fit to approve the zoning change for yet another 680 acres.

Hon. Mr. Bennett: Supported by the municipality and the regional government.

Mr. J. Reed: The honourable minister can talk about it being supported by the municipality but that does not take away from the fact that land, which is some of the highest-productivity soil in Canada, is being taken out of production forever. The minister should know—and if he doesn't, I am going to give him a little lesson right now—of all the land mass in this country, about five per cent is tillable. Of that amount about half is of class one, two or three. Of that half, about half is located in southern Ontario. I just want the government to know and remember that. When these blocks of productive soil are taken out of production they are gone forever.

The means have got to be found in the immediate years ahead, on the one hand, to provide the land owner—

Interjections.

Mr. Acting Speaker: The honourable member for Halton-Burlington does have the floor.

Mr. J. Reed: Thank you, Mr. Speaker. Sometimes it is difficult—when one hits a sensitive nerve on the other side, they just cannot keep quiet.

I would like to suggest that the means has to be found to satisfy the value of that property so far as the farm-land owner is concerned. But at the same time we must find the mechanisms for keeping Ontario's potential for self-sufficiency in food always with us. If we lose that potential for self-sufficiency at this critical time, with our transportation costs rising because of energy costs—and in the future possibly energy unavailability—more and more pressure is going to be put on agricultural production.

Hon. Mr. Bennett: More and more will be under agricultural production.

Mr. J. Reed: All right. The minister should know that in 1926 about 26 million

acres were under production in Ontario. Right now I think about 17 million is, and the balance is marginal

Hon. Mr. Bennett: And the production per acre is higher than it has ever been.

Mr. J. Reed: The minister should also recognize that as the cost of fertilizer goes up and as the cost of tillage goes up, the demand is going to be on farmers to produce optimum yield for maximum profits, rather than just the old axiom of maximum yield for maximum profits. It is the way of the future and the minister had better get used to it.

Hon. Mr. Bennett: You are now claiming that is not the way it should be. Is this the new Liberal philosophy?

Mr. J. Reed: Mr. Speaker, I am claiming that the economic future is at hand, but the minister is not with it.

10:10 p.m.

I would like to turn to the subject of Ontario Hydro rates for a few minutes. Hydro rates have been unconscionable for a number of years, and the situation is getting worse. Since I have been in this Legislature, I have sadly witnessed a more than doubling of Hydro rates since 1975. One might wonder if inflation was the factor that decided the incredible increase in Hydro rates. But when one looks at the utility and what has been happening, it is very easy to observe that the reason for much of this increase in Hydro rates is not due to inflation or increased costs, but to building a generating capacity which is going unused in this province at present.

It has been the biggest single economic error that has been made under the auspices of the government of Ontario since Confederation. We are now in a situation where we have an investment in our utility in excess of the equivalent of \$4 billion—4,000 megawatts of excess electric power. The errors that have been made over the past five or six years have been incredible, to say the least. Some of us have spoken out very loudly and strongly. We have had the most incredible reactions from the utility and from the government. There was the fear factor that was pumped into us in 1976 that we would have brownouts, blackouts and so on and that we were not going to be able to supply the demand.

There was one man in the government—and it is unfortunate he is not here today—the then Treasurer of Ontario, who by the seat of his pants cut back Ontario Hydro's spending program. It was the first cutback ever undertaken. One wonders what has happened to that kind of control since he has

gone, because I see no concerted effort being made to cut back the incredible spending program. It is full steam ahead. Sure, it has been modified five times, I believe, in four years, back and back and back. But, in truth, four years ago we were trying to take the message to the government and to the utility that that was where the growth rate was going to end up—at around the three per cent level. In the meantime, the Ontario consumers of electric power have been saddled with a debt of billions.

The economy of the province, as we know if we talk to economists, has declined over the last 10 years. It would appear now, according to our figures, that Ontario stands in 10th place among the provinces in Canada. We have gone from the most affluent and the most sound economic province to one of the needy provinces.

Let me point out that one of the excuses given by this government for the economic slippage has been that the petroleum is all located somewhere else. The fact of the matter is that the government has known for some time now that there are alternatives to petroleum consumption for Ontario, but to this date it has not undertaken any measures, other than studies, to look at the alternatives.

My party put together a study last year on the potential of one of those alternatives for Ontario. That was a study on fuel alcohols. We came to a conclusion that was rather interesting. The conclusion of the study was that fuel alcohol was a feasible option for Ontario and an economical one.

Hon. Mr. Bennett: But not a good one.

Mr. Ruston: You have really got the Minister of Housing worried now.

Mr. Acting Speaker: Order.

Mr. J. Reed: The interesting part of this study was that fuel alcohol not only could be produced economically but also just from wood waste alone, in a quantity sufficient to meet the projected gasoline requirements for the province by 1990.

That came on the heels of two studies made in 1978, one by Ontario and one by the federal government. It was quite interesting because the study done by Ontario declared fuel alcohols not to be feasible; the study done by the federal government declared fuel alcohols to be feasible. Presumably they each had the same information.

It is also interesting to know that last year the federal government participated in work done by Inco Limited and by Canadian Industries Limited on the actual practicalities

of developing the technology for producing fuel alcohols from wood waste.

It turns out, now those studies are concluded and the actual trials have been concluded, that the economics of producing fuel alcohol are actually better than our studies showed, that the efficiencies of conversion of wood waste to methanol are actually substantially superior. As we know, the biggest single cost for producing that sort of thing comes from the actual feedstock that goes into the process.

We have also taken a look at some of the other great energy options available to Ontario. One is the great peat resource. Ontario has the largest inventory of peat in Canada, and it has to go on the record that this country has the fourth largest inventory of peat in the world. It is an energy resource which, while perhaps not rivalling the tar sands in potential, certainly provides us with plenty to think about when it comes to becoming self-sufficient in energy and making a contribution to this country to the extent that at least we in Ontario can claim we will not be contributing to the net import situation on petroleum in Canada.

One of my colleagues brought up a question in the House today about the memorandum of understanding concerning energy policy and Ontario Hydro which has been promised now for three years by the government. The member for Erie (Mr. Haggerty) asked once again if this memorandum was finally going to come to fruition. The minister said, "Well, of course, it is still under discussion and it has not been concluded."

There is no energy policy in Ontario. There is no policy control in any area of energy in Ontario. As a result, our large electrical utility must go on its own way without any framework or guideline as to what direction the government wants to take.

Just over a year ago, I brought a private member's bill, entitled An Act respecting the Public Accountability of Ontario Hydro, into this House. It was blocked by 20 members on the other side. It was a bill that would have forced the government to produce an energy policy and would have required, through amendment to legislation, Ontario Hydro to accept it. We hoped, for the first time, the government would be answerable in this House to the people for Ontario Hydro. That has not yet taken place.

10:20 p.m.

I would like to deal with one other area of energy potential in Ontario, the great hydraulic resources still available to this province.

An Ontario Hydro study completed in 1978 shows that in heads of more than 20 feet there is something like 8,000 megawatts of untapped hydraulic power. Anyone who understands the production of electrical energy from hydraulic power knows that while it has high capital cost, it is the great hedge against energy inflation because from there on those costs are constant. The life expectancy of those plants is upwards of a century. It is one of the most reliable, most mature technologies we have. Yet the government and Ontario Hydro have continued to downplay the importance of this resource. Over a period of four years it has been like pulling teeth to get the Minister of Natural Resources (Mr. Auld) and the Minister of Energy (Mr. Welch), finally to say, "Yes, we think hydraulic power is a good thing."

It might be interesting to note that, unfortunately, that message has not yet percolated down through all of the ranks of those ministries. In the months to come, we would hope the message will get out and we will be able to get on with the job.

My reason for mentioning these resources in terms of the economy is simply to point out that at this particular time we are spending more than \$5 billion a year for out-of-province energy resources. Think for a minute; if just half of that money were being turned over inside the province for indigenous resources, think of the contribution that could make, not only to the economy of Ontario but to the economy of the country as a whole. This is economic potential missed. It is the kind of thing a government that has been in power for the best part of 40 years cannot conceive. It has lost its imagination. It has lost its ability to look into the future. It has lost its ability to think ahead, to stick its neck out a little to restore the economic health of this province.

I have been critical, and I should not be entirely critical, because there was an area in energy that encouraged me a little. That was, of course, the road tax relief for the non-gasoline fuel; specifically, for fuel alcohol. The Minister of Energy is thinking into the future. There was, also, tax relief for vehicles burning other kinds of fuels, but it is interesting to note that with all of the ballyhoo over these kinds of deletions—and, mind you, you have to hand it to the government; they made these deletions—they are not sacrificing a nickel. Nothing is happening in that area at this time; so it looks good. That is all. It is a little more paperhanging, a little more window dressing. With all that, though, the Minister of Revenue came in

with a broadened area of tax exemptions on energy-efficiency items of one sort or another.

To demonstrate the ad hockery of that sort of thing, I have been in this House for five years and we still have not had an exemption for stove pipes. We can get an exemption for stoves but we cannot get an exemption for stove pipes. I would like somebody on the other side to tell me just how we can go about installing a stove in our home if we cannot put up a stove pipe.

I will not go into the area of the senior citizens and the economic changes that have been made there, except to say that our people have looked into the proposed change in payment by the government, and it once again appears to be more window dressing than reality. Instead of being able to claim tax credits, the cheques will be mailed out under the hand of the good Treasurer (Mr. F. S. Miller).

It is rather a misleading way to do business, because all of us are very concerned about our senior citizens. We know that when the level of assistance for senior citizens is increased, it also helps to stimulate the economy because those people operate very close to the line.

Mr. McKesock: You don't solve anything by taking with the one hand and giving with the other.

Mr. J. Reed: That is right, and one doesn't accomplish anything by taking it out of one pocket and putting it in the other.

We have an awfully long way to go before we can say that senior citizens in this province are adequately looked after. To this point they certainly are not.

The citizens of Halton-Burlington have expressed to me increasing concern about the environment. One of the most serious items that has been brought to my attention is their concern with acid rain. I am not satisfied that the Ministry of the Environment has become serious about what is perhaps the worst environmental problem we are faced with now and for the next 20 years.

I suppose all of these things must lead us to one conclusion. The government has tried to sustain itself over the past 10 years using two fundamental methods: one by trying to continue the illusion of wealth with deficit spending during the flush years, and the other by the gimmickry of promotion and the ad hockery of some of these items which are first brought forward by the opposition and then plagiarized by the government. No one should be above using a good idea, but it is disappointing that some of these good ideas end up as paperhanging.

I see that the Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs (Mr. Wells) has come in during this last minute. I have never done this before, but I want to remind the minister that he and the Premier are responsible for my being here.

The Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs used to be the Minister of Education, as we know, and it just happens that through a series of events and a fight we became engaged in for the people of the little community for which I live, we ended up in the minister's office one day. I forget the nature of the conversation, except that I finally said to the minister in my frustration, "Do you mean to tell us that our only recourse is at the ballot box?" He said, "That is right."

That must have been the trigger that fired the bullet or something that launched a

young man who was originally one of the apathetic majority into a citizen concerned enough to run for this Legislature. I want to thank the minister for giving me that opportunity and to assure this government that as the weeks and months go by there are more and more candidates coming forward who are frustrated and concerned in exactly the same way I was back in 1975. Of course, we are going to have an election some time within the next 12 months. When that will happen we do not know, but one thing the government can be sure of is that the Liberal Party will have its full complement of concerned citizens running for office to try to bring some vision and imagination to this Legislature.

On motion by Mr. Foulds, the debate was adjourned.

The House adjourned at 10:30 p.m.

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No. 56

Legislature of Ontario Debates

Official Report (Hansard)

Fourth Session, 31st Parliament

Friday, May 23, 1980

Speaker: Honourable John E. Stokes

Clerk: Roderick Lewis, QC

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Published by the Legislature of the Province of Ontario.
Editor of Debates: Peter Brannan.

LEGISLATURE OF ONTARIO

FRIDAY, MAY 23, 1980

The House met at 10 a.m.

Prayers.

STATEMENT BY THE MINISTRY

SPECIAL EDUCATION

Hon. Miss Stephenson: Mr. Speaker, this morning I am introducing for debate in the Legislature a bill that will have the effect of making the publicly supported school system legally responsible for the education of all Ontario students.

It is with a genuine and sincere sense of historic occasion I introduce this bill. It is a very technical bill; it contains no rhetoric and no inspired phrases. But it does embody a very important principle and represents the culmination in a legal sense of a course of development on which this province has been embarked for more than a century.

The principle is that of universal access to public education. The concept is simply that an educational system which is supported by the taxation of all citizens has an obligation to be of service to all children, exceptionalities notwithstanding. We have been making steady progress towards that goal. Building upon the pioneering work in Ontario's educational development, successive governments have continued to promote and extend educational opportunities for children. In keeping with this direction legislation was introduced effective January 1, 1969, which established larger units of school administration. One major objective of that legislation was to facilitate the introduction and development of more programs and more services in the area of special education.

Also on January 1, 1969, boards of education assumed responsibility for schools and classes for students classified as trainable retarded. Over the past 12 years increased awareness, concern and sensitivity to the needs of exceptional students have led to the expansion of special education courses for teachers in the form of in-service training and professional development. Over the past five years alone, the summer courses in greatest demand have been the three-part special education courses. In 1972-73 there

were 2,010 teachers enrolled in these courses. In 1978-79 the enrolment had risen to 4,875.

In order to promote ongoing dialogue with parent and professional associations, an advisory council on special education was established. As part of the ministry's outreach into the community, the director of the special education branch has been a member of the governmental relations committee of the Council for Exceptional Children and the Ontario Council of Administrators in Special Education.

Research initiatives have provided a sound basis for program development in the field of special education. In 1976 alone, approximately one third of all research contracts awarded by the Ministry of Education to such institutions as the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education were related to the needs of exceptional pupils.

The outgrowth of these activities has been the expansion and increased sophistication of programs and services for students with special needs in Ontario. But until today, it cannot be said that the law clearly and unequivocally obliged the publicly supported system to provide appropriate forms of education for all students who could potentially benefit. Today's bill closes the small gap that remains in our assumption of universal responsibility. It is a small gap because Ontario has led the way in the field of special education in its efforts to move education away from a process of standard methods for standard subjects to one that is genuinely concerned with responding to the wide range of individual needs.

This bill does two things. First, the basis of universal access contained within the bill guarantees the right of all children, condition notwithstanding, to be enrolled in a school. No longer will retarded children be enrolled after an assessment procedure established in law which has in fact denied universality of access. All children will now have a basic right to be enrolled.

Second, school boards must assume responsibility for providing suitable programming for all children. This will include the provision of special education programs and special education services for exceptional

pupils in the language of instruction of such pupils.

Consideration has also been given to the concern of separate school trustees and parents regarding the right of Roman Catholic separate schools to educate their trainable retarded children. After consultation with the Ontario Association for the Mentally Retarded, trustees and supervisory officials on this issue we have decided to extend the right to operate schools for the trainable retarded to Roman Catholic separate school boards. To ensure that the quality of programs and services is maintained, the extension of this fundamental right will be phased in as an integral part of the board's planning approach to implementation of responsibility legislation. It is our expectation during the next few years that all school boards in this province will co-operate fully with each other in providing programs and services of high quality to trainable mentally retarded pupils.

In reaching towards this final step governing the rights of children to education and the responsibility of school boards to provide suitable programs, a number of activities have begun and new initiatives in planning and funding are to be put in place.

In my statement to this House on December 15, 1978, reference was made to three steps which would be taken in this regard. The first of these related to early identification of children's learning needs. Steps have now been taken to develop procedures for early identification and programming in every school board in the province.

10:10 a.m.

Ministry memoranda 1978-79:15 and 1979-80:24 have been issued to give guidance for the full implementation of this initiative by September 1981. A curriculum support document is now in production to assist primary teachers with the development of appropriate school programs at the classroom level.

The second part of my earlier statement made reference to learning disabilities. The Trillium and Jules Leger schools have been established as demonstration schools for students with severe learning disabilities. The professional development opportunities for teachers and administrators which these programs offer have been very positively received. Memoranda issued to school boards outlining identification and programming suggestions have proved helpful. In addition, the assessment services at children's hospitals in Ottawa and Toronto have been

augmented with educators to constitute a multidisciplinary team in each clinic.

Third, reference was made to the need for amendments to the Education Act which would make school boards of Ontario responsible for the provision of program and services for all students in need of such services. Since December 1978, officials of my ministry have carried out an extensive development and validation process of the legislation required to meet our special education objectives. Proposed amendments to the Education Act, 1974, were mailed to all school boards, professional associations, parent organizations and other agencies and individuals interested in special education. Their reactions have been carefully considered in finalizing the bill which will now be before members.

As well, meetings and presentations have been conducted with regional education councils, the Ontario Teachers' Federation and its affiliates, the Ontario School Trustees' Council and its member organizations, administrators' associations and the Council for Exceptional Children. Letters, briefs and inter-ministry consultations have been carefully monitored to identify major priorities for children with special needs.

On the strength of the support that has been given to the principle of responsibility legislation, we feel confident in proceeding with the bill which is being introduced today. We are also confident that we have developed an implementation and phase-in process which is fully responsive to the concerns which have been clearly expressed.

The bill requires every school board in the province to assume responsibility for providing special education programs and services for all exceptional children of school age. Included in this provision will be children with intellectual, communication, physical and behavioural exceptionalities as well as those with multiple handicaps. The bill will take full effect on September 1, 1985, but in the interval gives the minister regulatory power to ensure that boards, through a phased-in implementation approach, will move steadily towards the full assumption of their new responsibility.

Using a planning guide, school boards will be assisted by teams from the Ministry of Education to plan and implement identification and assessment processes for those students requiring some form of special education.

For the academic year 1980-81, 19 pilot boards have been selected to test and revise the board planning procedure which the

ministry has developed. These jurisdictions readily agreed to participate in the project. When the experiences of 1980-81 are fully validated they will be used to design a carefully planned and staged implementation of responsibility legislation, with all boards in the province starting in 1981. The results of this planning process will determine the nature and extent of all of the resources necessary from year to year as implementation of programs and services progresses over the next five years.

The government recognizes that additional costs will be involved and is fully prepared to provide the additional financial resources which will be needed to help phase in the new special education programs and services where required. Financial resources for special education will be increased each year to a total additional amount of \$75 million by 1984-85, thus assuring school boards of continuing financial support. I should also indicate these are constant 1980 dollars.

Immediately, \$7.5 million has been added to the general legislative grants for 1980. This will be in addition to the \$2,224 million announced on February 29, 1980, so the total GLG for 1980 will be \$2,231,500,000. I should mention this includes \$35 million to defray the costs of assessment equalization.

Approximately \$500,000 will be used by the Ministry of Education to help provide the additional consultative and professional development services required in the implementation of responsibility legislation. This will also include the provision of personnel in the regional offices for assessment and psychological services in northern Ontario.

Specifically, the \$7.5 million in the general legislative grant will be used to eliminate the time lag which currently exists for all boards with respect to the payment of the full provincial grant for new special education programs and services. At the present time, when a new special education program is introduced, the cost of the program is shared between the province and the school board. For example, under present arrangements it would only be as of January 1981 that programs initiated in September 1979 would receive 100 per cent of the provincial support for which they are eligible.

The elimination of the time lag means that in the future, special education programs will receive the full provincial grant as soon as they are introduced. Technically, this will be accomplished in 1980 by calculating the special education weighting factor on the basis of 60 per cent of the programs provided during the 1979-80

school year, and 40 per cent of the programs during the 1980-81 school year.

By ensuring that all special education programs are funded on a current basis, school boards will be under no financial disadvantage because of a time lag in the flow of full provincial funding. This will materially assist in accelerating the provision of an adequate level of programs and services by 1985.

The elimination of the time lag is a first step. In subsequent years, additional extra funding for special education will be made available and used to meet emergent needs as these are identified through the planning and phase-in process and through the experience of the boards in the pilot projects.

We recognize that present methods of funding special education may not be fully appropriate as school boards move into new and extended services and programs. For this reason, a funding review will be a major part of the implementation period. The advisory committee on financing elementary and secondary education, which is made up of representatives of the trustees' associations, teachers' federations and administrators' organizations, will play a major role in designing the new special education funding mechanism. With their assistance, and the ongoing experience with the planning mechanism created by the pilot boards over the implementation period, I am confident we shall be able to develop the most effective and equitable method of distributing the available funds.

For its part, as I have said, the government is fully committed to continuing the provision of extra funds for special education during the internal development period to 1985 to ensure that all reasonable needs are met and that no undue burden is placed upon the taxpayers.

With the full responsibility for special education provisions in place in 1985, special education as such will be redefined as a fully integrated aspect of school programming in Ontario and, clearly, the funding pattern or legislative grant structure will have to reflect this integrated reality as well. The basic per pupil grant allowance will then reflect the integrated portion of special education.

I would also indicate that studies are currently under way which will further assist us to meet the needs as they exist in reality in various parts of the province. A proposal for the provision of assessment and psychological services in northern Ontario is being completed; a study is under way to

pursue the development of closer ties between school boards and the ministry with respect to the operation of provincial schools; a study of special education case loads and class sizes, special vocational and occupational classes has been contracted. A comprehensive information manual has also been drafted which will provide school systems in the province with assistance and information regarding existing policy, program planning and service delivery.

Mr. Speaker, I am delighted to introduce this bill, a bill which is soundly based upon our historical developments, the past and present initiatives of school boards, teachers and officials to provide appropriate services and programs for exceptional children and a keen sense of responsibility on the part of this government to recognize more fully the rights of every child to a publicly supported education.

The passage of this bill will ensure that all children who have a right to attend school in Ontario will receive an educational program designed to meet their needs, their interests and their capabilities. Once again, I should like to express my thanks to the many school boards, professional organizations, individuals and parents' associations whose valuable assistance has helped us to bring before you this highly significant and long awaited initiative.

10:20 a.m.

FOREST FIRES

Mr. Mackenzie: On a point of order, Mr. Speaker: I'm wondering if we could ask if the Premier will have a short statement or any comments this morning on the disastrous fire situation in northern Ontario and present evacuation plans?

Hon. Mr. Davis: Mr. Speaker, I have no statement to make. The last information I had, which was just a few moments ago, was that the minister is still there and the situation is roughly as described yesterday. The government of Canada has been providing additional support in terms of transportation facilities and personnel. I understand that in terms of those people being evacuated this is being well looked after.

I must also say that the last information I have is that weather conditions are not improving any in that part of the province, but the situation as far as the people involved—those who have to be evacuated—is under control. I have nothing beyond that. There has been no substantial change. It hasn't improved, but I think in terms of the people involved it is under control.

ORAL QUESTIONS

ALUMINUM WIRING

Mr. S. Smith: I will direct a question to the Minister of Energy, Mr. Speaker. Standards relating to electrical components were established under the Power Commission Act by Ontario Hydro and that is the reason I am directing it to this minister.

Is the minister aware that the Ontario Housing Corporation, which in January of this year replaced the aluminum wiring in one of its apartment houses and said at the time it had nothing to do with safety but had to do with load capacity, has now put a tender in the *Globe and Mail*, the May 13, 1980, edition, to replace the electrical connectors in heaters and thermostats in another OHC building, this time allegedly on the basis that these connections are becoming loose and need to be tightened periodically?

Given the fact that there seems to be some evidence available that the loosening of such connections could be the antecedent to fires and that's the reason they have to keep tightening them, can the minister tell us whether he is prepared to recommend any changes with regard to the aluminum wiring situation, inasmuch as it does seem that the OHC people feel it's necessary to make changeovers, and ordinary citizens are left wondering what they ought to do in their homes?

Hon. Mr. Welch: Mr. Speaker, I have to indicate to the House that the specific projects to which the Leader of the Opposition makes reference have not been brought to my attention. I would be glad to discuss the matters he has raised with the Minister of Housing (Mr. Bennett), as they relate to his particular ministry.

The Leader of the Opposition will also know that the general subject of aluminum wiring has been of special concern to the Minister of Consumer and Commercial Relations (Mr. Drea), and a great deal of information has been made available through that ministry, particularly with respect to home owners in the Mississauga area of the Peel region.

However, with respect to the specific matter to which the Leader of the Opposition makes reference—the Ontario Housing Corporation's invitations for proposals—I'll have to get some more information from the Minister of Housing.

Mr. S. Smith: By way of supplementary, Mr. Speaker, if the Minister of Energy feels my question should be redirected, he could do so. I would like to ask if the minister is

aware that the Minister of Consumer and Commercial Relations was sent a letter in December, 1979, by one Dr. Aronstein, of the United States, saying that a substantial amount of information is presently available that was not available to the Wilson commission? It has to do with the relationship between failures and fires and the loosening of aluminum wire connections as a result of natural phenomena rather than poor workmanship.

The Minister of Consumer and Commercial Relations immediately passed that letter on to Ontario Hydro and replied to Dr. Aronstein saying simply that the standards are under the Power Commission Act. I presumed, therefore, that it came under the Ministry of Energy, but if the Minister of Consumer and Commercial Relations would rather answer the question, I would be grateful for an answer from either minister.

What I would ask them to answer is, are they aware that this Dr. Aronstein has drawn attention to the alleged existence of information which would have been unavailable to the Wilson commission? Has the minister looked into these allegations? Can he comment on that, as well as the changeover at OHC?

Hon. Mr. Drea: First of all, Mr. Speaker, I will comment on the changeover at OHC. The first time it occurred, which the Leader of the Opposition has referred to, we were assured it was an upgrading of wire. The fact that it was aluminum wire was not germane to the case.

I would be glad to look into what it is in that matter. I should say, as a matter of record, that at no time has OHC—and I take it this is a project of high-rise and not an individual home—asked for an inspection. Presumably, they have been doing their own inspection, but I will be very glad to look into that.

Secondly, in regard to Dr. Aronstein, he wrote me that letter. On the basis of what he said, I obviously referred it to the experts, who would be Ontario Hydro. At the same time, if the member reads that letter carefully, Dr. Aronstein was kind of hustling me for a job. The basis on which he was hustling me for a job was that he was the great consultant in the Kentucky fire disaster. He was the great consultant in litigation and investigation involving the very tragic supper club fire in Kentucky. He was hinting very strongly, since he was presenting this type of evidence there, this would be of value to us. I draw to the attention of the Leader of the Opposition that the grand jury or the court found that aluminum wire was not the cause

of the fire in Kentucky. Where Dr. Aronstein is now, I do not know.

The reason I referred it to Ontario Hydro, notwithstanding the subtle hint in there that he was available, was that in these cases, new material obviously comes to hand.

Interjections.

Hon. Mr. Drea: That is not the first time I have received letters from people who were doing research. The Toronto Star commissioned a gentleman who had a private research laboratory to come up here and to show how faulty Dr. Tuzo Wilson was in his analysis. When that gentleman arrived here, he promptly said that in no way, shape or form was he going to quarrel with Dr. Wilson. He had a different type of research. It involved American standards and there were certain other differences.

On the basis of American consultants with the best of intention sending up their recommendations that perhaps some additional things be done, I would point out two things. First, Dr. Wilson did not do pure research. His mandate was to examine all of the research available because there was so much conflicting evidence and to come to a conclusion. That he did. It is a matter of record that the American case, which was subsequent and supposedly was going to repudiate Dr. Wilson, only validated Dr. Wilson's findings.

Secondly, there is a vast difference between the type of aluminum wire used in the United States and the type used here. There is a vast difference between the connectors and the standards used in various jurisdictions in the United States and what is used here.

I would hope that explains what we did with Dr. Aronstein's letter and why he hasn't been back.

Mr. Warner: Mr. Speaker, I will redirect a supplementary to the Attorney General. Since the Wilson study indicated there were problems with aluminum, but he did not have the courage to ask for a ban of the aluminum wiring; and since Ontario Hydro has chosen to cover up the situation over a number of years, but Ontario Housing Corporation has had the good sense to ban it from its construction, will the Attorney General ask for a judicial inquiry to get this matter settled once and for all and to ban the use of aluminum wiring for housing in Ontario?

Hon. Mr. McMurtry: No.

Mr. Warner: Why not?

10:30 a.m.

Mr. S. Smith: Mr. Speaker, if I could ask a supplementary of the Minister of Consumer

and Commercial Relations; if he can see a job application in this letter then he obviously is reading between the lines, because I do not see any such application. I have no idea; maybe he knows the guy; I do not.

The OHC, in this second replacement of equipment, has stated to us that it was sending maintenance people around to tighten up these connectors all over the place. As it became such an expensive maintenance job they thought it better to replace the connectors. That seems reasonable. But would the minister not agree that there may be loose connectors in homes all over Ontario?

Interjections.

Mr. S. Smith: It is very humorous. If the honourable member had the call I did from a person in Hamilton who had a fire occur in the house and is in an absolute panic about the situation now, it is not that funny.

There must be such loose connections in OHC buildings all over Ontario. Does the minister not think it is time for a very important advertising campaign by Hydro to tell people about that—not about what wonderful load forecasters they are, but about the real problems people might face? Also, doesn't he think the time has come to replace, not the wiring, but the connections—to upgrade them—and that the government has some responsibility for a program in this regard?

Hon. Mr. Drea: Mr. Speaker, for the past 14 months, give or take a month, we have been doing precisely that.

Mr. S. Smith: The hotline. Nobody knows about that.

Hon. Mr. Drea: The honourable member misunderstands. We have gone to great lengths through advertising, and I must admit that the advertising did not produce the results that I would have liked or the member would have liked. We have done it in every conceivable manner, because we have found loose connections through those home inspections. There is no question about it. We have worked very diligently to determine those.

Unfortunately, we are still labouring to get that inspection completed. We are now at the stage where we say to people, "Would you please make an appointment with Hydro, since we have been unable to get into your house." I recognize that in many homes both people are working, but we now say to people, "You put it in at your convenience." We send the inspector at a time at their convenience, and there is nobody home. We leave a card and we literally beg them, "Will you find us a time. We will come at midnight if you want."

I would like to have it completed. I am not looking at the wiring; we are looking at the connectors.

Mr. S. Smith: Put the same money into this as you put into that yo-yo ad.

Mr. Speaker: Order.

Hon. Mr. Drea: Mr. Speaker, in my estimates I can point to the money that the aluminum wire resource centre has put into that. If the member can develop for me—and I will be the first to give him credit—an effective advertising tool that will get people to get that inspection done, believe me I can use his talent and his expertise. We have tried in every dimension and in every respect. I have asked members of this Legislature to try to do it by word of mouth as well as by a formal advertising campaign.

Ms. Gigantes: As a supplementary, Mr. Speaker, I am really appalled to hear the minister once again put the blame on consumers or the public. I would like to bring to the attention of the minister, and ask for his comment, a case which has come to my attention from Carleton East. A gentleman concerned about a couple of faulty light switches in his home, which gave him reason to wonder about the safety of his wiring, went through five telephone calls in Ottawa through Gloucester Hydro to the Ministry of Consumer and Commercial Relations office, round in circles, and he finally had to contact his MPP for help.

Mr. Speaker: Is there a question there someplace?

Ms. Gigantes: His MPP happened to be the person he was married to. Could the minister suggest what this gentleman should do? We cannot find the number for his hotline.

Hon. Mr. Drea: Mr. Speaker, if the member can't she is the first one who hasn't been able to. I'm not blaming consumers or anyone else. What I'm saying is that the majority of people, no question, co-operated with us but we want the extra mile. That extra mile was, "I know you are busy during the daytime," and so forth. All we asked them to do was make an appointment with Hydro.

One of the reasons it has slowed down is those appointments aren't being kept. I presume that when people, at their convenience, make an appointment with the inspector they will keep it just as they will with their dentists, their MPP or anyone else. Will the member get her facts straight?

Mr. S. Smith: Foster Advertising needs my help now. Isn't that amazing?

Mr. Speaker: We have spent 15 minutes on the first question.

Mr. S. Smith: Most of it was on the first answer.

LEGAL AID IN WCB CASES

Mr. S. Smith: Mr. Speaker, the Minister of Labour is fully aware that legal aid is available for Workmen's Compensation Board claimants; he is aware of that fact. Could he explain why it seems to be a policy of the board to make sure nobody ever finds out that such legal aid is available? For instance, why does the WCB, by virtue of a recent board decision decide consciously and deliberately not to include reference to the legal aid plan in its pamphlets? Why do they not include reference to the possibility of seeking legal aid when they inform people about the possibilities of appeal of WCB decisions?

Hon. Mr. Elgie: Mr. Speaker, I think the board does advise workers that they have a right to seek advice and counsel, but it does not specify what various organizations, groups or individuals might be available to them.

It's my understanding, with great respect, that the chairman of the legal aid section of the Law Society of Upper Canada has never put a formal request to the WCB to include such information. Indeed, I think the former chairman, who is now treasurer of the law society, specifically indicated in a report I read that he has not put such a request to the WCB.

Mr. S. Smith: If I may ask a supplementary, so what? Who cares what the person from the legal aid section of the law society says? Why has the WCB itself decided not to include any reference in order to inform working people that if they feel they require counsel and don't have money to pay, legal aid is available?

Such a request was made by a solicitor in Hamilton, to which a response was received which is laughable as well as offensive, suggesting the solicitor had no right to make such a suggestion and rejecting it totally. I personally would like to know, if people have the right to get legal aid why is the minister keeping it a secret? Either it should be in the pamphlet or, at the very least, in the letter that goes out to people telling them about their rights of appeal.

Hon. Mr. Elgie: I'm not one of those who thinks that legal aid is a secret to anybody

in this province. As a matter of fact, I think it is a pretty well utilized service. What I said to the Leader of the Opposition was that the chairman of the legal aid section of the law society has never suggested the WCB should include that, because the board has never included a list of people one may seek out to represent a claimant. If the member is suggesting the board should develop a list of all groups, agencies or individuals one may turn to for representation then I would be glad to discuss that. I think it is a pretty impossible task—and I think the Leader of the Opposition realizes it is—to list every group, agency or resource available.

Mr. S. Smith: Just legal aid, that's all I am suggesting.

Hon. Mr. Elgie: Oh, come on.

Mr. Renwick: Mr. Speaker, by way of a supplementary, will the Minister of Labour not barrack the question? The Ontario Legal Aid Plan is a public plan to assist people with respect to their representation and advocacy. Will the minister simply say that he will instruct the board to advise claimants who are on appeal that the facilities of the plan are available?

Hon. Mr. Elgie: Mr. Speaker, I will be glad to discuss the matter with the board.

Mr. Roy: Supplementary, Mr. Speaker: Why would the minister, as a member of the Law Society of Upper Canada, have such reluctance? Is the minister supporting the attitude of the chairman, who in this correspondence seems to suggest there is no duty to advise claimants? Does the minister not feel that to many of these claimants, who sometimes have difficulty with the language and whose representation is extremely important, legal aid representation would be one of the more important factors in the hearing? Why is there such reluctance to advise these people that they have that right to be represented?

10:40 a.m.

Hon. Mr. Elgie: Mr. Speaker, I think the member for Ottawa East knows full well that there are many other groups which represent workers. In many cases, there is a representative of the union, for example, who consistently represents workers belonging to that union before the board. In other cases, there are injured workers' groups which represent the workers. In other cases, the board provides worker consultants. What I am telling him is that I will be glad to discuss it with the board, but it is not a simple straightforward matter of saying, "You can have legal aid," because there are other options available to people that they may choose.

Mr. Mackenzie: Supplementary, Mr. Speaker: I am wondering if the minister can give us any other possibilities in terms of organizations which might subsidize the Workmen's Compensation Board, as just about everybody—the unions, you name it—is?

Hon. Mr. Elgie: Mr. Speaker, I really have no further comment on that.

JOHNS-MANVILLE

Mr. Mackenzie: Mr. Speaker, I have a question of the Minister of Labour, regarding the Johns-Manville plant closure. On May 5, the minister said there was no suggestion made to him that the company had any intention of closing the plant. Now that the worst fears of the union and most of us on this side of the House at least are being realized, is the minister willing to take action to ensure that the company remains responsible for the devastation it is causing and has inflicted on the workers' health? Will he take action to impound or freeze sufficient funds so the company can restrain and rehabilitate the workers involved and provide new job opportunities?

Hon. Mr. Elgie: Mr. Speaker, what I said on May 5 is still true. I did not have any indication at that time that the company had any intention of closing one portion of its business. Indeed, I have had members of my staff in constant contact with the company and with its parent company to determine that very sort of information.

As the member will recall, I think it was nearly two weeks ago now, the company did release some information indicating there were some economic difficulties with regard to the Transite pipe section of Johns-Manville. It was not until yesterday that we were informed, and I gather that the workers at Johns-Manville were informed, the company had decided it was no longer economically feasible to carry on that portion of its operation. It will be carrying on with the fibreglass portion and with the insulation portion of the plant.

It is also my understanding, from discussions I had yesterday, that they are prepared to have seniority apply with regard to workers who would otherwise be displaced in the Transite portion. Those people with long-term employment at Johns-Manville will have the right to move to other portions of the business and be trained for any needs they may have with regard to training in the Johns-Manville business.

Mr. Mackenzie: Supplementary: Does the minister not realize the clever ploy that is

being used here by Johns-Manville? They will move the senior employees and those who are already in many cases partially disabled into the fibreglass and the wrapping operation, but is that operation going to be viable in a matter of months? This also has been predicted by the union. Over half the plant is going. There are 170 now going in the asbestos pipe section and within a year we will probably see the rest of the plant gone.

They won't be able to have a viable operation with the workers who will be moved in there, those same workers who, where we have not yet established a disability pension but show indications of lung disease, have no chance in blazes of getting a job anywhere else when they take the medical examination for other jobs. This is why there must be action taken to ensure there are assets set aside to protect those workers.

Hon. Mr. Elgie: Mr. Speaker, I don't know how one can predict whether the fibreglass and insulation portion of the business will survive or not. All I know, having talked to the Canadian president personally yesterday, and to a representative from the parent company, is that they intend to carry on that enterprise and see if it is an economically viable enterprise. I have no reason to doubt what they say.

I may tell the member, if he has any concerns about the possibility of an eventual closure, that I have had discussions with the board already and any worker with any evidence of an illness related to exposure to asbestos would immediately be given entry into the special rehabilitation program. The board will do everything it can should such an eventuality occur, but I have no reason to believe it will happen.

Mr. S. Smith: Supplementary, Mr. Speaker: I asked the minister on May 5 specifically about the intentions of Johns-Manville to move out of the area and to abandon its responsibilities. The minister assured us at that time that he had no such indication, and now we find that half the plant is being closed and the rest may well be in jeopardy. Does the minister not recognize that he has either been duped by those people or else he gave an answer to this House without taking enough time to seek a proper response from Johns-Manville?

What is the minister prepared to do now by way of legislation to make it impossible for major closures, even partial closures of this kind, to occur without proper notification? Is it not time we had legislation that was a little more stringent than that already on the

books, to make sure that even partial major closures of this kind cannot occur while the minister is kept totally in the dark, as he was in this instance?

Hon. Mr. Elgie: Mr. Speaker, I do not think the member is implying I was trying to mislead anybody. What I said on May 5 was exactly the truth. There was no indication then, nor was there any indication to members of my staff within the subsequent two weeks, that there was intention at that time to close any portion of the Johns-Manville plant. For that reason I specifically asked if a representative from the parent company would come to Toronto this week so that I could obtain that specific information. So let there be no doubt that the information I gave the House was completely accurate as I had it at that time.

Mr. S. Smith: Yes, but the minister was duped.

Hon. Mr. Elgie: I do not agree with that.

Mr. Mackenzie: Supplementary, Mr. Speaker: I am sorry, but we have to question the kind of checking the ministry is doing. Has the union not informed the minister, or has his own staff not looked into the fact that the Johns-Manville Corporation has been closing these operations down all over the United States, and it is involved in endless litigation over the protection of the workers in the US? Did they tell the minister that when they met with him, or has his ministry checked into that?

Hon. Mr. Elgie: Mr. Speaker, I specifically asked the company yesterday what was happening in other locations where Transite pipe was being manufactured, and it indicated the same type of closing out was taking place in the United States.

Mr. S. Smith: Final supplementary, Mr. Speaker: The minister has just told us that the people who will be out of work will be able to be included in the vocational rehabilitation program of the Workmen's Compensation Board.

Does he not recognize that to be eligible for that program the employee must be at risk at the time he applies for the program—that is, he must be working in an area with more than 0.5 fibres per cubic centimetre, as well as having signs of asbestosis—and that many employees, because they cannot prove they are in such a high-risk area, even though they have asbestosis, are refused entry into that program? Now that they are going to be moved out of the asbestos cement area into another one they may well be forever forbidden entry into that program unless the

criteria are changed. Is the minister not aware of that?

Hon. Mr. Elgie: Yes, I am, Mr. Speaker, and that is why I said I have been given the firm understanding that it would be no problem and the board would co-operate because of the peculiar circumstances in this case.

HYDRO EXPORTS

Mr. Mackenzie: A question to the Minister of Energy, Mr. Speaker: Yesterday the minister told us that, in spite of the public statement by his parliamentary assistant, the government at this moment is not contemplating the construction of another nuclear station exclusively dedicated for export. We learn, however, according to the parliamentary assistant, that what he really intended in his recent speech was to launch a public invitation to Ontario Hydro, "If you have some indications of prospects, let us know and we will look at this more specifically."

Can the minister explain clearly to the House what message the government is giving Hydro on the subject of building nuclear plants dedicated to exporting power?

Hon. Mr. Welch: Mr. Speaker, I cannot add very much to the answer I gave yesterday. There is no message being communicated from the minister or the Ministry of Energy to Ontario Hydro on this particular subject. I told the House yesterday that the member for Durham West (Mr. Ashe) wanted to share some personal views at a symposium. I would think under the circumstances the member would accept that.

May I reiterate the fact that at this time the government stands by the statement it made some time ago, that there are no plans for further nuclear plants beyond those already committed and set out last September in the paper Energy Security for the Eighties: A Policy for Ontario.

10:50 a.m.

Mr. Mackenzie: Has the minister communicated with Hydro directly on this subject since his parliamentary assistant expressed the views that he did which the minister says do not necessarily reflect this government's position? If he refuses to discourage the member for Durham West, can he give us a rough idea of what trial balloon we will have floated next week?

Hon. Mr. Welch: I did not find it necessary to communicate with Hydro after the speech. Has the member read the speech? It is a very interesting one. The member for Durham West, as a very proud Canadian, shared with that symposium his pride with

respect to the Canadian technology which the Candu reactor represents. It is known throughout the world with respect to its safety. He also wanted to point out the great employment opportunities with respect to that technology.

I think it was on page eight—because it is at my bedside; I read it just last night again—on page eight there is a paragraph that makes it quite clear that he thought he would share a personal view in the context of that general pride with respect to Canadian technology.

Ms. Gigantes: Mr. Speaker, the Minister of Energy is not helping in clearing up this confusion. If the Minister of Energy has a personal view, we know it is government policy. But if the parliamentary assistant to the Minister of Energy is expressing personal views here, there and everywhere against current government policy, what are we to make of it? How are we to know whether that is government policy or not?

Hon. Mr. Welch: Mr. Speaker, surely the last place which anyone in this House would expect to hear a comment like that would be from the caucus of the New Democratic Party. The word "democracy" is in the very party name. Surely there is some opportunity for people to express personal opinions. I do not know why I am called upon to say any more. To deny the member for Durham West the opportunity to express a personal view is really beyond comprehension.

Mr. S. Smith: Mr. Speaker, it is a long time since the minister has been at McMaster and he may have forgotten the history lessons and the meaning of responsible government. But surely the minister must know that the member for Durham West, as eminent a member as he may be in his own mind, was invited to address that conference for no purpose other than in his capacity as parliamentary assistant to the Minister of Energy. He was not invited as the member for Durham West, and he was supposed to be giving government policy at the time.

Hon. Mr. Welch: Mr. Speaker, I am quite familiar with the whole principle of responsible government and McMaster University, which I guess is in the member's constituency. They are not particularly pleased about that, but on the other hand that is where it happens to be. If the members opposite continue this questioning—we have given the member for Durham West a fair amount of publicity in his constituency the last couple of days—and no doubt, because of this exchange, he will have an acclamation come the time for the next provincial election.

He is a forthright man, who wanted to share a personal opinion in two or three sentences of a very long speech—I think there are about five phases in the speech as he was developing this whole question of the Candu reactors. As I traced the logic, he interrupts himself during the course of that speech and volunteers a personal opinion which he thought might be worthy of some discussion. Indeed, it has occupied about 12 minutes of question time in the Ontario Legislature as a result.

Mr. Foulds: Mr. Speaker, in view of the fact that the member for Durham West needs all the help he can get, I would like to ask the Minister of Energy and Deputy Premier if he is telling this House that at the present time whenever we have a parliamentary assistant making a speech in the province, we are not to believe that parliamentary assistant.

Hon. Mr. Welch: Mr. Speaker, the simple answer to that is no. That is not what the Minister of Energy is telling the House. The Minister of Energy is telling the House now for the 17th time that surely a member of the Legislature is entitled to a personal opinion. I doubt very much that the member for Port Arthur has even read the speech. Because if he read the speech, it is a fairly interesting document. I might say at this time it is not government policy with respect to the construction of nuclear plants dedicated exclusively for export.

What more can I say without advancing the interests of the member for Durham West any further in this particular matter? The simple answer to the member's original question is no.

Mr. Speaker: A new question. That question is going nowhere.

Mr. Roy: After that performance, the minister is going to ask the member for Durham West to jump and he is going to ask how high.

Hon. Mr. Davis: Obviously the Ottawa Citizen has you doing that today.

Mr. Roy: Not at all. Where is the Ottawa Citizen reporter? Oh, there she is.

Mr. Speaker: Do you have a question?

Mr. Roy: Yes.

COMPLAINTS AGAINST DOCTORS

Mr. Roy: Mr. Speaker, I would like to ask a question of the Premier in the absence of the Minister of Health (Mr. Timbrell). It involves the sentencing yesterday of an Ottawa doctor through a prohibition of general practice for a period of three years.

I would like to ask the Premier what confidence the public can have in the College of Physicians and Surgeons of Ontario and in the discipline committee, when the subject matter of this conviction was the subject matter of a complaint back in 1978 and was rejected outright by the college apparently on the basis that the doctor said it was not true, but two years later he entered a plea of guilty to the charge before a criminal court. It involves as well a plea of guilty at a time when he is charged with three separate offences of indecent assault and one of rape.

Would the Premier ask the Minister of Health to investigate the situation and find out what type of investigation takes place when serious complaints are made to the College of Physicians and Surgeons of Ontario?

Hon. Mr. Davis: Mr. Speaker, the minister has already asked his officials to look into it.

Mr. Roy: May I direct a supplementary, Mr. Speaker, to the Attorney General which possibly he can discuss with his colleague the Minister of Health? When serious allegations involving a doctor are made to the College of Physicians and Surgeons of Ontario and to the discipline committee in particular, does the Attorney General not feel that when this evidence supports the possible laying or reasonable and probable ground for laying criminal charges, there is some duty on the college to give this information to the police, that it is somewhat cavalier on the part of the college to dismiss or reject the allegation, and that in the long term it makes it difficult for police and the law enforcement agencies of this province to pursue individuals who are in breach of the Criminal Code?

I would ask the Attorney General whether possibly the Health Disciplines Act, especially involving the discipline committee, should not be amended to include a clause requiring that the police be called in where evidence supports criminal allegations.

Hon. Mr. McMurtry: It would depend on all the circumstances, Mr. Speaker. I do not know the details of this particular case, but I can envisage circumstances whereby a professional body, such as that, is in receipt of a serious allegation. In many cases there would obviously be a duty to report this to the police, but again, it would depend on the nature and quality of information it received.

Mr. Roy: Would the Attorney General undertake to review this with his colleague the Minister of Health, pointing out that this involved allegations which were rejected by

the college, but subsequently the doctor pleaded guilty to these charges? It involved three other criminal allegations involving a doctor who had, unfortunately, a reputation and problems in another province involving similar types of offences. Would he review this matter with his colleague the Minister of Health?

Hon. Mr. McMurtry: Yes.

11:00 a.m.

Mr. Peterson: Mr. Speaker, this is one example of a problem that members of the Legislature frequently run into in their constituency work. Does the Attorney General not feel it speaks in a general sense to the wider problem of the whole internal disciplining procedure of some of the professional bodies? At this time, would the minister consider, in discussion with the other ministers responsible, coming up with some new guidelines, in association with the professional bodies, to make sure that justice is done and is done very quickly?

Hon. Mr. McMurtry: All these professional bodies in Ontario, Mr. Speaker, are quite interested in the recommendations made by the professional organizations committee. While the medical profession was not dealt with specifically in this report, there were recommendations that do touch on the whole issue of complaints by the public. I know the medical profession is quite interested in these recommendations, and I think we will hear a great deal more discussion about them.

IRON ORE PELLETS

Mr. Martel: A question of the Premier, Mr. Speaker: Can we take it from the statement of the Minister of Natural Resources (Mr. Auld) yesterday that the government of Ontario now is abandoning any efforts to maintain an iron ore mining industry in Ontario on the rationale that the Ontario ores are technically poor, given National Steel Corporation of Canada Limited, Inco Limited and a few other cases?

Is the Premier prepared to admit that the real reason the steel companies will not buy Ontario ores is they are locked into long-term contracts with their own mines in the United States? One official I spoke to this morning said: "When the market is good, we'll buy just about any one. When it is bad, we become very selective."

Hon. Mr. Davis: Mr. Speaker, the answer to the first part of the question is no. The second part of the question is really not a question and so I cannot answer it.

Mr. Martel: Is the Premier prepared to

admit that the steel industry, because it is locked into contracts with its own mines in the United States, is prepared to buy that ore rather than ores produced in Ontario? Is that not the reason the steel industry is not in a position to buy Ontario ores?

Hon. Mr. Davis: I think the minister's statement made it quite clear that some of the companies do have contractual obligations based, in their view, on the quality of the ore. I do not think that has ever been in debate.

Mr. Foulds: Mr. Speaker; would the Premier not agree that in the minister's statement yesterday he said one of the important things was to maintain jobs in Ontario in the mining and steel industries? Would he not agree we could maintain more jobs in Ontario if this government had a decent policy which integrated our steel production with our iron ore production and connected the two?

Hon. Mr. Davis: Mr. Speaker, I would agree that, if the Ontario ore could be used to a greater extent, that would produce more jobs. I think the minister also pointed out that because of certain processes—I am no expert in this field—domestic ore cannot always be used. I would be delighted—all of us would be—if more Ontario ores could be used, yes.

Mr. Martel: Will the Premier indicate to the House what retaliatory measures he expects from the United States—and this was in the minister's statement—given the fact that we import only 14 per cent of our steel needs and that we export only 12 per cent, with only three quarters of that going to the United States? Is the government saying we cannot follow an industrial strategy in Ontario based on the utilization of our own natural resources, without government intervention from the United States?

Hon. Mr. Davis: I do not know. I did not read that into the minister's statement. I would just make a general observation that in this competitive international marketplace we have to be rather careful that we do not select a particular industry and say we want things totally our way in that industry without some anticipation that, as it relates to other industries with other nations, they too have certain levers they could also apply. I would say the member for Sudbury East sometimes has tunnel vision. He has to look at it on a somewhat broader basis.

SKILLS TRAINING

Mr. B. Newman: Mr. Speaker, I have a question for the Minister of Colleges and

Universities. As there are well over 20,000 unemployed in the city of Windsor, and as the long-term economic health of the community would depend on having a substantial source of skilled help, as well as the fact that it takes quite a period of time to develop that skills training, has the Ministry of Colleges and Universities conducted any studies as to future manpower needs for the community? Is the minister prepared at this time to provide facilities for that increased skills training that will be required in the days to come?

Hon. Miss Stephenson: Mr. Speaker, it is my understanding that the Community Industrial Training Council, which was established with the assistance of the Ministry of Colleges and Universities, has been actively involved in this role. I am not sure if they have completed the assessment of skills training needs or skilled workers needs within the community, nor am I sure if they have made any major projection for future years at this time, but I shall attempt to find the information which has been developed by CITC and provide it to the honourable member.

Mr. B. Newman: Is the ministry considering a new permanent facility, or is it planning on recycling one of the schools in the community for the new facility which eventually will be needed?

Hon. Miss Stephenson: We have permanent facilities in Windsor right now, and there are programs which probably could be considered relatively permanent as well. If there are specific requirements for additional space, I am sure the Council of Regents of the community college system will look at those sympathetically in terms of skills training programs. To my knowledge, there have been no specific requests for that at this point, but I shall check into it to be sure and report to the House.

SPECIAL EDUCATION

Mr. Bounsall: Mr. Speaker, I have a question of the Minister of Education arising from the minister's statement this morning. Does the minister ever intend to fund special education at the 100 per cent level of the cost of these anticipated new programs, since \$75 million for 1984-85, even in 1980 constant dollars, is far too little? Her proposed elimination of the time-lag provisions—60 per cent of the cost of the 1979-80 programs, and 40 per cent of the cost of the 1980-81 programs—does not in any way

represent anything close to 100 per cent funding.

Hon. Miss Stephenson: Mr. Speaker, all educational programs in the province, save for one or two, have been funded on the basis of the rate of grant to boards. It would appear there should be a shared responsibility, as there is for the delivery of educational programs in all instances. That philosophy certainly pertains in the area of special education.

In addition to the per pupil grant for all children in special-education programs, in the past year there has been approximately \$140 million directed by the province to programs for special education. The amount that is being provided right now is not insignificant; it is a rather large sum of money.

The additional funding that is being made available this year will remove what seems to have been an impediment in the minds of some school boards to the development of special-education programs within their jurisdiction. We think the removal of that time lag will be beneficial in this initial pilot year, during which the assessment of needs and resources of the 19 pilot boards—one region totally—will be measured, and the development of a plan of implementation will occur, which will be of assistance to all the other boards across the province.

Mr. Bounsall: May I comment that if the ministry does not fund at 100 per cent of the cost of special education but gives the responsibility, they will not be getting our children into it.

11:10 a.m.

Hon. Miss Stephenson: Mr. Speaker, on a point of personal privilege: I think it is totally unfair of the member for Windsor-Sandwich to impute such motivation or such lack of responsibility to the school boards of this province. There have been some instances in which there have been problems. But on the whole the school boards of this province have felt very strongly, as have the teachers, about the need for special education and have become involved in programs.

Mr. Bounsall: Without the funds it still will not happen, because they cannot afford it.

My supplementary question is, how long will it take to complete the study the minister mentioned on page 13 of her statement relating to the special-education case load and class sizes and special vocational and occupational classes, and then to devise the proper programs in that area? How long are

we going to have to struggle along in the same way that we have before we are able to fund in that area? Can the minister assure us that children will be placed—except for all but the most difficult and unusual cases—in special education by 1983 at the latest?

Hon. Miss Stephenson: No, I cannot guarantee the suggestion made by the honourable member. The guarantee, however, is made that the placement will be there by September 1, 1985. The study mentioned is under way now. I anticipate it will take approximately 12 months, by which time the pilot projects will be all but completed as well. This information will be extremely helpful in the development of the implementation guide which will be made available to all boards across the province.

DISPUTE AT AMR CENTRES

Mr. Blundy: Mr. Speaker, I have a question of the Provincial Secretary for Social Development. Now that a settlement has been reached in the nine-day-old strike of employees of the Metro Toronto Association for the Mentally Retarded, could the minister explain why the ministry has been unable to bring about an end to the eight-week-old strike in Hamilton? Is the ministry prepared to budget sufficient funds so that the \$8,300 starting salary in the Hamilton association could be brought up at least to match the \$12,838 being paid to beginning employees in the Toronto association? The situation is so unfair. What does the minister have to say?

Hon. Mrs. Birch: Mr. Speaker, the Minister of Community and Social Services (Mr. Norton) is dealing with that situation at the moment. There is further discussion to be held regarding that topic.

Mr. Blundy: I would think that the Provincial Secretary for Social Development would have a role in this situation now that it has gone so long. Will the minister assure the members of the House and guarantee that the mentally retarded clients of the Hamilton association are not in jeopardy or suffering after eight weeks of strike?

Hon. Mrs. Birch: No such incidents have come to our attention wherein any mentally retarded person in the Hamilton area is suffering because of this prolonged strike. We are all very sorry and find it very difficult to cope with a strike that does go on for that period of time, but I can assure the honourable members of this House that the minister is well aware of the situation and is keeping a very careful eye on it.

ORANGE PRICES

Mr. Swart: Mr. Speaker, my question is of the Minister of Consumer and Commercial Relations. I would ask the minister whether he has been looking into the continuing high price of oranges in this province. Is he aware that although there has been a bumper crop in the United States and the wholesale price there has dropped substantially, the retail price in Ontario, according to Statistics Canada, increased by 7.3 per cent between January and April of this year? Does he know that the excessive price here is due largely to the markup by supermarkets, a matter over which he has some control if he wants it?

Hon. Mr. Drea: I am sorry, Mr. Speaker, I do not understand the question. I understand something about oranges in supermarkets, but what was the question?

Mr. Swart: I thought the question was very clear. I asked the minister whether he knew that there had been an increase in the price of oranges of 7.3 per cent in this province, according to Statistics Canada, from January to April and that there has been a bumper crop in the United States. The wholesale price there has fallen substantially and the excessive price here is due largely to the markup by the supermarkets. Does he know this? Does he know that he has control over it and has the power to do something about it?

Hon. Mr. Drea: Mr. Speaker, I am the first one to admit when I am bewildered. If the honourable member wants me to look at the price of oranges, I will be glad to do so. I will bring him in a sack on Monday.

Mr. Swart: When the minister is doing the examination, will he explain why this orange sells for 33 cents retail in the supermarkets here but the same orange sells for 20 to 23 cents in the United States, even though the wholesale price is the same? I will send these over to him in a few minutes.

Does the minister recognize the significant point that the orange I bought for 33 cents in Safeway wholesales in Ontario at the Canadian price of 19 cents? Does the minister not think the 70 per cent markup in oranges, which is the normal markup now by the supermarkets, is a bit much?

Even with the minister's attitude that all prices are fine and justified in this province, does he not think he ought to intervene occasionally and rap some knuckles on issues like this?

Hon. Mr. Drea: I would appreciate it if the honourable member in his earnest pur-

suit for goodies would be accurate about my remarks. I have never said all prices in this province are good.

Take these oranges back to the member. I don't eat them, I like Canadian apples. I brought in apple juice in this province; remember that. I will look into the question of oranges.

ESSEX EXPLOSION

Mr. Ruston: Mr. Speaker, I have a question for the Premier, although it probably should be directed to the Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs. I wonder if the Premier, since he sits in cabinet, could give us a decision in the near future with regard to the explosion in the town of Essex and any assistance that may be possible through the Ontario Development Corporation for the business people who are trying to rebuild in that town.

Hon. Mr. Davis: Mr. Speaker, the honourable member in his usual perceptive way was quite right in his first observation. That question should be directed to the Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs.

Mr. Ruston: Mr. Speaker, since the Premier is in charge over there, I would hope he would have a little say. However, maybe the Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs would be prepared to answer that.

Hon. Mr. Wells: Mr. Speaker, I do not like to be evasive but, having discussed it with my friend last week, to get the answer he is looking for the question should be directed to the Ministry of Industry and Tourism (Mr. Grossman). He will be back on Monday.

POLICE ROLE IN LABOUR DISPUTES

Mr. Mackenzie: Mr. Speaker, I have a question of the Minister of Labour. Can the minister justify the use of 30 to 40 police officers at the legal strike currently in progress between the United Cement, Lime and Gypsum Workers and Nelson Crushed Stone in order to run five company trucks through the picket line three times a week, when there are usually no more than 20 picketers on the line? What meaning has the right to picket and to informational picketing when those same trucks have the side windows boarded up as well as a police escort through the line at high speed?

Hon. Mr. Elgie: Mr. Speaker, I think this question was asked of me last week and I indicated it was a question that should be directed to the Solicitor General. I will be pleased to do so when he returns.

Mr. Mackenzie: In the course of redirection, would the minister also ask the Solicitor General whether the cost of the police assigned to assist Flintkote, the American owners, will be charged to the company, as it was not asked for by any one of the strikers, or are the workers themselves going to have to continue paying part of the costs and paying for their own crucifixion?

Hon. Mr. Elgie: Mr. Speaker, I will be glad to transmit that information to the Solicitor General, although probably not in quite the same words, which I am not entirely sure of.

CONSTITUTIONAL REFORM

Mr. Epp: Mr. Speaker, I had a question for the Attorney General (Mr. McMurtry), who is not here, although I see his papers there. I was going to ask the question of the Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs (Mr. Wells) but he has just slipped out. I wonder if he is going to come back in the House? If not, I will ask the Premier the question.
11:20 a.m.

Given the fact that Mr. Chretien was in town just the other day to discuss a timetable for new federalism in Canada, and given the fact that the government has committed itself to drawing up the new constitution, I wonder whether the Premier has discussed with his officials the possibility of including municipalities in that discussion or to having some kind of attention drawn in a new constitution to municipalities, their existence in Canada, and giving some recognition to municipalities in that constitution?

Hon. Mr. Davis: Mr. Speaker, going back over the many years when there have been discussions on a reformed, restructured, new constitution, I think it is fair to state that in all of the discussions to date the main direction has been to enunciate certain basic principles on the question of rights, the question of distribution, the question of equalization—some of the very basic principles.

I do not think there has been any consideration, to date at least, of entrenching in any new or revised constitution for Canada, shall we say, the position of the municipalities. Perhaps the point of view as to what might be contained in the constitution would be somewhat different right across the country. I would question whether in any other constitutions that might be somewhat comparable one would find specific provisions for municipalities. I am not as familiar with the American constitution or those of West Germany, France, et cetera, but from my limited knowledge I do not recall any of them having that sort of reference.

In terms of the interest of municipal leaders in a new constitution, the government would be quite pleased to receive that sort of information, but I would not want to lead the member astray and say that in a national constitutional document one would see a list of specific provisions as it relates to the municipalities. I quite honestly doubt that would be the case.

REPORT

STANDING COMMITTEE ON ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE

Mr. Philip from the standing committee on administration of justice reported the following resolution:

That supply in the following amount to defray the expenses of the Provincial Secretariat for Justice be granted Her Majesty for the fiscal year ending March 31, 1981:

Justice policy program, \$717,500.

INTRODUCTION OF BILLS

REGIONAL MUNICIPALITIES AMENDMENT ACT

Hon. Mr. Wells moved first reading of Bill 81, An Act to amend certain Acts respecting Regional Municipalities.

Motion agreed to.

Hon. Mr. Wells: Mr. Speaker, this bill proposes to give regional councils the authority to provide such benefits as group life, accident, medical and hospital care insurance to the members of council. In addition, it proposes to remove the requirements that regional councils pass a road consolidation by-law every five years. In the acts for Niagara and York it proposes to delete a provision which refers to a section of the Homes for Aged and Rest Home Act which no longer exists.

Other amendments are proposed to individual regional acts. One amendment would place the apportionment of general regional costs in the regional municipality of Niagara on the basis of weighted equalized assessments. This is already the basis in most regions and all counties in Ontario. Another amendment will meet a request from Sudbury regional council for the same flexibility in apportioning costs that counties have currently under section 507 of the Municipal Act.

The regional municipality of Halton would be permitted to acquire land and renovate or construct buildings for the use of the Halton Children's Aid Society and to lease the property to the society.

The bill also seeks to clarify, in the Regional Municipality of Hamilton-Wentworth Act, that the senior police officers who were taken into the regional police force from the former city of Hamilton police force may retire on completing 35 years of service or on reaching 65 years of age, at their option.

Two minor boundary amendments are proposed in the bill: one between the regions of Hamilton-Wentworth and Waterloo and one between the regions of Hamilton-Wentworth and Halton. The bill also includes a provision giving the region of York the responsibility for solid waste disposal in York.

EDUCATION AMENDMENT ACT

Hon. Miss Stephenson moved first reading of Bill 82, An Act to amend the Education Act, 1974.

Motion agreed to.

ONTARIO HUMAN RIGHTS CODE AMENDMENT ACT

Mr. M. N. Davison moved first reading of Bill 83, An Act to amend the Ontario Human Rights Code.

Motion agreed to.

Mr. M. N. Davison: Mr. Speaker, the purpose of this bill is to make sexual harassment in the work place a breach of human rights in the province and to provide a remedy for sexual harassment in the work place.

MUNICIPAL AMENDMENT ACT

Mr. M. N. Davison moved first reading of Bill 84, An Act to amend the Municipal Act.

Motion agreed to.

Mr. M. N. Davison: Mr. Speaker, the purpose of this bill is to authorize municipalities in Ontario to provide health care and health insurance benefits to retired employees.

Mr. Foulds: On a point of order, Mr. Speaker: I do not want to make a big point of this but, according to rule 32(c), on the introduction of a government bill there should be a compendium of information filed with the opposition critics. To the best of my knowledge that has not yet been done. I wonder if the Minister of Education could undertake to do that before Monday.

Hon. Miss Stephenson: Yes, Mr. Speaker; no problem.

11:30 a.m.

ORDERS OF THE DAY

House in committee of supply.

ESTIMATES, MINISTRY OF INTERGOVERNMENTAL AFFAIRS

(continued)

Mr. Chairman: I believe at the last session the member for Wentworth was on the floor.

Mr. Isaacs: Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. That is my recollection, as well. I was outlining our proposals for a charter for municipal government. It is not my intention to go back over any of that ground, but I wanted to remind the minister today so that when he gets to his response he will recall that is an issue to which we would appreciate a very detailed and very sincere response.

I want to talk today about three areas that are very important in municipal government. The first is property taxes; the second is the structure of local government, and more especially the problems facing regional government; and the third is what I will call communication, the matter of relationship between this government and this Legislature and our colleagues in the municipal government sector.

I am sure the minister realizes there is widespread public discontent over the problems of property taxes, over the fact that not only are property taxes too high, but they are also seen to be unfair. The programs put in place in an attempt to rectify the situation have not improved the fairness of property taxes as perceived by property taxpayers. I am convinced public discontent is growing and that in time it will grow to a point where we will see an Ontario equivalent of California's Proposition 13. The information I have been getting in recent weeks, as citizens' groups and community associations have been seeing their 1980 tax bills, is that it is coming sooner rather than later. The problem of property taxes is one that needs to be addressed now and cannot be put off for the indefinite future, as it has been for the last 10 years.

There are experts who have claimed that property taxes are a progressive form of taxation and that property taxes in Ontario are based as much on the ability to pay as the Ontario income tax system. During the last six months our research staff has been reviewing that entire issue, and I want to tell the minister this party totally rejects that viewpoint. We believe property taxes as they

are structured at present in Ontario are unfair because they are not related adequately to the ability to pay, either of the individual home owner, of the tenant, or of the business organization paying those property taxes. We believe it is necessary to make very major changes in our system in order to ensure that property taxes are related as nearly as possible to ability to pay.

It is not only taxpayers who are unhappy; it is also municipal governments and school boards. We have seen in recent months the situation where a local council has come down to this Legislature and has demonstrated in front of this building because of the problems it faces in the area of municipal finance, grants and property taxes. When things come to that very sad state, it is an indication to the minister and to the government that a change is needed and needed now. There have been not only demonstrations, but also letters and conversations from councillors, from school trustees, from taxpayers, from many people, about the very serious problems. I am sure the minister has been getting as many of them as I have.

There have been attempts to rectify the situation. Those attempts have led to our present municipal grants structure being nothing more than one big fudge. I cannot put it any more simply than that. When we look at the unconditional grants outlined by the minister in his statement when we were last dealing with these estimates, we saw him outline resource equalization grant changes which were a fudge; changes in the per capita grants which were a fudge, the special apportionment protection grant which was a fudge; the special ad hoc grant extended for another year which was a fudge.

We have got into a situation where the municipal finance system is in such a mess that the only way of dealing with it at all, the only way of having any peace among municipal councillors and among property taxpayers, is to introduce grants that fudge the system to ensure that municipalities get at least a reasonable amount of money. But we have moved so far away from a proper system of property taxes and a proper system of grants that it's frightening, because no one knows what's coming next.

When we look at the real programs, the programs that actually make sense, that are based on real taxation principles, such as the grants in lieu of taxes that are provided by this government to municipalities for their tenant-occupied, provincially owned premises, we see that those grants are frozen. There are no increases for 1980. Yet those are the

kind of grants which are fair, because they are based on clear numbers. They are based on something which everybody in the municipal finance system can understand.

The grants program is a mess, in major part because our system of assessment is in a mess. We have been playing around for two years with the section 86 reassessments, not yet on a province-wide basis. Municipal councillors are convinced they are coming on a province-wide basis, that whatever vote a municipal council takes now a section 86 equalized assessment will be imposed on it within the next couple of years. I am convinced of that as well, because section 86 appears to be a first step in some grand design that this government and this minister has.

The Association of Municipalities of Ontario, in its recent paper Toward Property Tax Reform, has welcomed section 86 reassessment on a province-wide basis as a first step in a necessary overhaul of the entire assessment system. The problem is that neither AMO nor this House has the slightest idea what it is a first step in. I want to suggest to AMO and to the minister that it is very dangerous to take a first step on a staircase that leads into the unknown. We are insisting that the government make clear its long-term goals in the area of assessment.

The association of municipalities, our municipal colleagues in general, is in favour of the implementation of market value assessment on a province-wide basis. I want to suggest that they have been, not exactly hoodwinked, but led to believe that market value assessment is the only direction this province can take in the area of reassessment.

The Blair commission and all the studies that went on before that and the provincial and local government committee that studied this problem have attempted to modify market value assessment to make it acceptable. Those modifications unfortunately have introduced new fudges. I am convinced that market value assessment, as we know it at the moment, is not a direction that can be taken by this province. I have a feeling that the minister and his colleague in the Ministry of Revenue have a feeling for that as well.

If we look at the situation we will see that introduction of market value assessment, as recommended by the provincial and local government committee, would cause major shifts between classes of property, not only in Metropolitan Toronto, which our municipal friends are already aware of, but in many other municipalities right across this province.

To take a couple of municipalities in my own area, in the city of Hamilton industry is now assessed at 19.4 per cent of market value; multiple-family homes are assessed at 25.5 per cent of market value and single-family homes are assessed at 10.5 per cent of market value. In Stoney Creek, single-family homes are assessed at 13.7 per cent of market value and industry at 29.8 per cent.

In those instances, introduction of market value assessment, as recommended by the studies that have been done to this date, would cause a major shift in burden between classes of property. In Stoney Creek at least, that major shift in burden would be from industry and business to home owners and possibly to tenants as well.

11:40 a.m.

The problem is not only in my own area, it's also in Kitchener, it's in Cambridge, it's in eastern Ontario, it's almost everywhere that section 86 reassessments have been done. It is probably everywhere that section 86 reassessments have been done, and it is probably everywhere that section 86 reassessments have not been done. The problem is that the data for those municipalities is not readily available to this party because the data is in a computer on the government side of this House.

Let's look at what happened when market value assessment has been introduced elsewhere. Market value assessment was introduced in Ohio in 1970. At that time, the split in property tax burden was 61 per cent commercial and 39 per cent residential. By 1979, with annual updating of the market value assessment, the split had reversed the burden so significantly that residents were paying 52 per cent of the total tax bill and commercial institutions 48 per cent. That's a shift from 61 per cent commercial, 39 per cent residential, to 52 per cent residential, 48 per cent commercial. In New York state the same thing is happening now. If market value assessment was introduced in Ontario, the same thing would happen here.

The reason is relatively straightforward. It's because as a percentage of income and as a percentage of value of property to the occupier, industrial and commercial buildings are much lower than residential buildings. The cost of a home to the home owner and the rent paid by a tenant is a far greater percentage of income than the cost of the building or the rent paid by an industrial or commercial organization as a percentage of that organization's income.

We need a change, we need a dramatic change and we need some evidence that the government is working seriously to find a solution to the very serious property tax problem that we have.

Let me illustrate that serious problem in one other way—in the matter of costs to the property taxpayer paid to the school board. Using 1976 figures in Innisfil township, the average property tax paid for educational purposes was of the order of \$80 per year. In the same year in Metropolitan Toronto the average property tax for education purposes was \$414.50. These are figures for average homes. In the city of Owen Sound in that same year the figure was \$232, and in Sault Ste. Marie it was \$230.

With approximately equal salaries for teachers in all of those areas and roughly equivalent class size, even though we recognize that there are some different programs being offered, there is no doubt at all that the education tax should be much more equal than those figures show it was and still is to this day. Indeed, it could be argued that Metro taxpayers are paying too much towards the cost of education, but that would be clarified depending on the new system of assessment that would be introduced, a new system of property taxes based more closely on ability to pay.

We can't go in the direction we have been going. We can't continue to play around by fudging grants, by fudging assessments, by using the split mill rate, by using property tax credits, by failing to properly assess underground locations, particularly in mines, and by changing the process of assessment for vacant land that is in the process of development, as the Minister of Revenue (Mr. Maeck) did last year. We cannot go that way. We have to take a bold new step.

With the transfer of the municipal finance branch to the Ministry of Intergovernmental Affairs, I hope the minister will accept that responsibility and will ensure that we get proper property tax reform right across this province. We need a property tax system that is clear, that is fair to farmers, to rural and urban home owners, to tenants, to small business, even to big business. We need a property tax system that is based on clear principles and that is accompanied by legislated revenue sharing based on real need of that municipality for provincial funding.

Moving to the area of regional government structure and local government structure in general, in his lead-off remarks, the minister talked about the five reviews of regional government that have been conducted to

date. I'm not going to go back over that ground. I want to suggest to the minister, though, that something is very seriously wrong when hundreds of thousands of dollars are spent on a study which is subsequently shelved because the recommendations of that study received, to quote the minister, "insufficient public support." Why are we spending hundreds of thousands of dollars on studies that produce recommendations of that kind?

Surely, in any study of local government structure, whether in the north or in southern Ontario, one clear guideline to the commissioners who are undertaking the study should be that they should take into account the views of the public. The public should be consulted and the recommendations contained in the report should be recommendations that meet with widespread public support. Given that the recommendations of at least those three reports have not met widespread public support, I suggest that is a pretty serious condemnation of the terms of reference given to the commissioners when the studies were set up. We are wasting money if we're pouring it into studies that recommend things nobody wants.

This morning I was going to talk about the Ottawa-Carleton situation, but the minister tabled the bill this week, to deal with that and we will get an opportunity to review in some detail the structure of local government in Ottawa-Carleton when we come to debate that bill. I will not take the time to go into it in detail now, because I know some of my colleagues are hoping to speak this morning.

I also want to say to the minister I had also planned to respond to his bill concerning Metropolitan Toronto, but we will deal with that at a later time when my colleague from Scarborough West (Mr. R. F. Johnston), the Metro critic for this caucus, who is very intimately concerned with the problems of Metropolitan Toronto, will deal with it in probably far more detail than I could.

However, I have to talk about the Hamilton-Wentworth situation. I cannot resist the temptation. The minister said on May 12, in his leadoff remarks, and I quote: "Strong public opposition immediately developed to the Stewart commission's proposals for a one-tier system in Hamilton-Wentworth. In response, the government stated it was committed to continuing with the two-tier system, giving it time to evolve and mature."

I would suggest that statement is incredibly inconsistent, that we face very serious problems in Hamilton-Wentworth. The region

of Hamilton-Wentworth is not serving its property taxpayers, its citizens, in any proper way at all.

The minister or his colleague the Premier (Mr. Davis) will have received very recently submissions from the Hamilton Chamber of Commerce and no doubt from many other organizations as well; submissions which indicate very clearly that change is necessary. The overwhelming majority of those submissions suggests that one tier should be implemented.

The problem with buzzwords such as one tier is that they mean different things to different people. I want to make it very clear to the minister, the kind of restructured regional government I have in mind is not necessarily anything close to the kind of restructured region that Hamilton mayor Jack MacDonald has in mind. Although, of course, when one gets into using the buzzwords, when one gets into using the jargon, it's sometimes difficult to get those differences across in the information that is carried by the media.

11:50 a.m.

It is very clear that regional government in Hamilton-Wentworth is not working and, regardless of the minister's comment, the overwhelming majority of people in Hamilton-Wentworth are dissatisfied with the system of regional government. For the minister to say that because the Stewart commission was initially rejected is a reason for continuing the status quo is just totally unacceptable.

Mr. Haggerty: What is the member's position?

Mr. Isaacs: I'll tell the member my position in a moment, if he waits.

Mr. Haggerty: Is it the same as the member for Sudbury East (Mr. Martel) and the member for Hamilton East (Mr. Mackenzie)?

Mr. Isaacs: I'll tell him my position in a moment. It's exactly the same as that of all my colleagues in the New Democratic Party. It's totally different from the position which the member for Wentworth North (Mr. Cunningham) has suggested publicly, which is to dismantle the whole thing. If we dismantle the whole thing, we're all in trouble.

The minister talked about the great Ontario border war that was going on in Brant-Brantford. I want to suggest to the minister that the great Ontario border war that was going on there is nothing compared to the great Hamilton-Wentworth regional government war that is going on.

The minister took a step in the Brant-Brantford situation which is exactly the same

as the step we are requesting him to take in the case of Hamilton-Wentworth. That step is to send a person into that region to sit down with all interested parties to find the common ground and to find a solution which will work and which is acceptable to all sides, in just the same way as the minister successfully resolved the Brant-Brantford dispute.

I want to say to the minister that I recognize his pleasure and I congratulate him for getting that situation resolved. I think it was a great achievement. I'm not yet convinced that because it worked in one place it will work everywhere, but I do believe it will work in Hamilton-Wentworth.

I want to go further than sending in a mediator to find the common ground. I want to tell the minister publicly as I have told him in writing, that he should put the Stewart commission report on the table. The mediator should be told to tell all the parties that the Stewart commission report is the basis of the discussions that should be going on in Hamilton-Wentworth.

When we cut through the rhetoric; when we get into looking at the details that are contained in the Stewart commission report, we find a tremendous amount of good sense in it. We find protection for rural taxpayers. We find protection for the suburban taxpayer. We find that the cultural institutions that the city was trying to transfer to the region which provoked the recent walkout would not be transferred to the suburban and rural taxpayers under what the Stewart commission is suggesting.

There is a tremendous amount of good sense in that report. We do have too much inefficient government in Hamilton-Wentworth. Things are going to get worse if the minister continues with his present stand until after the municipal elections, or beyond. The battle lines are drawn. When we see a battle is imminent, surely we step in and get the negotiations going before it turns into a bloody battle. That's what we have been urging, and will continue to urge, the minister to do.

I want to go slightly further. I want to outline to the minister the three principles which I believe are appropriate for Hamilton-Wentworth, which are essentially contained in the Stewart commission report, and which I believe are generally acceptable to all people on all sides of the issue in Hamilton-Wentworth. These principles apply, with whatever minor modifications are necessary, to local governments everywhere in Ontario, including the other regions where there are

problems, which the minister alluded to and which we will discuss later in these estimates.

The first principle for local government in Hamilton-Wentworth is that the structure should be changed to reduce duplication and to eliminate the excess local government which we have now. There is simply too much government, and it could be cut down.

The second principle is that local government structure in Hamilton-Wentworth should ensure that taxpayers pay only for the services they receive. That principle is embodied in the Stewart commission report and is one for which I have found, in the last few weeks, very wide support in the city, in the suburbs and in the rural parts of Hamilton-Wentworth, including Wentworth North.

Finally, the minister should ensure that a new system of regional government in Hamilton-Wentworth guarantees that the financial benefits accruing from industrial, commercial and high-density residential assessment are shared fairly among all residents of the region. They are not shared fairly at the present time. That is part of the problem we have in Hamilton-Wentworth. Some people, in some parts of the region, are being asked to pay but they are not being granted the offset that should be going to them from the industrial, commercial and high-density residential assessment.

With those three principles, I believe all parties could be brought together and we could put in place a single structure of government in Hamilton-Wentworth that adequately meets all the needs of all the people, that ensures the local identity is preserved—in the 1980s community identity, a feeling of belonging, is going to become more and more important—and that is efficient in the way it provides service to its citizens and ensures people pay for what they get and not for what they do not get.

Having spoken slightly longer than I intended on the matter of regional government, I now want to go on to the matter of communication between this House and our municipal friends.

There are obvious problems in communication. It is not simply the problem of the withdrawal of the Association of Municipalities of Ontario from the Provincial-Municipal Liaison Committee. We know the PMLC process is, in its inimitable way, sputtering along. We know many of the people involved in that process are trying to give the appearance that things are not quite as bad as others might think them to be. We know individual backroom discussions are continuing, as they should, but nevertheless there

are enough instances where inadequate communication is taking place that we have to look for a new and better system.

Some of the bills the minister has introduced in the last couple of weeks are an example of that. I will return to it. There are areas that are in desperate need of study, and which sometimes we hear are being given study. Municipal finance is obviously the biggest of those, but there are many much smaller areas as well.

Yet our municipal friends do not know about the studies going on. They do not seem to be involved in any committees. They do not seem to know who to talk to about assessment reform or about grants reform. The whole thing is so tenuous and vague that it cannot work properly, because it needs to be slightly more formalized. It needs to have a structure that can be seen to be working rather than a structure that is so vague it might or might not be working. Not enough people know about it to make it truly representative.

The PMLC has never been appropriate for everything municipalities have on their minds. It has dealt fairly effectively with many of the large problems over the years, but it has often ignored many of the small problems municipalities feel they wish to bring to the attention of this government and this House.

The second problem is that municipal councillors and aldermen, the elected officials, are not the only group concerned with what is going on in this House that affects municipal government. We have our school trustees. The Municipal Elections Act affects our school trustees, but where is the school trustee representation in the discussions on that bill? Some of the appointed officials and the staff are involved. The clerks and treasurers are well-organized. The engineers are organized, but the lines of communication are not nearly as clear as they are with the Association of Municipal Clerks and Treasurers of Ontario. There are members of special purpose bodies who have very important views on this whole area. Finally, of course, there are members of the public.

One of the key areas that desperately needs attention is this matter of municipal conflict of interest. It is one of the areas that just has not got the proper public attention it should get. We have had the AMO report and it is a very good report, but when one looks at who was involved in putting it together, one realizes it was municipal elected officials and municipal appointed officials.

12 noon

Conflict of interest affects members of special purpose bodies. It affects school trustees, it affects more than just clerks and treasurers in terms of the appointed officials. It affects members of the public who want to know what responsibility their elected official has in terms of declaring conflict of interest. Yet there has been no public discussion on this matter of municipal conflict of interest.

We are now coming close to another municipal election and I do not know whether we are going to see a change in the bill for that election or not. If we do not, then we are being unfair to the people who will be elected in November of this year. They will be elected under a Municipal Conflict of Interest Act which is known to be inadequate and they will not know what the future holds in that area.

We discussed this last year and I think the minister knows my views are probably a little more liberal in this area—with a very small "I"—than those of the AMO committee, but we do have to make a change. It is important that we make clear to our municipal friends, our school trustees, our appointed officials, our special purpose body members, to everybody involved, what is going on instead of doing it in the little dark rooms.

Municipal councillors, aldermen, elected officials need to know much more about this House and about what is going on in this building. Many of them are less partisan than we are—although sometimes I feel this matter of nonpartisanship is a greatly overrated commodity; I am not even sure it really exists—and recently I have been inviting the councillors from the municipalities in my own area to come and watch the proceedings here and they learn a great deal and go back much more informed.

They realize that talking to the civil servants in back-room committees is not the only way to get things done. They realize that just as correspondence from a taxpayer to a municipal council gets to the municipal council chamber and is debated there, that same mechanism is needed here as well, so that there can be free and open discussion of the things that are going on which affect municipalities, and that is a great deal of what we do here.

The mayor of the city of Toronto, John Sewell, talked to me some weeks ago about his proposal for a standing committee on municipal affairs. Also present during that meeting was the president of AMO, and I confess I am a little uncertain as to whether

AMO is endorsing that specific proposal, but I have asked to meet on it and we will clarify that.

That is one possibility, and a possibility that has some appeal. However, I want to suggest to the minister something probably more immediate to deal with the more urgent problems. When he is wearing his other hat as House leader for the government, I would like to suggest he thinks about establishing a select committee on municipal finance and municipal government problems; a committee that will go to the heart of the problems facing municipalities at the moment, that will meet with all of those affected, bring them into this building and sit down and talk about the problems, talk about possible solutions and find a way to ensure that municipal finance is put on the sound and firm basis I referred to earlier.

The second task of such a committee would be to look at municipal government problems and to allow councils and the many municipal organizations to present their proposals for change. It would be an open forum for discussion about whether those changes would be acceptable or not acceptable to the members of both sides of this House.

The select committee should be given a time frame. I am not totally convinced that a standing committee of this House is the right way of dealing with the problems, because the rules of this House are not the same as the rules of a municipal council and correspondence addressed to the Premier does not automatically find its way to a standing committee on municipal affairs in the same way correspondence addressed to the mayor finds its way on to a city council agenda or a committee agenda.

So we cannot use exactly the same model. I believe the committee should be charged with finding a model that would make sense, a model that would ensure that communication between this House and municipal councils would be clear, open and available to everyone who felt there was need for change or perhaps to occasionally even add praise for some of the things that are going on in this House that affect local government. The communication must be there and it is seriously lacking at the moment.

Mr. Chairman, that concludes my opening remarks. I know we are going to be dealing with some of these issues and with many more issues in greater depth on Monday and Friday of next week and probably the following week as well. I hope the minister will look at some of these matters seriously. I hope he will respond to the four

points I have made in my leadoff so we can talk in greater detail about those where there appears to be common ground and where there appears to be a willingness on the government's part to accept the suggestions we have put forward in good faith.

Mr. Roy: Mr. Chairman, I am very pleased to participate in the opening statements on the ministry's estimates. Other colleagues, more specifically my colleague from Waterloo North (Mr. Epp), have made comments especially in the area involving municipalities. I intend to direct my comments to the area basically involving intergovernmental affairs.

I am very pleased to have this opportunity, because I think there are interesting times ahead in Canada and in this province in this specific area. Since 1971 I have watched a whole number of issues come and go. I can recall, as I'm sure you recall, Mr. Chairman, as well as will the minister and my colleagues, the good years of the spirit that existed in 1967. Remember the spirit of 1967 when Expo was on the scene and there was a feeling of goodwill? I guess the only fly in the ointment was Charles de Gaulle, in his conquering habits, making that speech on the balcony of city hall in Montreal. I thought the spirit in those years—1967, 1968—was a spirit of goodwill.

Many things happened in this jurisdiction during those years. Some of my colleagues were here. I personally was not. But certainly important developments took place. The Confederation of Tomorrow conference under John Robarts was an interesting aspect. Movement took place involving setting down and drafting a constitution that was an effort on the part of Ontario to try to understand the aspirations and the problems in Quebec. Anyway, we have evolved.

It is with great sadness I have watched this movement or spirit decline since 1967. Of course, as it declined we gave it less importance. Unfortunately we were not shocked into realizing the country was breaking up until the election of the Parti Quebecois in 1976. Some of us at that time were crying in the wilderness expressing concern about what was happening, not only in Quebec but right across this country. The last decade, those 10 years since 1967, has not been the best for this country because we basically slept. There were other priorities and we forgot about keeping this beautiful and great country together. We were thinking about many other things.

Then it was a shock in 1976. I can recall even after the election of the Parti Quebecois in 1976 there was a flurry of activity here and there but nothing that would compare

with or rekindle the spirit that existed in 1967. I feel now that somehow we are grasping it. We are getting back into the spirit. 12:10 p.m.

These are interesting times and I think there will be great challenges for all of us to play our role. I think we did during the whole debate on the referendum. Some people like to think this was just a minor flurry, just 35 hours wasted, but I think history will be kinder than the people looking at the scene from close up. I think this was a very important experience.

Making just a few brief comments in the opening of the minister's estimates, I do so in that spirit of co-operation that has existed between the minister and the critics. When I look at the position taken by the government—again reiterated in a statement by the Premier yesterday—the differences which separate us are not that much. I think this co-operation can continue. There are important times when we can bury the partisan knife, so to speak, and work together so that we may have a united front coming out of Ontario. I think it was important that we took that approach in the referendum debate.

I am not in the habit of being overly generous in my comments toward colleagues who sit across the House or even to my left. But if these times are interesting, and if there is a challenge for this country, I can't think of a better minister to be in that job than the present Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs (Mr. Wells).

Mr. T. P. Reid: Other than someone from this side, of course.

Mr. Roy: Well, of course; that goes without saying. My colleague from Rainy River and my colleagues here know that even though the minister may not admit it, I have seen a sort of an educational growing experience on the part of that minister. I can recall the first year I was here when I believe he was Minister of Health. He was a bit more abrasive in those years. I can recall his fights with our former colleague Stephen Lewis and all that. But I have seen him mellow, I have seen him understand the problems, especially when he was Minister of Education.

When he changed portfolios there was sadness certainly among the francophone community. They had a perception that he understood the problem, that he had a wider vision of their whole situation, that he had a wider context than just giving a few dollars here to open a school or to maybe give a few services here and there. I think this is a good challenge for the minister. I think this is something that is going to be interesting

and I can't think of a better person to have in that ministry at this time.

In his opening statement he praised his staff. I think it is warranted—I really think it is. Any minister who can have his staff write him an opening statement of 39 pages has to show some sign of gratitude.

Hon. Mr. Wells: The Premier used to have 125 pages when he was Minister of Education.

Mr. Roy: Imagine, 125.

Mr. Chairman, have you ever seen such discrepancy in resources? Here we are the opposition—great people, great minds, but by ourselves. We are out there fighting alone. We come in with a few notes and go into depth in this ministry—we look at every dollar that is being spent within the ministry and the ministry confronts us with an opening statement of 39 pages. My God, it is overwhelming. The minister should be grateful to his staff.

But having the confidence that this minister is the proper person at this time to be handling the portfolio of Intergovernmental Affairs, I do say I can't think of a better deputy minister to have than Don Stevenson. I think he has knowledge and I think he has a perception as well. Over the years, working in that area he has gained the confidence of not only the people of Ontario and certain minority groups within the province, but of his colleagues across the country.

I think it is important to have that confidence when at this time the province is out there bargaining at all levels. People bargaining with our provincial officials have the assurance that matters can be exchanged, and during the discussions they have confidence in the minister and the deputy minister and the competent people who are working within the ministry.

Having said this, I do want to relay a message to the Premier. I think, as I said before, these are going to be interesting and important times, presenting an important challenge for the country. If we are going to give this matter the importance it deserves, I do not think it is right that the Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs should handle not only federal-provincial relations, interprovincial relations and relations with other governments, but also the portfolio dealing with municipalities. I have said before, and I have said from the start, that surely is something that should be given to some other minister on a full-time basis. If we are going to give this matter the importance it deserves, it is required that the minister give it his full attention.

I go one step further. Not only does the minister have all this work in dealing with municipalities—and we know the importance of municipalities and we know the amount of time it can take for the minister and his staff to deal with municipalities—but he is also the government House leader, which is another complication that can take an awful lot of time. I am not criticizing his performance towards the municipalities or in this House, because I have not heard criticisms from anyone, but I am saying that if Ontario is going to meet the challenge of the constitution, if Ontario is going to give the leadership that is traditional to this province, the minister and his staff should be giving this matter their full attention.

I hope the message somehow gets to the Premier. It is no criticism of the performance of the minister and his staff, whether they are dealing with the House or with provincial affairs; it is simply that when I see the distribution of work on the other side and I see the work load given to some ministers and that given to others, I think there is too much given to him. Not only do intergovernmental affairs deserve the full-time attention of a minister, but also municipal affairs deserve the full time of a minister. I am sure my colleagues agree with that.

Being government House leader is an important job. We have seen the disaster that can happen when we do not have the right person as government House leader. I can recall my early years in this place when there was outright war on each and every occasion. I think the minister knows what I am referring to. I do not plan to be unkind to any of his predecessors, but that is a fact.

There are other ministers, good people, who can do the job of government House leader and orchestrate the business of the House. I hope the Premier will understand that I am not making these comments in any partisan way. I make them sincerely. The job of intergovernmental affairs, at this time in our history, deserves the full-time attention of this minister.

I want to say briefly how pleased I am about our participation in the referendum debate. I thought the unanimity and the common front that we exhibited first of all with the resolution—it was short, punchy, to the point—gave our message. The minister knows we discussed the timing of the resolution, and there were serious criticisms at different times from people saying: "What the hell are you doing? Why aren't you doing anything? Your resolution is too late."

I feel that had we discussed it a year earlier, we would have had to come back with another one anyway, because the message would have been forgotten. Discussing it at the time we did, it is hard to say how much of it got through. I will say this: Going into Quebec, which I did during the referendum, the no committees at least were very interested in knowing what our resolution said. They were very proud to exhibit the resolution coming out of Ontario.

I am proud as well of the enthusiasm and the participation of all members in the House in this debate. I thought it was excellent. Sure, some people reduced their involvement or equated their participation and goodwill on the basis that they had a trip to Montreal last year. Sure, that is at times infantile. I am sure there will be times when some people will be cynical about that sort of contribution.

12:20 p.m.

On the part of my colleagues, I want to say I don't think the Liberal Party in Ontario had a finer hour than during the referendum debate. I thought the contribution by all my colleagues was excellent and the contribution made by our leader in closing the debate was tremendous.

The no forces in Quebec were pleased to hear our message. What is more gratifying is that the message given before the vote on the referendum is a message that is being relayed now to Quebec, and that is very impressive. I applaud that, and that is why I am so enthusiastic, though always restrained somewhat. I do not want to go overboard on this. Among the no forces all over the country, including the Prime Minister, there was satisfaction and joy about the results, but it was restrained by the fact that we know the fight is not over and the battle is not won.

If I may paraphrase what the Premier said—and I thought it was an excellent statement—"It is not the end of the problem but the start of the solution." That is why I think there is some restraint about our enthusiasm. I do not want to be unduly partisan, but the Premier in the past has made some very interesting statements. I go back to 1971 when he first became Premier. He made his famous statement that he had a perception of what he felt about the country, which gave the impression that he was following the leadership of John Robarts. Unfortunately, that has not always been the case; nevertheless, I want to applaud the enthusiasm.

I have read the Premier's statement in which he said: "There is now general accept-

ance in Canada that the status quo will not do. We must not and we will not betray that confidence." It was important to give that message to Quebec.

I was listening to Canada AM this morning. They were still regurgitating some of the feelings about the referendum debate. There was a reporter there from Le Devoir. He was saying that many of the people he knows who voted yes are tremendously impressed by the reaction of English Canada in the few days after the referendum. In other words, even the no forces who fought so hard are not gloating at this time. Nobody is taking it for granted that the problem has been solved.

What impressed them is the willingness on the part of English Canada to say that it got the message. The no is not a no for status quo. The no is not a no for the end of the problem. The no is a message from Quebec that they have given us a final chance. I do not want to be unduly pessimistic, but I do not think we will get many more chances. I think the message from Quebec was basically that they will join with us in a new constitution. That is the echo they are getting from English Canada.

The reporter said many of the yes forces in Quebec are saying: "Maybe English Canada does have something. Maybe we will see some movement on this. There may be constitutional change. Maybe the members of the Ontario Legislature who all unanimously endorsed this resolution meant it." The message coming out of Ontario, from the Premier and coming from the other leaders, indicates that we do and that we are seizing the opportunity to get on with the job.

I must make this comment. I want to talk to my colleagues to the left briefly. The reason I want to talk to them is that yesterday in the Ottawa Citizen there was an editorial which said, "NDP wipes out again." The editorial was based on Claude Ryan's reaction after the referendum. He had nothing but praise for the two parties. I want to put on the record as well that I thought the message by Joe Clark during the referendum debate, as my leader said, was an important message. Joe Clark went to Quebec and said that people in Quebec should not picture English Canada as being the defender of the status quo and the Wasp sentiment that a lot of people like to think about English Canada.

In other words, lumping English Canada together to say it stands for one narrow link with one particular mother country is not the English Canada that exists out there.

The regions and the other ethnic groups make of English Canada a very diverse majority indeed. It was important for the federal Leader of the Opposition to go into Quebec and say to people, who were hoping for some sign of understanding on the part of English Canada of their aspirations in Quebec: "The English Canada of today, the English Canada I represent, the Joe Clark generation, is a different English Canada we are talking about than that of 25 or 50 years ago. We have some understanding." I thought that was an important message.

Coming to the editorial in the Ottawa Citizen, I want to say that, by and large, the NDP in Ontario have traditionally had a perception about minorities which has to be applauded. Various leaders, Stephen Lewis and now the member for Ottawa Centre (Mr. Cassidy), have a perception about the role and the rights of minorities and the rights of the underdog which is to be applauded. I want to say as one of them that their support and their help has always been extremely important, because people have felt that with the NDP at least they could discuss the problem; there was some understanding and sometimes a perception that was much larger than just the parochial approach or what was politically palatable for Ontario. That has to be applauded.

But I must say there are times—and one of these times was on this referendum debate—when I thought the NDP's position was extremely contradictory. I do not say this because their members took the opportunity during the debate to criticize the government. That is fair ball and at times I applauded what they said as it was certainly justified. But when there was encouragement on the part of the NDP, for example, comments at the federal level by Broadbent or by Nystrom, the critic, saying "No, we're not part of the no camp," one had the feeling they were putting more emphasis on the fact they knew that the case for the no forces was being divided between the Liberals and Conservatives. Because of the Socialists and because of the left-leaning approach of many of the people in the yes camp, there was some attempt to create some link between the NDP and that group.

The NDP gets itself in a very contradictory position by saying that because any encouragement to the yes group would result in encouragement for the principle of sovereignty-association. They cannot have it both ways. They cannot stand in this House and say, "We will not negotiate sovereignty-association," as we said in the resolution, and

then turn around and say, "We will negotiate if there is a yes vote" before that vote has taken place.

What do you think the yes forces would be doing at the bargaining table, Mr. Chairman? What do you think Levesque would be saying when he came to the bargaining table if a majority of people had said yes? He would say, "My mandate is to negotiate sovereignty-association." I say to the NDP, "How can you say on the one hand you won't negotiate and give some encouragement on the other hand for them to vote yes?"

I thought Claude Ryan was justified in criticizing that narrow or sometimes very limited approach on the part of the NDP. He said it was not helpful during the debate.

12:30 p.m.

I saw Broadbent one evening when the question was asked of him: "Don't you see some contradiction in this? What would you do?" He said, "It may be that we'll tell Levesque we'll negotiate renewed federalism." And Levesque will say: "Are you kidding? I have a mandate to negotiate sovereignty-association." That's what Levesque would do. Broadbent then made what I thought was a very naive comment: "Levesque may change his mind." Have you ever seen Levesque change his mind since 1967-68?

My colleague says, "Does a leopard change his spots?" That was not going to happen.

I do not think it was meaningful that they wanted to tacitly encourage the yes forces. But taking that approach would have resulted in that. In the long term, any encouragement to the yes forces at this stage would not have been productive, in view of the fact there was a solemn commitment made on the part of the no forces that the no was not for status quo, but for a renewed federalism and a new constitution.

So I say to my colleagues to my left that they must be careful in the approach to be taken in their attempt to find some link with their colleagues in Quebec.

It is true the unions were saying, "We've got to give them a strong mandate," and I can see the NDP trying to get close. But I think the editorial in yesterday's Citizen had some validity. It said the NDP certainly has some difficulty in reconciling or understanding what is happening in Quebec and how to deal with it.

I and my colleagues look forward to participating in this process of a new constitution. I trust that the minister and the Premier, as they embark on these discussions,

will involve the members of the opposition. I think we have proved to them that we are prepared not only to participate, but also to participate in a constructive fashion. After all, the majority of the people in Ontario are represented by this side—not by that side. If we are going to have this common front, the opposition must be involved.

I think our leader has a perception about the country and about finding the solution. It is something that should not be left untapped; it should be used. It will be to the benefit of this province and of this country.

I applaud the minister's approach. For instance, I read in yesterday's Toronto Star that after a meeting with Jean Chretien—it is always an experience meeting with my friend Jean—the Premier told him that he had a bigger problem than Chretien. Chretien is just trying to write a new constitution, and the Premier is trying to save the Toronto Argonauts. Right now.

I think it's an easier job working with Chretien than to try to do what the Premier is trying to achieve, as far as the Toronto Argonauts are concerned. I do not want to go into the history of that club, but it is sad when you see teams like Ottawa winning the Grey Cup with rejects from the Toronto Argonauts—and every other team wins with Toronto rejects.

I say to my colleague from Durham West (Mr. Ashe), who has been getting all that publicity, he had better watch what he is saying; he knows what happens to rejects. He will be moving to the left up there someplace instead of moving down. If he is forcing the Minister of Energy (Mr. Welch) to put on more virtuoso performances like the one he gave today, I do not think he has it in him to do many more of those.

Getting back to the topic: I thought the minister's comments were to be applauded when he said, "We promised Quebec constitutional change and we intend to deliver." He said that last night at a two-hour meeting at the Albany Club with Jean Chretien, the Premier and the Attorney General. If he could still say that after two hours with these boys at the club, he should be applauded.

We look forward to participating in this committee. I think it is a challenge. We have now discussed the terms of reference of the committee with the minister. We think the select committee on this will make a positive contribution, and we look forward to participating.

Having looked at the principles the Premier outlined in this statement, I would make one further caveat to some of those.

I take it the principles are important. I do not think there is much difference between what is in these principles and what many of us feel on this side.

But I do think when you are talking about such things as recognition of English and French as the two official languages of Canada, including the entrenchment of the right to minority-language education across Canada, that is important. It is extremely important that there be entrenchment of basic human liberties in the constitution and that there be entrenchment of rights to minorities, not only the English minority in Quebec but also the French minority outside of Quebec.

I would hope that the openmindedness we have seen exhibited by all sides involved in this debate will not limit itself to giving some guarantees for language education across Canada. There are some other rights which most members of this House would applaud and would say should be entrenched. For instance, the right for people to have a criminal trial in their own language has been accepted in Ontario since December 31, 1979. That should be entrenched in the constitution as well.

Possibly we will look at some other areas. It may be that certain provinces will have to go further in this than others, especially Ontario, Quebec and New Brunswick, because of the sizeable minorities within each of those provinces. I trust when we are talking about these principles that they are not all-inclusive and that they are not something that cannot be enlarged upon as we discuss our new constitution in this country.

The other thing I would like to say, in closing, is that as we embark on this we must show progress on a gradual basis. I hate to use the word "étapisme," which my dear friend from Quebec, Morin, is using—meaning step by step. But it may be the approach we are going to have to take in this.

When we are discussing it—because you will be the chairman of this select committee, Mr. Deputy Chairman, I hope, and we are very pleased with that. We think you have exhibited in the past the kind of leadership and the kind of perception about the country that will be extremely helpful to us in our deliberations.

I am sure you will agree, Mr. Deputy Chairman, that people should not expect us in this select committee to come up with a nice, neat package, and say we solved the problems of the country by October 1, 1980. That is impossible; it cannot be done. It

probably cannot be done within the next two or three years.

In my opinion, we cannot hope always to have that nice package, and say: "Here's Canada's new constitution; everybody is agreed. We have divided up powers. We have changed the Supreme Court of Canada. The Senate has been changed to something else." You and I, Mr. Deputy Chairman, will probably end up there some place, contemplating the Ottawa River. I'll take you around Hull and show you a few good spots.

Obviously we will not be able to achieve this. But I think what we can do is proceed in steps. If I detect what the Premier said, and what some other leaders are saying, we should proceed in steps. We should repatriate the constitution and have with it an amending formula that will be acceptable to all provinces and all groups in Canada. I think everybody is in agreement on repatriating the constitution. The difficulty is repatriating it with an amending formula.

12:40 p.m.

I think we should proceed in steps. We should say at one point: "Are we in agreement on entrenching basic human liberties within the constitution? If so, let us do that and proceed on to something else. Let us not wait until the whole package is there, all neatly wrapped up like a Christmas present, and say 'Here is the new constitution.'"

I am concerned that in spite of the enthusiasm and in spite of the goodwill which exists at this time, it may be that the expectations of Canadians, both in Quebec and outside of Quebec, will soon be frustrated if they are waiting for the whole package. There is going to be some tough bargaining when we get into that division of powers, because it is not that simple to say this is such and such a jurisdiction because there is taxing money that is going to flow with this. With all these people around the table, I shudder to think how we will solve this problem. But if we proceed in steps and show there is progress, then I think we can accomplish something.

In our select committee, it is not going to be our job to come out with a new beige paper. There are enough proposals on the table without getting involved in drafting new ones. We can go back to the Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism and start working back. Every province has put on the table a constitutional proposal. The federal government has done it on different occasions. Recently we have had the Pepin-Robarts commission report, and now we have the beige paper.

I think it is going to be important for this committee to have a perception of what is acceptable for the country, what the contribution of Ontario should be and what the principles are which we adhere to, where to have flexibility and what should Ontario's role be in this constitutional debate. Having done so, there are possibly other areas we should look at. I don't think we should open it up, have input and think we are going to be drafting a new constitutional paper which will be acceptable not only to Ontario but also to the rest of the country.

With your permission, Mr. Chairman, I would like to exercise my right in this House to say a few words in French to my colleagues about what has taken place recently and why I am so optimistic about the future. I really am. I think we are grasping the opportunity and we are not going to let it go by. We are going to get on it. It is going to take some whipping. We are going to have to give leadership because some people are going to fall asleep along the way. It is going to take some awakening here and there, a kicking on the shins and that sort of thing, but I think with proper leadership we can do it.

It is not that long ago that there has been a replacement in Spain. Franco died, though it took him a long time to do it. Only about two or three years later they had a new constitution in Spain. One can say it was not difficult in Spain, but it was. There are different groups in Spain that adhere to autonomy and independence. Yet in that short period of time they managed to have a new constitution.

There are countries like that, and I could give other examples, that can do it. We have exhibited in the past goodwill and leadership and we have accepted different people from all over the world. We have had the two linguistic groups existing together. If they can do it, why can't we? Anybody who has travelled around this world and has seen different areas comes back and says: "What is the problem in Canada? What are we fighting about?" That is the type of spirit and the type of enthusiasm that should exist in the coming months and years to build this new constitution.

Monsieur le Président, je voudrais dire tout simplement que, comme un de ceux qui ont participé au débat référendaire ici à la Législature, et en vue du résultat du Référendum mardi soir de cette semaine, nous sommes extrêmement fiers. Nous sommes extrêmement fiers de nos collègues au Québec, qui ont su accepter le message qui venait

non seulement des forces fédéralistes du Québec, mais aussi de tous les Canadiens à travers le pays, et surtout des Canadiens qui sont membres de la Législature de l'Ontario.

Et le message était pur et simple. Un "non" par le Québec serait le signal des Québécois aux Canadiens qu'on se joignait ensemble pour refaire cette constitution, pour rebâtir ce pays.

Monsieur le Président, nous sommes extrêmement fiers que ce message a été accepté. Aujourd'hui je suis heureux de dire que j'appuie les propositions du Premier Ministre —non simplement du Canada mais aussi de l'Ontario—et l'enthousiasme qui existe au Canada anglais qui a su accepter ce message. Je n'ai pas encore entendu au Canada anglais des gens qui disaient, "Écoutez, maintenant on a eu un "non" et le problème est fini. On va retourner au travail et ça va régler le problème pour un autre 4 ou 5 ans." Ce n'est pas le message qui ressort présentement au Canada. Le message qui ressort c'est que le "non," comme l'a dit le Premier Ministre, n'est pas la fin d'un problème mais le commencement d'une solution. Je trouve ça extrêmement important et j'aime voir l'enthousiasme qui existe chez le Premier Ministre fédéral du pays, M. Trudeau, qui a dit, "On est prêt à négocier. Tout est négociable, en d'autres mots, excepté qu'il faut garder, comme de raison, une certaine juridiction chez le fédéral et aussi une certaine juridiction chez les provinces. Le deuxième principe important est d'avoir des protections pour les droits humains et pour les droits linguistiques."

Et alors, je crois que sur cette base, et si l'enthousiasme que je vois qui règne continue, je suis convaincu que si les provinces et le fédéral et tous ensemble s'y mettent, qu'on peut, Monsieur le Président, refaire le pays, refaire la constitution. Et on peut démontrer que les forces du "oui" qui disaient que ça prenait un mandat que ça prenait la menace de la séparation pour réveiller le Canada anglais, ont été réveillées par le Canada anglais jusqu'à présent. Ça va peut-être prendre autre chose, un certain leadership, par exemple, mais je suis convaincu que l'enthousiasme—et je n'ai pas vu de l'enthousiasme comme ça depuis les années soixante—veut dire aux amis du Québec qu'on a entendu leur message, qu'on est avec eux. Et on dit aux forces du "non"—et même à certains des forces du "oui," parce qu'on voit que même ceux du "oui" sont un peu surpris de l'enthousiasme et de la compréhension qui existent présentement au Canada anglais et au Canada en dehors du Québec—

qu'ils nous ont fait confiance et nous ne devons pas trahir cette confiance.

Je veux dire à mes collègues, Monsieur le Président, que le Premier Ministre a déposé certains critères pour une nouvelle constitution. Je suis extrêmement heureux de voir qu'il y aura une certaine protection non seulement des droits humains mais aussi des droits linguistiques dans cette constitution. Je crois qu'il faudrait élargir les droits des minorités, qui sont présentement limités aux droits de l'éducation. Je crois qu'il faudrait aller plus loin—des droits de justice et peut-être même des droits de service à certains niveaux du gouvernement. Ces droits devraient être insérés dans la constitution, non simplement, Monsieur le Président, pour l'Ontario, mais aussi pour les minorités au Québec. Je crois qu'avec l'enthousiasme qui existe et le momentum qui existe pour ces changements, la compréhension qui existe présentement au Canada est une compréhension que, moi personnellement, je n'ai pas vue depuis 1967. Il faut prendre avantage de cette situation et nous, ici, avons l'intention d'en prendre avantage. On veut participer et on veut établir premièrement un comité de tous les partis ici en Ontario pour aider le gouvernement à formuler une position et pour étudier toute une variété d'options constitutionnelles.

Je crois que tous ensemble nous pourrions participer et contribuer à cette recherche. On peut assurer, Monsieur le Président, à nos concitoyens au Québec et à travers le Canada qu'on a l'espoir que finalement le message a été accepté. Et ce message ne vient pas seulement du Québec, mais aussi de nos concitoyens de l'ouest. Ce message veut dire qu'on veut un nouveau contrat, une nouvelle constitution partout au Canada.

12:50 p.m.

Alors, Monsieur le Président, peut-être certains vont me dire que je suis un peu naïf de montrer ce genre d'enthousiasme. Mais j'espère que c'est moi qui vais avoir raison et pas eux. De toute façon, je peux vous assurer, Monsieur le Président, que nous—moi, personnellement et tous mes collègues ici—allons faire tout notre possible pour prendre avantage de cet enthousiasme, pour bénéficier de l'opportunité, et pour ne pas trahir la confiance que les Québécois ont démontrée le 20 mai, 1980.

Mr. Chairman, there are still 10 minutes to go. I have finished my comments. I do hope that historians will look back at these times and say we face up to the challenge. When the challenge presented itself, it took a while. It is just like a mule in certain ways. You have to hit it for a while until you find out

something is happening. Once you get it going it is pretty steady, and progress will be made. I hope that will be the result of all these difficult times we have experienced.

You have to talk to people in Quebec to understand that it may be a while before the wounds are healed in that province. I imagine it is fairly difficult. It was one thing for les bleus or les rouges to fight with each other and say after the election, "Okay, your side won." When you are talking about something as strong as nationalism, a new country and the division that existed in that province, you really have to live it and experience it to understand the strong division that was created.

It is important that we on this side, we in English Canada who have witnessed this, have got the message that 60 per cent of them have put their faith in us. We must not betray that confidence. I look forward to the years ahead and to participating in this committee. I look forward to establishing a new arrangement right across the country.

Mr. Deputy Chairman: Does any other member wish to speak on these opening comments?

Hon. Mr. Wells: Mr. Chairman, we are just about at the end of time for today. I would like to thank the members of the opposition parties, the various critics who have spoken. They have brought forth criticism and commendation, constructive ideas and useful thoughts, things we can all look at as the estimates proceed.

On Monday, when we get to them, I may respond to some of the matters concerning municipal affairs. I do not have the time to do that in the few minutes that are left today. But I would like to say a few words about what my friend from Ottawa East (Mr. Roy) has been referring to. I would like to thank him for his kind words. I would like to say it has been a real inspiration for me to work with the member for Ottawa East, the member for York South (Mr. MacDonald) and others as we developed the resolution and plans for the debate in this House.

I think we showed on these issues of national importance, although we have shades of difference politically on them, we still could come together, work together, respect each other's views and come up with and put forward some common positions. The resolution that this House debated and ultimately accepted unanimously was one of those things.

I want to bring this matter up to date, because I think it is very important—and that is what my friend has just been saying—

that we get on with the job. That is what the Premier said in his statement on Tuesday night. He said, "Now is the time to get on with the job." It is interesting because the shoe is on the other foot now. We have to realize that, as the Premier said, this is not the end of the problem but the beginning of the solution. That vote in Quebec, the vote on that rather ambiguous question which has been settled I think in a very unambiguous way, was saying "no, we are not giving our PQ government a mandate to negotiate sovereignty-association."

I have thought about that question a lot in the last little while as we have debated and talked about it. Even if the vote had been yes to give them a mandate to negotiate, I believe that afterwards the assumption would have been drawn there was tacit approval for separation there. Sovereignty-association cannot be negotiated without first accepting the sovereignty part and then negotiating the deal that somehow connects a separate country with another country. So the idea put around that voting yes was just a vote for change was obviously not right. We said that in this House and other members said that in this House. I think that people of the no forces said that in Quebec, and that was absolutely right.

But on the other hand, no was portrayed throughout the 35 days of that campaign, and throughout the debate in this House, as not a vote for no action, nothing happening, the status quo, that we are not going to do anything. No was portrayed as a vote for action but of another type; we called it renewed federalism. A lot of people I see now are asking what renewed federalism means. When someone asks me that, I tell them to me it means drafting a new constitution for this country. That is what we mean. It means a new set of rules under which we operate, because we need some updating and we have all agreed to that.

It also means changes in attitudes in this country. I think we all agree that is probably the more difficult thing. While it is not going to be easy to draft a new constitution, changing attitudes is going to be even more difficult. Yet that is part of what I see as renewed federalism—changing attitudes of one group or region in this country towards others. That is all going to be part of what happens.

But our action that will occur right away will be in the area of developing a new constitution. The no forces said that is what a no vote meant; about 60 per cent of the people of Quebec said that is what they want.

I was also thinking the other day of bringing back an old slogan we had. I am not going to indicate where it came from, Mr. Chairman; you may remember it. It was, "Winning is just the beginning." It applies very aptly to this situation where we now find ourselves and where the no forces and the federalist forces in Quebec now find themselves.

What has happened since last Tuesday has followed exactly as I would like to see it happen and I think as my friend would like to see it happen. The Prime Minister of Canada made, I thought, an excellent speech in the House of Commons on Wednesday. He outlined his position very eloquently and very well. He dispatched Jean Chretien to meet with the Premiers of this country immediately to find out what could be put on the table, what we should be doing immediately and when we can have that first conference. Jean Chretien met with myself, the Premier and the Attorney General here on Wednesday night, and then on Thursday he went to western Canada. I gather he met even with Premier Lougheed. He has met with all the people in the west and he is now going to the east.

I heard on the radio today he would be meeting with nine of the 10 governments. Unfortunately, he has not set up yet the meeting with the government of Quebec. I hope the government of Quebec will also meet with him. I think that is an absolute necessity. As I say, the shoe is on the other foot now. The government of Quebec has had a legal referendum in that province where 60 per cent of the people have voted no; they do not want to give them a mandate for sovereignty-association. But they must also read it, as I think it has to be read, that those people said by their vote: "No, you can't have that mandate. But in so voting we want you to take action on a new constitution on some new ground rules under the federalist system. We voted for Canada. We want to stay in Canada. We want some new ground rules." If Quebec does not start participating with all of us very shortly—I hope it will be immediately after this weekend—they are then saying no, the status quo is okay. I do not think the people of Quebec voted for the status quo, and their government must recognize that.

When Mr. Chretien reports back to the Prime Minister, I hope we will hear next week, or very early, the immediate plans for the kind of conference that will be held.

Then, of course, next week we will introduce our motion in this House to set up the select committee. People from all parties in this House will be completely involved in looking at and developing positions on this very important matter, and that will be con-

suming a great deal of the time of the ministry that I have the pleasure to head.

On motion by Hon. Mr. Wells, the committee of supply reported progress.

The House adjourned at 1:01 p.m.

ERRATA

No.	Page	Column	Line	Should read
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40	1534	1	27	partenaires fondateurs, le Française et l'
40	1534	1	34	nous joignons nos efforts immédiatement pour
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Legislature of Ontario Debates

Official Report (Hansard)

Fourth Session, 31st Parliament

Monday, May 26, 1980

Speaker: Honourable John E. Stokes

Clerk: Roderick Lewis, QC



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Published by the Legislature of the Province of Ontario.
Editor of Debates: Peter Brannan.

LEGISLATURE OF ONTARIO

MONDAY, MAY 26, 1980

The House met at 2 p.m.

Prayers.

STATEMENTS BY THE MINISTRY

FOREST FIRES

Hon. Mr. Auld: Mr. Speaker, in today's forest fire update, I must report the situation remains grave. There are 84 fires burning in the province, half of them in north-western Ontario. At the present time, our suppression and backup crews number more than 2,000 with over 1,150 fighting fires in the northwestern region. A thunder shower began over Kenora about five o'clock this morning but will have little effect on the situation. In fact, considerable lightning accompanied this shower, and we had our first new fire start within minutes.

As for Kenora itself, the fire is approximately 12 miles east of that city. While evacuation plans are at the ready, there is no immediate move to evacuate the town. However, evacuation of communities in the vicinity of Kenora has taken place, the latest being the Grassy Narrows Indian reserve. A major fire now extends approximately 40 miles from the Dryberry Lake area north to the Grassy Narrows reserve. In addition, some 250 residents of the Redditt and Ena Lake areas are being evacuated to Kenora.

No immediate evacuation of the residents of Longbow, Blindfold and Dogtooth is contemplated at present. The situation there remains stable and is unchanged from yesterday. If there is a glimmer of good news in this report it is that the ministry's suppression staff expects good progress on lines around Red Lake and Balmertown and the threat there has been considerably reduced.

To sum up, we have 94 unit crews in the northwestern region, 676 emergency firefighters, eight water bombers and 33 helicopters. All efforts are being thrown into the northwestern region with 48 additional unit crews arriving from the eastern part of the province by tomorrow. By Wednesday, 70 crews will be in place. Also for the northwestern region, five additional helicopters will be on hand within two days. Tomorrow,

a large fire suppression and support kit will be arriving from Boise, Idaho, and a similar kit will be arriving from Alaska. We are greatly indebted to the US Forest Service for making these much-needed resources available to us.

In the north-central region, the community of Fort Hope is still threatened by Geraldton fire number five. About 39,000 acres are burning out of control but with minimal spread reported. A 26,000-acre fire is burning 20 to 30 miles northeast of the English River in the Thunder Bay district. Progress has been made on this fire with equipment from the US Forest Service being concentrated on it today.

The other major fire in the north-central region, Atikokan seven, is 12,000 acres in extent. It is burning out of control. In this region we have 28 crews, 29 auxiliary crews and 250 emergency firefighters made up of nonministry staff, such as logging company personnel, five water bombers and 10 helicopters. A restricted travel zone has been put into effect west of Nipigon.

In the northern region, two large fires in the vicinity of Chapleau are fortunately presenting no threat to private property at present. In the northeastern region, seven fires are burning south of Wawa. The largest covers 360 acres and is burning out of control. This region had six fires in the last 24 hours. The other regions remain quiet and continue to supply men and equipment to the north.

As was reported in a news release yesterday, the people evacuated from Red Lake and the surrounding area and other northern Ontario points because of forest fire dangers will be compensated by the government of Ontario. That is to say, the government will be responsible for evacuation expenses and the return of the people to their communities when the existing emergency is over. This also includes expenses incurred by the affected municipalities relating to evacuation.

I regret this report contains so little that is truly optimistic or encouraging. Yesterday, together with the Attorney General and Solicitor General (Mr. McMurtry) and my colleague the Minister of Northern Affairs (Mr. Bernier), I spent most of the day and early

evening in the areas affected. We were all most highly encouraged by the efforts being made by all concerned—local citizens, municipal officials and personnel of many Ontario government ministries and agencies. They are well co-ordinated in their efforts and much good work is being accomplished, despite truly staggering odds against them.

I hope my next report will be more encouraging, but the weatherman, who is such a key player in this complex scenario, is not promising much except more of the same, plus the likelihood of lightning storms and new outbreaks.

EMERGENCY PLANNING

Hon. Mr. McMurtry: Mr. Speaker, as chairman of the emergency planning committee of cabinet, I would like to bring the honourable members up to date on some of the initiatives the government has taken since the Mississauga emergency.

First, I am pleased to announce the appointment of Brigadier General C. L. Kirby as emergency planning co-ordinator for the province. General Kirby, who will be working out of the Ministry of the Solicitor General, joins the government service after a distinguished 35-year career in the Canadian Armed Forces.

Most recently, General Kirby was commandant of the Canadian Land Forces Command and Staff College in Kingston. Previous to that, he was commander of Number Two Combat Group, the Canadian Air/Sea Transportable Combat Group, and Canadian Forces Base, Petawawa. In 1972-73, he was senior military adviser to the Canadian delegation of the International Commission for Supervision and Control in Vietnam and Laos.

2:10 p.m

General Kirby will be advising the government on such matters as co-ordination of emergency peacetime planning and off-site nuclear contingency planning. He will also provide close liaison with municipal governments as they proceed with their own contingency planning.

I would also like to confirm that the Institute for Environmental Studies has been commissioned by the government to conduct a thorough and independent study of the events of Mississauga for the government. I would add that this in no way conflicts or interferes with the federal inquiry into the accident since the institute's study will be confined to what happened after the derailment and not the cause of the accident.

The institute, which has an international reputation for its studies of emergencies, will

be reporting to us on such matters as evacuation behaviour, dissemination of public information and economic and social impact. The institute has undertaken to provide us with periodic reports as researchers complete each phase of their studies, with the final report and recommendations in book form. Needless to say, all the institute's reports to the government will be made public as they are received.

Third, I would like to advise the members that the province and the Association of Municipalities of Ontario will be sponsoring an international seminar in emergency preparedness to be held in Toronto next November. Primarily, this seminar will be designed for municipal officials from around the province, but in view of the extraordinary international interest that is still manifesting itself six months after the Mississauga event, we are inviting interested agencies from around the world to participate.

I will be reporting to the House from time to time as further information becomes available to us.

ORAL QUESTIONS

GM SETTLEMENTS

Mr. S. Smith: Mr. Speaker, I have a question for the Attorney General. He will no doubt recall, that he and his colleague the Minister of Consumer and Commercial Relations (Mr. Drea) suggested that the government would not sign the agreement General Motors offered with regard to those cars that had different engines in them from the ones they were supposed to have.

I will read one quote from the Minister of Consumer and Commercial Relations. One year ago he said: "What that means is General Motors had better come in to see me and see what they're going to do for those people is acceptable. If they don't come in, we will do something that will get pretty swift justice for the 1,100 people."

Now that a year has passed and now that the deadline for prosecuting the company on behalf of the government under the Business Practices Act has also passed, can the minister tell us what his colleague had in mind by this pretty swift justice? What is going to happen to these people?

Hon. Mr. McMurtry: Mr. Speaker, I don't intend to comment on a statement given by one of my colleagues. I would just like to enlighten the members further that my advice to the minister was not to sign a waiver, not because of any intention or expressed intention on his part to have any prosecution

launched by the Ministry of Consumer and Commercial Relations, but that we were not in a position to give General Motors any waiver with respect to any prosecution that might be instituted, for example, by a private citizen and that this request for some form of immunity that was asked for, in my view, was highly improper.

As I recall the discussions at the time, the minister did indicate they were not planning to prosecute under his legislation and that, therefore, should not interfere with any settlement of the individual claims. As to any other initiatives the minister might have in mind or did have in mind, I think that question should be addressed to the minister concerned.

Mr. S. Smith: In the absence of the other minister, and since the minister to whom I'm speaking is responsible for the administration of justice, is the Attorney General saying now that all the huffing and puffing we heard then—about how Ontario was standing up to General Motors and swift justice would occur and the government was not going to sign—may well result either in people getting nothing or in the ordinary citizen being required to obtain a lawyer to take the world's largest corporation to court in each instance?

Why has the government not acted, as we recommended, either to improve the class action legislation or to take some kind of action on behalf of these car owners, rather than leaving every individual citizen thinking the government is doing something when it is doing absolutely nothing?

Hon. Mr. McMurtry: Mr. Speaker, I certainly don't intend to attempt to answer questions on behalf of my colleague, but when it comes to protecting the consumer of this province, the Minister of Consumer and Commercial Relations doesn't take second place to anyone.

Mr. Breaugh: Supplementary, Mr. Speaker: Since it is now clear that General Motors is going to tell the province of Ontario how to conduct its business, would the minister at least get out of the way and provide for some kind of effective class action? Would he introduce that kind of legislation so that consumers could at least protect themselves?

Hon. Mr. McMurtry: Mr. Speaker, this remedy is to some extent available today. If the honourable member had really been following this issue with any degree of interest, he would know the matter is a highly complex one. It has been the subject of a very careful, very exhaustive study—I think the most comprehensive study ever directed towards class actions by the Ontario Law Reform Commission.

I think this House might do well to have the benefit of that report before we consider any legislation that might or might not improve the situation.

THE TIN DRUM

Mr. S. Smith: Mr. Speaker, I suppose my next question again would be better asked of the Minister of Consumer and Commercial Relations (Mr. Drea), but there is an aspect of it with which I could entertain my friend the Attorney General and ask him for his opinion. It has to do with the negotiations over The Tin Drum. It has nothing to do with censorship; it has to do with the administration of the office of the Ontario Board of Censors.

May I ask if the Attorney General is aware that the lawyer for the film distributors wrote a letter to the board which offered to show the film with one cut, and that the chairman took it upon himself not to tell the board he had received such a communication? Is he also aware that it is alleged in the press that the board took a vote at an earlier date in favour of one cut—not necessarily the same cut they were talking about—but the chairman did not bother to tell the distributors of the fact that the decision had been taken by the board?

Under these circumstances, I would ask the Attorney General whether it is his view that the chairman of the board is acting within the law in putting himself in the middle in negotiations and preventing each side from learning the view of the other? Does he believe the board is supposed to operate, under law, by the chairman not telling members of the board what the latest offer is on behalf of film distributors?

Hon. Mr. McMurtry: Mr. Speaker, I am certainly not prepared to say, on the basis of press reports which I have also seen, that the chairman is not acting within the law. With respect to the administration of the board, that is a matter that should be directed to the minister who has responsibility for the board.

Mr. S. Smith: Mr. Speaker, may I ask the Attorney General whether in the interests of natural justice there are not some general rules with regard to the way in which administration of justice and administration within the various boards and commissions of Ontario takes place? After all, I have here in front of me the letter from the lawyer, dated May 14—a very formal letter—clearly intending the board to understand a new offer on behalf of the distributors, and the board was never told this. Far from a

tin drum, it appears we have a little tin god who prevents the board from hearing the views which these clients wish to have expressed.

This is not in the press, this is right here; but according to the press a decision taken by the board, again by decision of the chairman, was not communicated to the film distributor. Is there not a certain aspect of natural justice in this that would interest the Attorney General?

Hon. Mr. McMurtry: Mr. Speaker, I think we're all interested in this matter. I have read that the lawyer for the film distributor has indicated his intention to seek some redress or relief in the courts. In my view, I think it would be appropriate for any opinion to wait for that review of the courts, particularly when I do not have what I would consider to be all the relevant information.

2:20 p.m.

KEATING CHANNEL DREDGING

Mr. MacDonald: I have a question with regard to the Keating Channel for the Minister of the Environment. I have a memorandum which was sent by S. E. Salbach, assistant director of the water resources branch to the assistant deputy minister, W. Bidell, on February 19, 1980, in which is noted the necessity for strict adherence to the considerations and conditions stipulated earlier by the Minister of the Environment and Environment Canada.

The memo goes on: "Evidence to date clearly indicates that the Toronto Harbour Commission has not adhered to these conditions. Although ostensibly environmentally concerned, the track record of the THC engineering department over many years leads me recommend the withdrawal of MOE approval for dredging disposal on the south side of the main east headland."

Accompanying it is a document, the final paragraph of which says: "The Toronto Harbour Commission consistently fails to live up to their promises with the result that the MOE is left in a very embarrassing position with respect to the maintenance of water quality."

That being the case, on the basis of the internal memorandum within the minister's own department, why was the authority not withdrawn? To put it the other way; why did he continue to grant authority for that Keating Channel dredging?

Hon. Mr. Parrott: In response to that particular question, Mr. Speaker, the case was made many times to us that there could be

a flooding emergency if the channel is not dredged. We are concerned, of course, and have been, about the quality of the material that is in the Keating Channel. That is precisely why we have insisted on an environmental assessment that will determine whether it can be successfully removed to the new location or another location. We have never given any long-term commitment to it. It is a year to year, one year at a time, approval.

We will be insisting that those questions be answered in full in the environmental assessment. We want to be assured that the material that is dredged from Keating Channel is removed to a safe place as soon as possible because of the flooding potential there. We will insist on a full environmental assessment hearing to prove the case one way or the other before we will give any agreements for long-term commitment.

Mr. MacDonald: Once again we have a case of the environmental hearings being after the fact than before the fact. The minister has advanced as the reason for proceeding with this dredging before having an environmental hearing the fact there was danger of flooding in the lower Don River.

Is the minister aware of the fact that a federal memorandum, which was quoted in the Kirk Makin story in the Globe and Mail last Friday, was to the effect that it is their view, based on limited information and field observation, that the flooding in the lower reaches of the Don River is not connected with the silting in the Keating Channel?

Is the minister aware of the fact that as far back as 1975, Ken Higgs, the director of operations in the Metropolitan Toronto and Region Conservation Authority, wrote to the Toronto Harbour Commission and said: "Under designed flood conditions the lack of dredging in the Keating Channel would have virtually no effect on the extent of flooding which would be experienced in the lower Don."

Why is the minister dredging up still another excuse of an alleged danger of flooding, in face of that testimony, as an excuse for proceeding with the event before he has an environmental assessment?

Hon. Mr. Parrott: Mr. Speaker, nothing could be further from the truth than to suggest we are dredging up a reason for dredging. Indeed, I think both our own Ministry of Natural Resources and federal sources do believe there is a danger there from flooding. I will be glad to get that evidence for the member.

Mr. R. F. Johnston: Supplementary, Mr. Speaker: As there has been no environmental assessment of that area to date, and as we have just shown that the dredging is not necessary for flood control, can the minister tell us where the safe location is for the dumping of the dredge material? Has he decided upon that to date?

Hon. Mr. Parrott: Mr. Speaker, we are having an argument as to whether there is a need to dredge on a short-term basis for some temporary relief of flooding. That is the one issue and we can disagree on that all day.

The other issue of where the site will be, will be fully explored in the environmental assessment hearing. That is what it is all about, to find whether the proposed site is safe, and if not, what the alternative is. That is the whole purpose of an environmental assessment and that is why I insisted on it.

We do not know where that site will be. The honourable member is asking me to prejudge what the environmental assessment hearing is supposed to do. That would be very foolish on my part. I do not know the best site; that is the purpose of the hearing and that is what will be explored.

JOHNS-MANVILLE

Mr. MacDonald: Mr. Speaker, I have a question for the Minister of Labour, who is not here, so I am going to put the question to the Attorney General instead.

This morning the Minister of Labour was on Metro Morning and in the course of his comments he observed, with regard to the proposal of my colleague the member for Hamilton East (Mr. Mackenzie) that the suggestion that Johns-Manville Canada Inc. should be compelled to set aside enough assets to cover the possible emergence of asbestos-induced health conditions if the plant should close down was unacceptable, indeed—I use my phrase, but it is not inaccurate—an outrageous proposal in a free society.

Is it beyond the legal rights of the ministry or this government to insist that a company like Johns-Manville should set aside funds in order to ensure the company's social and community obligations?

Hon. Mr. McMurtry: Mr. Speaker, it is rather interesting to note the number of questions that have been addressed to the Attorney General in the absence of other ministers.

Mr. MacDonald: On a point of order: If the Attorney General cannot reply the Minister of Labour has now arrived.

Mr. Speaker: Did the Minister of Labour hear the question?

Hon. Mr. Elgie: Mr. Speaker, I did not.

Mr. MacDonald: Mr. Speaker, I hate to see the Attorney General floundering so badly.

My question to the Minister of Labour is this: I listened to him this morning on Metro Morning; during his comments he dismissed the proposal of my colleague the member for Hamilton East, that Johns-Manville should be obligated to set aside adequate funds in order to meet the needs of workers who might have asbestos-induced injuries or health conditions later. He dismissed this as being unacceptable—indeed, I think it is not inaccurate to say that in his view it was an outrageous proposal in a free society that one should seek to freeze the assets of a corporation in this fashion.

My question to the minister is this: What is outrageous about the proposition of insisting that a company accept its social and community responsibilities and that it set aside the funds for doing that—when we have growing evidence that it is going to cut and run and get out of there altogether—so that the public purse won't have to meet these social and community obligations at a later date?

Hon. Mr. Elgie: Mr. Speaker, it is not quite fair that the member, unless he has knowledge that I do not, should say that the company is cutting and running. The information I have, and I am sure he has, is that the two other divisions, two other lines of Johns-Manville, the fibreglass and the insulation lines, are going to continue. I do not think that is something I should get into defending. They have simply told me they see good business reasons to continue those two, and they think they are viable.

As to cutting and running from other responsibilities, I think the member knows full well that under the Workmen's Compensation Act certain rates are charged to certain rate groups in industry throughout this province. Should something happen to one industry, that it fails for some reason, then the accident fund picks up the benefits that may be required to be paid to workers presently disabled or workers disabled in the future.

2:30 p.m.

As I made it clear on Friday, I have an understanding with the Workmen's Compensation Board, following discussions with the vice-chairman, that in the event something should happen and those workers who are at present in the Transite pipe division do not get transferred into the other two divisions, they will be eligible for the special rehabilitation program. Indeed, should workers who

do get transferred want to leave that employment for some reason at a later time, they too would be eligible for the special rehab program. I think the system is responding reasonably well.

Mr. MacDonald: Let me focus my question more sharply. Suppose I accept for a moment the minister's contention that the WCB will pick it up and suppose I accept the minister's contention that the company isn't going to cut and run—and he may find himself six months from now duped as badly on this as he was on the closing down last week—why can the minister not take the necessary steps to make sure that the company, in the event of its leaving, will pick up this obligation and it won't have to be picked out of an accident fund carried by everybody else other than the company responsible for the conditions in the first instance?

Hon. Mr. Elgie: The member has asked a question the Leader of the Opposition (Mr. S. Smith) has raised in the past; that is, the right of the Workmen's Compensation Board to receive compensation from any particular employer who may on some sort of terms have been accused of being and proven to have been grossly negligent and to recover certain funds from that company. That is a matter I have asked Professor Weiler to review, but at the present time the Workmen's Compensation Act does not allow that type of action, and the member knows that.

THREE SCHOOLS

Mr. Peterson: Mr. Speaker, my question is to the Minister of Culture and Recreation. Last week I asked the minister about the Three Schools problem. He told me at that time that he is in a state of negotiations with them. Why would the minister say that when the last communication they received from the minister or his ministry was on May 5, when the minister said in a letter: "We are informing you that no major increases in grant will be available from the ministry to the school in the upcoming year?"

Hon. Mr. Baetz: Mr. Speaker, that was the last official communication. In the meantime—don't shake your head because I know better than you do.

Mr. Peterson: No, you don't.

Hon. Mr. Baetz: Yes, I do. In the meantime we have reopened the case. Even this morning I was looking at comparative figures of grants made to the other alternative art schools in Toronto and in other parts of this province. It is not a closed book.

Mr. Peterson: Supplementary: Why is the minister being so parsimonious and niggardly?

These people are going to have to close up on June 6 and sell off the assets, and they are going to have to start doing that in the next two, three or four days to meet the current payroll problems. Why doesn't the minister just cough up something and stop being so cheap and save this marvellous school?

Hon. Mr. Baetz: We are not being parsimonious at all about this.

Mr. Peterson: You are being niggardly.

Hon. Mr. Baetz: That is your word. It might interest the member opposite to know that at present the Three Schools gets 29.6 per cent of its total revenue from the Ministry of Culture and Recreation as compared to 15.9 per cent of total revenue coming from my ministry to another art school called Art's Sake Inc. and 10.3 per cent for the Toronto School of Art.

In other words, even now the percentage of the total revenue from the provincial government to the Three Schools is way out of line. If we were to meet their request they would probably be getting about 40 per cent or 50 per cent of their total revenue from my ministry. I don't think we have been parsimonious at all.

As I said earlier, in spite of the fact that they are way out of line we have not closed the book entirely on them. There are people on this side of the House as well as the other side, including myself, who are trying to do our very best to save the school. But I can tell the member they cannot depend entirely on the provincial government to prevent them from going belly up.

Mr. Lawlor: Supplementary, Mr. Speaker. I trust the minister has received my letter on the matter and is giving it the profoundest perusal. There are 150 jobs at stake here. The minister seems to be terribly negative about it. Is he saying there is a real possibility that continuity may be given to the life of that school?

Hon. Mr. Baetz: Mr. Speaker, because of our own interests and because of interests expressed from many quarters, we are trying to do our very best to save the school. I am simply throwing out the added caveat here that the Three Schools cannot depend for a disproportionate percentage of revenue from the provincial government as compared to the other alternate schools with which it is competing. But the book has not been closed.

Mr. Peterson: Supplementary, Mr. Speaker: That is very decent of the minister, but does he realize that the deadline for closing

down is June 6? They are under very serious financial pressure. They are going to have to start making those plans in the next two, three or four days. It is not nearly as much use to come in 10 days from now with a sudden reprieve at the end when a lot of adverse decisions have had to be made. Why does he not do that this afternoon? He does not do very much anyway. Phone them up this afternoon and save them.

Hon. Mr. Baetz: I will ignore that little editorial, Mr. Speaker; it is a piece of nonsense. If the member would like to follow me around for some weeks we will see who is doing something and who is not.

Before I go back and negotiate with them or even begin to discuss with them any possible way of saving the school, I want to get some facts and it is taking me a little time to get the facts. I am not going to rush in there without the facts just because the member is grandstanding on their behalf.

REGISTRY OF ASBESTOS WORKERS

Mr. Laughren: Mr. Speaker, I have a question of the Minister of Labour which also involves his friends at Johns-Manville Canada Inc. Does the minister recall that about four or five years ago between Chapleau and Timmins there was an asbestos mine known as Reeves mine because it was in Reeves township? There were approximately 100 workers employed at that mine but over a number of years there were hundreds of workers who worked there at different times. Although he was not the minister then, does he recall that both the mine and mill were closed down due to occupational health problems at that time? Could the minister tell us whether his ministry responded to demands from this party that a registry of workers who worked at these mines be established? Has that ever been done?

Hon. Mr. Elgie: Mr. Speaker, first of all, with regard to the use of the word "friends," one cannot always associate the word with who might be a friend and who might not. For instance, I have a dog that hates the member's guts even though I happen to like the member. She has been after him several times; she is a Tory dog. He understands this; he has had those attacks before. So I think friendship is always a relative term and one should keep that in mind when one accuses someone in the way the member has.

I am well aware of the fact that Reeves mine was closed by this ministry or by what was then part of this ministry, the mines division of the Ministry of Natural Resources,

because of the occupational health hazards. As to whether or not there is a registry of workers, I would have to check into that. But I know that extensive efforts were made to try to locate all those miners. The member knows that. Letters were written to them all and ads placed in the papers. Diligent efforts have been made to try to locate as many as possible and their names are kept on record. If the member wants more details about the record, I will have to inquire into that and get back to him.

Mr. Laughren: Supplementary, Mr. Speaker: That is very interesting to know. I did not know that. Would the minister tell me too, if it is a fact, as I am led to believe, whether there is a very high rate of both lung cancer and associated lung diseases among workers who were employed at the Reeves mine? The figure I have, and one the minister probably has too, indicates seven people died of cancer and there were 30 cases of lung disease among workers who worked at the Reeves mine.

Is the minister aware of those figures? Has he established contact with all the workers who have had problems? Has he completed his search? How many of the total number of employees who worked at Reeves have been contacted? Does he know where they are and what their health is? Has Johns-Manville been assessed a higher rate of compensation assessment as a result of the performance at that mine? Would he table all the information he has about the number of workers who were employed at the Reeves mine and their health condition?

2:40 p.m.

Hon. Mr. Elgie: Mr. Speaker, I don't have that information available to me because obviously I didn't know this question was going to be asked. But let me just reaffirm a couple of things. Clearly, we must have a list—and it is my recollection now we do—of the last payroll and of other payrolls, because it is from that list that we have sent out requests to try to locate the miners.

Incidentally, we are also able to follow any miners who worked at the Reeves mine through the annual chest X-rays which are carried out on all people working in the mines. There is a broader study on the health of miners being done by the ministry. The names of the people involved are, I believe, now at StatsCan and we are waiting for a report from them.

The Workmen's Compensation Board, in addition, has a list of the people who were at those mines. But if the member would be kind enough to give me, in writing, the

specific things he wants I would be glad to discuss them with the board and get back to him.

DISPUTE AT AMR CENTRES

Mr. S. Smith: I have a question for the Minister of Community and Social Services. I know the minister must surely feel, as I do, that the workers among the mentally retarded in Hamilton who have been on strike now for some eight weeks—it is the ninth week of their strike now—are dreadfully underpaid. They should not have to be out there on strike to get a decent wage, but they still are. Can the minister tell us how it was that a similar strike in Toronto lasted only a matter of days, following which a reasonably acceptable settlement was made?

Was there additional ministry money offered to the Toronto organization in order to help them finish this strike, money that has not been offered to Hamilton? Is the Toronto organization able simply to go into debt and assume the ministry will bail it out? Or does it have some other source of revenue? What is the understanding of the minister as to how the Toronto settlement could have occurred so quickly—and a more generous one for that matter—when the poor folk at Hamilton have been out now for nine weeks and still have no sign of a settlement?

Hon. Mr. Norton: Mr. Speaker, I would certainly agree with the honourable member that it is unfortunate that the strike in Hamilton has continued for a period of eight weeks, both for the persons who are on strike and also for the mentally retarded persons whom they serve.

The allocations to the associations for the mentally retarded in all cases this year were on the same basis. They received an eight per cent increase in their allocation for existing programs. That is true also of the Metro association.

I do not know specifically how Metro arrived at its settlement. I mean by that it is free to make certain reallocations within its budget. I don't know precisely what it did in order to arrive at the agreement it did. But I can assure the honourable member that there has been no increased allocation to the Metropolitan Toronto Association for the Mentally Retarded over and above the allocation which was on the same basis as the Hamilton association.

The staff of the ministry is in regular contact with the Hamilton association, attempting to assist it in identifying possible

available resources it may not have identified within its budget. In fact, there is a meeting taking place this afternoon with the representatives of the association and senior staff of my ministry. I hope that will be a further fruitful meeting.

Mr. S. Smith: By way of supplementary, could I ask that the minister do two things if he would be kind enough to consider this? Could he, first of all, include members of the union in these discussions? The workers are quite mystified as to how Toronto could have settled so quickly for more money than they have been offered. They can't seem to get a settlement, and they are out there on a picket line day after day instead of taking care of the retarded. Could he possibly bring them in on the meeting so they will understand how this has happened?

Second, would the minister immediately please take whatever steps are necessary to let them earn a living wage and get back to work? It is simply intolerable that they should be expected, after years and years of experience, college degrees, diplomas and so on, to be earning less than the average civil servant receptionist. I think this has to be brought to an end. If the association is wrong, then for goodness' sake the minister should show it where it is wrong. But if it is the government's refusal to put a sufficient amount of money into the pot—it has enough money for everything from car rebates to pulp and paper projects—would it please put a few dollars in and get these people back to work?

Hon. Mr. Norton: Mr. Speaker, there was a series of questions. I will try to remember each of them. I think that at this point in the negotiations it would be inappropriate for me or the staff of my ministry to meet together with both parties at the same time. I think what we are doing, in terms of our meetings with the association, is attempting to assist them in identifying possible areas within their budget where they may have more flexibility than they have identified. I don't think it would be appropriate to hold that meeting in conjunction with the presence of the labour union.

On the other hand, I think it's important to bear in mind that the settlement between the Metropolitan Toronto association and its employees, however quickly it was arrived at, was arrived at through the collective bargaining process with no intervention on the part of my ministry.

I cannot at this point answer for the member where the Metropolitan Toronto

association may have identified areas within its budget that gave it the added flexibility. I also think it's important to bear in mind, and I can't be certain of this because I don't have a percentage figure for the Metropolitan Toronto settlement, but I think if the member checks it as a percentage of the prior existing rates, the percentage settlement was probably not in excess of the percentage increase offer that has already been made by the Hamilton association. In fact, it might have been less.

Mr. Charlton: I would like to direct a supplementary on this matter to the Minister of Labour. It is our understanding that the two parties involved in this strike are not meeting at all. Would the Minister of Labour or his staff get involved in finding out why they are not meeting and doing whatever is necessary to get the two parties back to the bargaining table?

Hon. Mr. Elgie: Mr. Speaker, it depends on what the member means by involved. Members of the industrial relations staff have been involved and continue to be in touch with the parties. As I am sure the member knows from the nature of the negotiations, when one has an indication that there's a good reason to get back to the table, then one calls people back to the table. I will be glad to review the matter again today with staff and see if there are any such indications.

KEATING CHANNEL DREDGING

Mr. R. F. Johnston: Mr. Speaker, my question is for the Minister of the Environment. I was surprised to hear the minister talking about an environmental assessment hearing for the Keating Channel and I would like to follow that up if I might.

Is there actually to be a full environmental assessment hearing on the matter of the Keating Channel dredging or will it only be a matter of monitoring the dredging already approved for this year as referred to in the minutes of the meeting of the board of harbour commissioners of February 28, 1980? I quote from page three, item four, under environmental considerations: "The Ministry of the Environment will continue to obtain water samples from the endikement basin and closely monitor the dredge rate being placed within the disposal basin to determine the success or failure of confinement methods. Failure will result in dredging being curtailed pending development of further refinements." Is that all the minister is going to do, just monitor their

testing, or is he going to have full environmental hearing?

Hon. Mr. Parrott: We are having both, Mr. Speaker.

Mr. R. F. Johnston: Supplementary: As Dr. Robert Slater has written to Mayor Sewell of Toronto concerning the sludge to be dredged, saying it is heavily contaminated with organics, oil, greases and lead, could the minister confirm this evaluation and could he table in this House the results of all tests done by his ministry or received by his ministry on the contamination levels of the material? Will he assure the House that this full environmental assessment will take place prior to any dredging taking place?

Hon. Mr. Parrott: I think I have already covered the last part of that question, Mr. Speaker. I spent some time on that this afternoon. The important thing to realize in this instance is that the materials that all of us are concerned about are at present in the channel and therefore have access to the waters of the inner harbour and from there to Lake Ontario. No wishful thinking will make those materials disappear. They are there, so the purpose of what is to be done is to remove those materials to a safe site.

2:50 p.m.

One possibility of a safe site is into the diked area. If that is safe and is proved safe, then it is much preferable than having that material, the sludge, exposed to the water on a 365-day-a-year basis. Far better that it be in a contained area. If it won't work, if it can't be satisfactorily contained in the diked area, then another secure landfill site will be found for it. Anything will be an improvement on what exists at present. We want the very best that can be done.

Mr. Gaunt: Supplementary, Mr. Speaker: Would the minister consider issuing a stop-work order under the Environmental Protection Act in order that the proponent could undertake an environmental assessment hearing under the act before any approvals are given on this particular project?

Hon. Mr. Parrott: What worries me about that is the material at present is totally exposed to the water of the inner harbour through the channel. Are we not agreed on that? There it is.

Mr. Gaunt: It is at the bottom of the lake.

Hon. Mr. Parrott: But it still can get into the water.

Mr. S. Smith: Stirring it up would make it worse.

Hon. Mr. Parrott: If indeed it is safe there, it is of no significance. It will be a lot safer in a diked area where there isn't the action of the waves and the passing of water over that material. Nothing could be worse than what at present exists.

Mr. S. Smith: That is not true. It is safer at the bottom rather than dredging it into the infiltration system.

Hon. Mr. Parrott: Eventually, the sediment would totally close the channel. Some day we are going to have to get rid of that material someplace and the sooner the better.

Mr. S. Smith: But where? First you should decide where.

Hon. Mr. Parrott: I am saying if it is in a diked area and is not contained, then we will issue a stop order. What is being proposed is infinitely better than what exists today. I wish some members of the House would get that through—the member shakes his head no. It is so easy to live in an imaginary world, and that is what those members are doing.

Interjections.

Mrs. Campbell: We would like to see you do a little planning some time.

FOREST FIRES

Mr. T. P. Reid: Mr. Speaker, I have a question for the Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs in regard to the forest fire situation in northern Ontario. In view of the statement of the Minister of Natural Resources (Mr. Auld) indicating that the government would be paying the evacuation costs and return costs for people who have moved, can the minister indicate to the House today what steps his ministry will be taking in providing what I think we can safely call disaster relief funds to the people in northern Ontario, particularly those who may lose their homes if the fires continue?

Hon. Mr. Wells: Mr. Speaker, we would be taking the same steps we have taken in previous disasters, particularly during this past year. If the municipalities or the unorganized areas ask for it and we declare them disaster areas, the Ontario Disaster Relief Assistance Program would apply. That involves a certain amount of money being raised by local areas, which we would match. That would be available, and we are considering that for the various areas when we find out exactly what the situation is.

I should point out to my friend the only difference between that and some of the other disasters that have occurred is that it is not possible to have insurance for floods, for instance, while fire insurance is a very common

thing and most people do have fire insurance of some form.

Mr. T. P. Reid: Supplementary, Mr. Speaker: I wonder if the minister could spell out a little more specifically exactly what he intends to do. Does he recall that in 1978 in the Cobalt fire disaster the government put up \$4 for each \$1 raised locally? Some of these areas in northwestern Ontario are unorganized, and there isn't going to be a base or source for a lot of funds to be raised locally to assist.

Hon. Mr. Wells: It is too early to be able to tell in any detail exactly what we are going to do, except to say we will do everything possible to assist. I can assure my friend that will be done.

Mr. T. P. Reid: One short supplementary: Will the member provide assistance, if necessary, on the same formula he used in the Cobalt situation—four to one? Has anyone asked up there that the area be designated a disaster area yet?

Hon. Mr. Wells: I don't think I want to commit myself exactly to the four to one; certainly that is a possibility. As my friend knows, though, we paid at the rate of three to one in a couple of other disasters recently. I am not going to give him a definite assurance until I see in black and white in front of me exactly what we are facing. I just want to assure him that everything possible will be done, and he can assure the people up there of that.

Mr. Breithaupt: But has anyone asked for that assistance?

Hon. Mr. Wells: I don't think so. Not yet.

POLICE ROLE IN LABOUR DISPUTES

Mr. Di Santo: Mr. Speaker, I have a question of the Minister of Labour relating to the strike at Dufferin Aggregates and Nelson Crushed Stone that I asked last week. Can the minister justify—now that he has the information, I suppose—the use of 30 to 40 police officers at the legal strike in progress, in order to run the five company trucks through the picket line three times a week? There are usually not more than 20 to 25 picketers on the line. Can he also explain what the right to picketing means when many of those are in trucks with the side windows boarded up, and the police escort is travelling at high speed?

Hon. Mr. Elgie: Mr. Speaker, last week the member did raise questions about police activities on the picket line at Nelson Crushed Stone and Dufferin Aggregates, I believe it was, and I did refer those matters to the

Solicitor General (Mr. McMurtry). At that time I suggested that matters regarding police should be referred to him.

At the present time, we are still in the midst of acting as mediators in that dispute and I prefer not to comment any further at this time.

Mr. Di Santo: Mr. Speaker, can I redirect the question to the Solicitor General? Do I have to repeat the question?

Hon. Mr. McMurtry: Yes.

Mr. Di Santo: Can the minister justify the use of 30 to 40 police officers at the legal strike in progress at Nelson Crushed Stone in order to run five company trucks through the picket line three times a week when there are usually no more than approximately 20 picketers on the line?

Hon. Mr. McMurtry: I have been assured, Mr. Speaker, that the only police activity in that area with respect to the strike at Nelson Crushed Stone is in relation to preventing anticipated breaches of the peace. I am told the number of police officers in the vicinity has not amounted to that many at any one time, or if there were that many at one time it was for a very short period. We will continue to be concerned that police officers who attend at any of these strike situations do not even give the perception of favouring one side or the other. They are there simply to keep the peace—to prevent anticipated breaches of the peace. That is my information as to what is occurring at that strike.

Mr. Di Santo: Mr. Speaker, I wonder whether the Solicitor General is aware that several charges have been laid—charges that the union doesn't think are very serious? Is he aware that the function of the police is to protect only the scabs and the trucks that are "independent brokers," so the police are seen by the union as one-sided, protecting the employer? Since that is the situation, will the minister tell the House whether the costs of the police will be charged to the American company, Flintkote?

Hon. Mr. McMurtry: I have nothing to add to my previous answer.

Mrs. Campbell: Mr. Speaker, a supplementary to the Solicitor General: Would it be for the same reason the Solicitor General had seven police cruisers at the scene of a picket line with four rather small women on the picket line?

3:00 p.m.

Hon. Mr. McMurtry: I do not understand the question, Mr. Speaker.

Mrs. Campbell: Mr. Speaker, the minister was suggesting the police were to be there

to prevent violence, to keep the peace and to ensure there was an objective attitude both to management and to the strikers. Could the minister, therefore, give me his explanation as to why seven police cruisers should be called to a picket line which had four rather small females walking on the line?

Hon. Mr. McMurtry: I am not aware of the situation to which the honourable member refers.

GOVERNMENT ADVERTISING

Mr. Bradley: A question for the provincial Treasurer, Mr. Speaker: Members of the Legislature are aware that the Ontario government has consistently carried out a very heavy program of advertising at the very hint of a provincial election. In view of the obvious continued support of the NDP, which will likely last for some time yet, would the minister inform the House whether, in order to practice financial restraint, he is prepared to look at eliminating or reducing those advertising programs that appear to be designed to promote the ministers in the provincial government rather than to provide essential information to the people of Ontario?

Hon. F. S. Miller: Mr. Speaker, I sense that question is loaded somehow. It is interesting to us that while they often complain about advertising campaigns of any type run by government, the members opposite are often very prompt to say we should improve our attempts to disseminate information. When a minister adds his or her prestige to an advertisement, it cannot help but bring attention to the problem.

Mr. Bradley: Mr. Speaker, would the Treasurer agree with me that the commercials that feature the Minister of Industry and Tourism (Mr. Grossman) telling us his efforts have produced an increase in Canadian retail sales, or the Minister of Health (Mr. Timbrell) telling us what a great job he is doing with hospitals, or the Minister of Energy (Mr. Welch) being promoted as the sole champion of conservation of energy in this province, should be paid for by the Progressive Conservative Party of Ontario? Ultimately he could benefit, because he would come across as the true master of restraint in that government.

Hon. F. S. Miller: It seems to me, Mr. Speaker, that when the honourable gentleman wishes to direct a question or lay some blame, he chooses those same ministers.

FOSTER CARE ON RESERVES

Mr. McClellan: Mr. Speaker, I have a question for the Minister of Community and Social Services. I am sure the minister is aware of the extraordinary number of native children in the northwestern Ontario area in foster care. I want to ask the minister whether he is aware that at the Whitedog reserve alone there are 45 children in foster care off the reserve? I am sure that is about 50 per cent of the child population.

I want to ask the minister if he is prepared, at this time, in view of the appalling statistics and in view of the Mandamin case we talked about last year, to accept proposals from the reserves themselves to establish residential homes on the reserves to provide a foster care service for children who require it so that native children will not have to be taken out of the community and placed into the inadequate network of foster care facilities that exists outside the reserves?

Hon. Mr. Norton: Mr. Speaker, I was not aware of the specific numbers in the Whitedog reserve to which the honourable member made reference. Certainly what he proposes is what we would like to see happen in more and more instances. However, we do still have some problems we have not been able to work out with the federal government in terms of jurisdiction. In one instance on one reservation, we have proceeded without the co-operation of the federal government. We feel we cannot afford to do that without appropriate cost sharing in all cases.

I am not really in a position where I can proceed on a broad basis to provide on-reserve group home accommodation for example, for children, however much I might like to. I do believe that is the way to go. In the interim, what we have attempted to do is encourage children's aid societies in the north to accelerate their efforts to recruit native workers to work with the children who might come into their care. That is at least a step in the right direction.

The member is certainly not going to get any argument from me with respect to the advisability of what he suggests, if we can simply work out the problems that currently exist.

Mr. McClellan: That is a distressing answer.

Is the Minister of Community and Social Services aware that there are at least three reserve communities in the Treaty Three area—Rat Portage, Northwest Angle, and Whitedog—which are in the process of devel-

oping proposals for foster care residences on reserves? Is the minister aware of those three projects? Will he send George Thomson or somebody with the equivalent authority up to discuss the three projects and other projects with officials from both the Kenora Children's Aid Society and the reserves?

Will he sit down with his colleague, the so-called cabinet co-ordinator for native affairs, and try to resolve the jurisdictional buck-passing which has been going on now since the 1960s, and which is simply intolerable, in view of the kind of thing that is happening to children in the north-western Ontario areas? Surely the minister can afford to move ahead—

Mr. Speaker: The question has been asked.

Hon. Mr. Norton: Mr. Speaker, if there are proposals being prepared I am not aware of them. I accept the member's information on that. I think the appropriate person to follow up directly with the persons involved would be our northern Ontario director, whose office is located in Sault Ste. Marie and serves the total northern area. I will communicate with him to see if they are aware of the proposals that are being prepared.

Furthermore, I would like the member to know that I sit down regularly with my colleague, whom the member identified as being the co-ordinator of Ontario native policy. We have been making substantial efforts to resolve those differences. I don't think the member has to ask that my colleague put forth more effort. I think perhaps the member himself could assist us by asking his federal colleagues to put some pressure on the federal government to move in ways that will assist us in what we would like to accomplish.

POLICE COMMISSIONER'S COMMENTS

Mrs. Campbell: Mr. Speaker, my question is to the Solicitor General. In view of the fact that Commissioner McKay keeps reiterating the statements which I understood even the Solicitor General found somewhat distasteful, would it not now be advisable for the Solicitor General to take some action to replace this commissioner, since many people believe he is speaking with at least some encouragement from the government?

Hon. Mr. McMurtry: Mr. Speaker, I don't understand the suggestion that Mr. McKay is speaking on behalf of the government. He certainly is not. He has made very clear the circumstances which promoted his statement. I have indicated to Mr. McKay that I have some difficulty with some of the statements

he has made. He has assured me he is aware of the fact that, for example, he does not really enjoy the luxury of speaking as an individual private citizen.

When someone enjoys a sensitive position such as he is holding, as a member of the Metropolitan Toronto Board of Commissioners of Police, whenever he speaks on any issue it will be perceived to be a statement uttered by the police commissioner. He has indicated to me that he agrees with that position, that he can't distinguish between Winfield McKay as a police commissioner and Winfield McKay as a private citizen. I would be very surprised if Mr. McKay makes any further utterances that are going to cause what, in my view, is a needless and unhappy controversy. 3:10 p.m.

Mrs. Campbell: Mr. Speaker, a supplementary: Is the Solicitor General not aware that about a week ago Mr. McKay did, in fact, virtually repeat the statement he had made. I am sorry, I have not got the date with me. That being the case, since he seems to be unable to refrain from those remarks, would the Solicitor General not think that he should now take some action?

Hon. Mr. McMurtry: Perhaps the honourable member would enlighten me further in regard to the incidents to which she is apparently referring.

TRAPPING OF ANIMALS

Mr. Philip: I have a question of the Minister of Natural Resources. Now that Bill 15, An Act to amend the Game and Fish Act, has received royal assent and that the setting of leghold and body-gripping traps by knowledgeable people in urban areas is illegal, has the minister had an opportunity to consider the suggestion I made to him a number of weeks ago that a fund should be set up to provide local municipalities and/or humane societies with the funds necessary to provide box traps to those people who are bothered by nuisance animals?

Hon. Mr. Auld: Mr. Speaker, we are looking into that. I have asked my people to give me some idea of how many are needed, what they cost and whether there might be some way of interchangeability with fewer numbers. I think it is an excellent scheme. I know there are problems in a lot of municipalities in getting that kind of equipment. I cannot give the member a definitive answer at the moment.

NOTICE OF DISSATISFACTION

Mr. Speaker: The member for Downsview, (Mr. Di Santo), has indicated his dissatis-

faction with an answer given to him by the Solicitor General (Mr. McMurtry) about police activities on picket lines. This matter will be debated at 10:30 tomorrow evening.

ORDERS OF THE DAY

House in committee of supply.

ESTIMATES, MINISTRY OF INTERGOVERNMENTAL AFFAIRS (continued)

Mr. Deputy Chairman: Mr. Minister, I believe you were in the course of making certain replies when we terminated the last session.

Hon. Mr. Wells: Mr. Chairman, I am just going to respond very briefly at this time to a couple of the things that have been raised, because they will all be covered in the various votes that we come to in these estimates. To reply at this time in detail to all the points that were brought up, particularly by the municipal affairs critics for both the New Democratic and the Liberal parties, would lead us into a full discussion of the estimates under this particular opening statement section of the vote.

As I recall, one of the things my friend from Wentworth (Mr. Isaacs) raised was communications between this assembly and the municipalities in the province. As far as communications are concerned, I have to think communications between this assembly and the province are probably as good as they ever have been. Each of the members of this assembly represents various municipalities and there are 838 municipalities in this province. If there is one thing I am sure of it is that those members, whichever party they may represent, are in very close touch with the municipalities in their own ridings. In other words, the contact between the municipal politicians and the clerk-treasurers of an area and the members of the Legislature representing that area is as good as it has ever been.

It has always been a traditional method of communication and one that works well and serves the municipalities well. I think the proof of my statement is in the kinds of questions and matters that are brought before this assembly during question period or privately to myself or to my colleagues from the members of this House on behalf of their municipalities. In that particular regard I think communication is very good.

We could carry that to the next logical step, which is the collective communication between municipalities on particular points

of interest and this assembly. I have heard the proposition put forward by the mayor of Toronto, John Sewell, and some of the other mayors that perhaps there should be a standing committee of this Legislature dealing with municipal affairs. It was always my impression that over the years we have had some sort of a committee, perhaps not quite as particularly designated, although I can recall, and some of my colleagues who were here back in the 1960s will perhaps recall, we used to have a standing committee on municipal affairs.

I have to say to my friend I do not think communications were any better or any worse then than they are at the present time. The standing committee on municipal affairs considered all the municipal bills; the municipal groups came down and talked to that committee, and they worked well.

One of the things we have been doing recently here that is different from what we did in the 1960s is that we do not refer as many municipal bills to standing committees. If we referred all the municipal bills that were here each year to a standing committee, that standing committee would become a municipal affairs committee, quite obviously, because we always have three, four, five or six bills, usually with a fair number of sections, covering the whole wide scope of municipal-provincial interests. Those bills in that committee would create for us a municipal affairs committee.

I don't think we need specifically to designate a committee as such now and then have it embark upon all kinds of make-work projects in this particular area just to justify its existence. The present plan of having standing committees of this House handle legislation and matters of urgency can serve just as useful a purpose. As my friend knows, if there is a matter of urgency, there are means and techniques for referring reports to create discussion and so forth.

I might say I would like to refer the regional Ottawa-Carleton bill to committee when it comes for second reading in this House. I had suggested it should go to committee because the municipalities in the Ottawa-Carleton area would like to come down and talk to the Legislature about the sections in that bill.

3:20 p.m.

After listening to two, if not more, points of view about representation on regional council, we finally had to come down on one side. We proposed what we think is a good solution in the bill. It isn't universally accepted in the region. I think the next logical

step is for the members of the region, the Ottawa city council and the other mayors and councils, to come down and talk to members from all parties in this Legislature in the standing committee on general government and discuss that particular issue. That gives them co-ordination, co-operation and so forth.

There is sometimes a great danger in drawing the line between what are the lines of communication between the members of this Legislature and the municipalities—and I have talked about some of those lines already—and the day-to-day ongoing communication between the government department and departments that are dealing with municipal matters all the time and the municipalities. There has to be different communications and different modes of communication in these areas to what there is with the members of the Legislature.

There are problems, differences of opinion and controversies that include all of us and for which we have different opinions. The Legislature becomes the forum to discuss those. There are the ongoing day-to-day communications between the municipalities as they carry out their job in co-operation in conjunction with the provincial civil servants, who also have responsibilities that are directly connected with the municipal function in this province. That gets us into the whole MLC-PMLC process.

The process involving the Municipal Liaison Committee and the Provincial-Municipal Liaison Committee was set up so that the municipalities collectively could talk with us as a government charged with administering—not just developing—the various laws and municipal functions we have to handle. The MLC was set up so that there would be some kind of joint voice on behalf of the municipalities. The PMLC was the Municipal Liaison Committee with provincial people also sitting on it to give a committee where municipal-provincial concerns could be discussed.

It was a good idea in its time but, as I have said in past estimates, we have to look for new modes of communication, and that is what we are doing. I am not going to get into a long discussion on it now, but I am sure my friends know there has been a joint committee of the Association of Municipalities of Ontario, the Rural Ontario Municipal Association and the Association of Counties and Regions. That group has been looking at new arrangements on the municipal side as to how they can improve their interaction and co-ordination effort. Once they get that done, and if that is accepted by the municipal people, we can

then adjust what we see as the kind of interface they should have with the province. The chances are that the PMLC process will slowly fade from the picture and we will develop a new type of process that allows for the municipalities to interface with the government departments that are working with them day in and day out.

Under Dick Illingworth, the provincial-municipal affairs secretariat function has been a very useful function. I might tell my friends that actually is the function that has been operating now, as the formal meetings of the Provincial-Municipal Liaison Committee have not been held. Mr. Illingworth and his people are acting with the MLC, which is still functioning with all members participating.

The Association of Municipalities of Ontario is still part of the MLC function. But Dick Illingworth is functioning as a co-ordinator, innovator and facilitator who is able to take the municipal concerns and get them to the right ministries and departments and to keep the ball rolling, even though there are no formal PMLC meetings being held. I have not had any complaints directed to me in so far as municipal-provincial co-operation or communication has been concerned over the last few months, even though we haven't had any PMLC meetings.

In other words, the various groups that have concerns about various pieces of legislation, policies, regulations and functions are getting to those ministers concerned. They are having their meetings and are putting forward their positions, and those positions are playing a very important part in the development of the kind of legislation and policies that are growing out from the government.

I guess one of the fallacies we operated under at one time, and one I think we have to divest ourselves of, is that municipalities can always have a common position on every issue. I think that would be just like expecting this House to have a common position on every issue. There are times when all the municipalities—the small ones, the large ones, the counties, the townships, the regions, the cities—can all agree. I can't really think of one where they all agree, but one where perhaps a larger number of them agree is on the term of office. Even that is a good example where certain of them have a predominant feeling for a three-year term, for instance. Many smaller ones still feel a two-year term is preferable, or some of them even think a one-year term might be all right.

It is probably very unlikely we will get a common opinion. I think it was one of the areas where we expected something that was unattainable for the MLC—that through that process we would have a common opinion on practically every subject that would represent the municipalities of this province. That just was not to be; it was not so.

I think they will always be communicating with my ministry, or even with the members of this Legislature, positions that say most think this should be done, but there is a very large minority who still do not agree and feel this should be done. As with most issues, we will find there are two sides, or three or four sides. All we can do is communicate with the municipalities and get a pretty good spectrum of opinion. Then we have to go through the majority opinions and the minority opinions to make up our minds. I am just pointing out what we go through as we develop legislation; that is generally the way it is.

The other point raised, I recall, by my friend from Wentworth was concerning property taxes. I think perhaps we can get into that in more detail when we get into the estimates. I read some notes I made the other day and they have eluded me for the minute. They will be back in a few minutes. I am sure they are in my other briefcase. But I remember as the member spoke I wrote down all the points carefully. I remember he said that this certainly was an area of great concern.

I have been around this Legislature for about 16 years. Other members have been here longer, and some for less time.

Mr. Epp: Your grey hair reflects it.

Hon. Mr. Wells: That is right. My grey hair reflects it. But I can't recall a year when there has been less controversy and less problem about property taxes than this year. I really have heard very little about property taxes from councils, from individuals or anyone. Basically, everyone bitches at some time or other about their property taxes, even remembering that it is part of our system.

3:30 p.m.

I think my friend indicated he would like to see the property tax drastically reformed, if not eliminated. I will still argue with him over the regressivity-nonregressivity feature of property taxes. I still think it would be almost impossible to replace the amount of money that is raised by property taxes by some other form of taxation at the minute and it probably wouldn't be that helpful to eliminate them.

I saw some figures the other day in a poll, and I can't remember where it was, but people were asked which tax they disliked the most. Of course, the one they disliked the most was the most nonregressive one, the income tax. In the poll I saw most people said they disliked the income tax the most and they rated property taxes second. I don't know whether that would hold up in a number of polls, but this was one that I saw. It wasn't a special one that I had done just to get that piece of information.

If you did away with property taxes you would obviously have to raise that money from some other form of taxation. While it is nice to be able to say you can put some kind of resource taxes on and perhaps that will raise the money, I submit to you that it wouldn't raise the nearly \$2 billion we need and that is raised by property taxes in this province. To think that amount would have to be raised through income tax, sales tax or other forms of taxation, I don't think would be very acceptable today.

The fact is you have to try to make property tax as nonregressive as possible. Of course, the property tax grants we are introducing do this now, as the property tax credit did before. I agree it doesn't remove all the sting and it doesn't remove all the sting for everyone, but for some people it does get at the problem of the regressivity of the property tax and assists people who are in those categories where we feel there should be some assistance.

When we get into arguments or this discussion about property tax and how inequitable property taxes are and how we should pay more attention to making them less inequitable and less regressive, I always think we do nothing in this society to decide or to put any limitations on the kind of property or houses anyone should buy, or whether they should or should not own a piece of property. I don't think we ever should. We put no restriction on that.

I could not afford to buy one of those homes up on Russell Hill Road or Dunvegan Road, and yet if I can swing it with a friendly banker somehow I can work out arrangements to go up and buy one. If I was to make some kind of arrangement to do that, to then complain that I didn't make enough money to pay the big property taxes that were going to be assessed on that house I bought wouldn't really be fair. I probably shouldn't even own that house if that is the case. Believe me, there is no way I ever will.

We do nothing to put any restrictions on the kind of piece of property or home a person buys, and I don't think we ever

should. Therefore, to then have people complain that the property tax on a home that they knowingly bought is regressive and should be more tailored to their income, I am not sure is a fair position. It certainly doesn't jibe philosophically with what I think. Maybe my friend will think differently, but I don't think that is so much tied up with the whole argument about property taxes.

We would all like the property tax not to be too high, and I don't disagree with that, but I think we have to remember that tax covers a wide multitude of services. If we take the services and average out those services and what we get for them, and then remember the kind of increases that are going on, what the inflation rate is today, we are not getting bad value for our property tax.

I was looking at my tax last night and I think it came out this year to about \$1,472. That is about \$70 up from last year, which is a not quite six per cent increase in Metropolitan Toronto. That is well below the rate of inflation. For that \$1,472, which, granted, is just the property tax portion, 50 per cent of it going to schools—I can argue this because I have three children in the public school system—so I am getting education for those three children and for the municipal portion I am getting a whole host of services, like garbage collected twice a week, a fire service and an excellent police service and so on. All the people are paid from that property tax that I pay, the salaries of the fire department, the civic employees, the police department et cetera in Scarborough and Metropolitan Toronto. Looking at it that way and thinking of all the investments I make, the \$1,472 I pay in property tax is a pretty good investment.

I needed a little work done on the trees that have grown out in my area and got someone in to spend a day and a half cutting down some trees and doing some trimming and so forth. I found the bill for that was around \$500, so I realized the kinds of services we are getting for our property tax money are not really all that bad.

Mr. Epp: He must have known you were a cabinet minister.

Hon. Mr. Wells: No, he didn't know who I was, but it was something I really had to have done and that's why I felt it was money well spent. When you compare the costs of some of those services to the kinds of services municipalities provide through keeping up our parks and so forth, if anyone has ever priced getting people to cut lawns and do gardening services and cut trees down and so on, all the kinds of things municipalities do

to keep the boulevards and the parks and cities looking nice, you find the kind of money you have to spend on those services—

Mr. Young: You sound like a socialist. This is an argument for public enterprise.

Hon. Mr. Wells: I have never argued otherwise than for public enterprise in this particular area. I believe in the free market system; I always have and I think it is a great system that has brought this country to where it is today. But I do not criticize people who work for the public sector. The people who work for our municipalities are people who enable us to have the standard of life we have. It is through the free market system we have the money to buy things and so on.

We are protected from fire, we are protected from crime, we have nice clean streets, we have our garbage picked up, we have beautiful parks, we have great recreational services, all because there are people who decided to work for the public service. Those people deserve a lot of credit and I would be the first to defend them. To stand up and criticize those people and say they would be far better out in the private sector is nonsense, as far as I am concerned, because those services have to be supplied.

I would certainly make a case for private disposal firms; there is nothing wrong with them. If a municipality decides that hiring a private garbage firm would be better than having its own employees, and they compare the costs and decide how they want to operate, that's up to them. That shouldn't be justification for criticizing the municipality which maintains its own solid waste disposal service and has its own people or the school board that has its own bus service rather than private hire. I think a good case can be made for having the two of them and letting them compete, one with the other. It keeps the municipality on its toes, but it certainly isn't grounds to criticize the municipal one.

3:40 p.m.

I will limit my remarks and stop there. This really shouldn't be a dialogue by myself alone. I don't want to take two hours replying to the opening statements, since I did make a fairly lengthy opening statement, which was alluded to. As the minister, I have always felt this is kind of an annual report. In fact, I don't think our ministry has an annual report. Perhaps my friends can take the long opening statement we made at the beginning of these estimates as the annual report of this ministry. Now we can carry on with the detailed discussion and look at the estimates.

Mr. Deputy Chairman: That took 27 minutes without notes.

On vote 601, ministry administration program; item 1, main office:

Mr. Ruston: Mr. Chairman, I would like to say a word or two to the minister with regard to a problem I have had in my own area. I know the minister is well aware of this, but I want to bring something to his attention that I think he should be aware of and which may have caused some of the problems that have been hanging fire ever since with regard to the town of Essex and whether or not the explosion there on February 14 was a disaster and what kind of a disaster it was. Anyone who was in it would know it was a disaster. We do know it was caused apparently by natural gas. A car, hitting one or two parking meters and breaking off gas lines, caused a gas explosion.

The clerk of the town of Essex made an appointment with the minister's office for the mayor, the clerk and one councillor to come down and see the minister. They advised me they were coming down, so I said I would sit in with them. On that particular day, we went to the minister's office on the second floor where two people from his department, one from the subsidies branch and the other from the municipal affairs branch with regard to assessment, I think, attended the meeting, plus the parliamentary assistant to the minister, the member for Wilson Heights (Mr. Rotenberg).

The minister did not show up at first, so we thought we would start the meeting. The clerk of the town handed over some presentations they were making, a list of all those who were apparently involved in the explosion. Quite frankly, I haven't seen that particular presentation. We started our meeting, and there was some discussion as to whether the town would be eligible to be named a disaster area because of the type of disaster. It was not what some people would call a natural disaster or an act of God; it was an act of man apparently. The meeting continued on and some discussion came about that in all likelihood we would not be eligible to be named a disaster area because of the type of explosion it was.

Then there were discussions with regard to what other assistance might be available. We came around to the possibility of lending money to the business people involved through the Ontario Development Corporation. The discussion centred on a six per cent basis of interest for special circumstances. This basis was discussed with the parliamentary assistant.

During the discussion, we were a little concerned that the minister still didn't come to the meeting after half an hour. I can understand he has other things to do, but when a meeting is set up and three people fly 200 miles to Toronto and back, which costs \$350 for the town to pay, I think the minister was wrong in not appearing at the meeting. The discussion centred on the six per cent basis of interest that the business people would be entitled to.

Because what happened in Port Hope, the Ontario Development Corporation was going to allow six per cent there for business people. We know of the flood there and also of the tornado in the county of Oxford last year. We all know what caused that. The discussion centred around the six per cent most of the time. When the town people finally left, we did try and get hold of the minister later. I am not sure where he got to. Anyway, they got a car and went back to the airport, got on a plane and went home. But they had the six per cent interest well set in their mind during the discussion, and did not expect to be named a disaster area for any matching funds.

I think that probably started the concern. I raised it with the minister later on in the question period because I knew it was being discussed with him and his officials. I did not raise it in the House because of that, until there seemed to be no action going on.

Then it was turned over to the Minister of Industry and Tourism (Mr. Grossman) and the Ontario Development Corporation people went down to Essex to interview—actually, they had a public meeting—with most of those named in the disaster area. Then I think they met privately with some of the business people. That meeting gave the impression that there would not be any money available at six per cent but there certainly would be at 11.5 per cent, the normal lending rate for the ODC. So all these things have been going on ever since about who is going to get what and what is going to be involved.

The town people came down at a later time to meet with the Minister of Housing (Mr. Bennett) over a business improvement development area they had been planning for some time previously. With the disaster, they thought maybe they could fold it all in together and work something out. That meeting was, to some extent, successful. Although there was some thought from the planner the town of Essex had hired that there may be some grants available through the Minister of Housing, that was not so when they came to meet with the deputy minister.

Then we get reports and the news media bring out, "ODC to loan at 11½ per cent,"—that is in bold print in the local paper. It has gone on for a month since then and we have had no action. I understand people from the Ministry of Industry and Tourism and Ontario Housing Corporation are coming to Essex this Friday, May 30, to discuss further whatever they are discussing. It amounts to whether the Business Improvement Association and the ODC can involve themselves now with some of the business people.

In the meantime, naturally, some business people are rebuilding. Some are not because they are having a bit of a problem borrowing the money, although with interest rates going down, naturally it is getting a little better. Some of them did not have enough insurance to cover the replacement. They had what they thought was enough insurance for the type of building they had. But they did not have enough, when it came down to it, under costs today, to rebuild.

In all these goings-on for the last two months, the initial mistake was made by the minister in not attending the first meeting that was set up with his office, with the mayor and the clerk and one councillor who came down to discuss the whole situation and make the presentation to him.

The thought they left with, to a great extent through the minister's parliamentary assistant, was that in all likelihood the business people would be entitled to borrow at six per cent interest the difference between the amount of their insurance and the cost of rebuilding.

That has left a bad taste in the mouths of many of the business people in Essex and the council. If the minister had attended that meeting they would probably have had a better idea. When they come all the way to Toronto and spend \$300 or \$400 to fly here, take a day off work and so forth, and then not meet with the minister, I think that was too bad.

3:50 p.m.

I didn't set up the meeting. If I had made the appointment for them and you hadn't been there I would have asked them not to go ahead with the meeting, but since they made the appointment through the minister's office I didn't feel it was my place to cancel the meeting because you weren't there.

Hon. Mr. Wells: Mr. Chairman, I would like to respond to my friend. First of all, I apologize—and I think I have, if not, I will now—for not being at that meeting. I know he sent me a note asking if I would attend.

My recollection is that when the meeting was set up I indicated that I would try to be there, but it wasn't guaranteed that I would be there. I would like the members of this House to realize that my parliamentary assistant is a person who, because of the diversity of responsibilities I have, as has been the tradition in this ministry, takes a very active role in the municipal side of this ministry.

I've tried to get the message across to the people who were coming down that meeting with him is the same as meeting with me. He's there to represent the Ministry of Intergovernmental Affairs and the government on these things, and to hear the concerns of the people we meet with and to come up with some answers. I would probably have left them with the same impression that the six per cent loans were a possibility. That was the general thinking at that particular time.

I think we would all agree that the traditional designation of a disaster area matching grant type of arrangement was not the kind of thing that would suit the disaster in Essex. We were then looking at other things that might be a possibility. One of them was the low interest loans which, as the member rightly points out, had applied in the tornado disaster in the Waterloo area and was also applying in the Port Hope area flood disaster.

Upon consideration, the principle of low interest loans for Essex was not accepted because the disaster was of a different nature. It was of a nature where much more insurance was involved, I am told, than in the other disasters. It wasn't the same act of God type of thing, although I guess we could argue that. The car going out of control and hitting the natural gas facility, and the fact that it exploded and set most of the main street on fire, I suppose some would argue is an act of God. However, in the sense that a tornado and a flood are called acts of God in insurance terms, this was different.

Therefore, the decision of cabinet was that those low interest loans would not apply, but the Ontario Development Corporation would go down and talk to the businesses. There weren't that many. Was it 25?

Mr. Ruston: There was a total of 28 involved.

Hon. Mr. Wells: About 28 were involved to some degree. We had a pretty close estimate of the kinds of money they were talking about and what would be involved in getting them going again. The Ontario Development

Corporation was to go down and have a talk with those businesses and see if it could be of any help under its regular programs.

The regular loans were of the nature of 11 or 11.5 per cent interest. I really can't talk about this in depth to the member at this point because much of this involves the Ministry of Industry and Tourism and the Ontario Development Corporation, but the only problem was that although the regular loans they had available were at 11.5 per cent, the criteria for getting those loans were not such that those businesses would be eligible. In other words, to have those buildings eligible for those loans presented a different problem.

As I recall the last time we discussed this, a couple of weeks ago, the general consensus was that we did not want to start breaching the criteria established for the Ontario Development Corporation, which we would have to do to branch out and allow those 11.5 per cent loans for the Essex people, and that maybe it would be better to look at some other mechanism to provide some help to Essex. We started looking at some kind of downtown revitalization. Would it be possible through grants, through the municipality or in some measure?

I am not as familiar with this as perhaps I should be, but I understand most of those grants come through my colleague the Minister of Housing. We said it might be better if our avenue of assistance came through that channel rather than the ODC loans. That was two weeks ago. That is where it stands at the minute. There were to be some discussions going on and we were to get back to Essex. I have to tell the member at this point that I don't know any more, but I will try and find out for him by the time we get into these estimates on Thursday evening and see if I have some further update for him.

I just want to assure the member the fact I was not at the meeting in no way diminished my interest in the problem, or our total look at the problem, or changed in any way our attitudes towards the problem. If I had been there I probably would have left them with the impression that maybe the six per cent was a good idea, although I am assured by my parliamentary assistant he certainly did not guarantee them that six per cent loans would apply. I don't know. The member was at the meeting and I was not.

That is the situation at the minute. Perhaps by Thursday night I can tell him what has happened in so far as the talks about downtown

revitalization are concerned, or some help coming through that channel rather than through ODC loans.

Mr. Isaacs: Mr. Chairman, under the main office vote I would like to ask the minister—and I know my colleague from York South (Mr. MacDonald), who will return in a moment, will be raising similar questions—about the constitutional debate that is going on at the present time and will likely be going on for some months.

While the matter came to a peak very recently, and the situation that is before us is now slightly more clear because the people of Quebec have expressed their collective opinion, we nevertheless face a great uncertainty in the immediate future. It is very clear that only a small part of the future of the constitutional discussion rests in the hands of the government of Ontario, but I hope the minister will see fit to provide us during these estimates with a clearer understanding of the direction the government of Ontario intends to take in the constitutional conference that will be upon us fairly shortly, and in terms of putting forward the viewpoint of the provincial government and of the people of Ontario at that constitutional conference and in other meetings that will be going on in the future.

We know there is to be a select committee of this Legislature, but we still have great uncertainty as to how the government intends to involve the opposition parties in the constitutional discussions. We have great uncertainty as to the role of the select committee in the constitutional debate. Will the select committee be involved in Ottawa in the discussions, or will the minister be making the presentations on behalf of the province of Ontario, or will it rest entirely with the Premier (Mr. Davis)?

Does the government of Ontario intend, either through its own channels or through the select committee, that an Ontario proposal for constitutional reform will be developed? Is it the wish of the government or the expectation of the government that opposition parties will in some sense be seated at or near the table of the constitutional conference?

4 p.m.

I wonder if the minister is in a position now to begin to elaborate on some of those things so that the members of the Legislature and the public of Ontario get an understanding of what the Ontario government is going to be doing at the constitutional conference when it heads there in less than two months?

Hon. Mr. Wells: Mr. Chairman, I think it is a little early to answer all of those questions or to indicate exactly who will be doing what at various meetings, since no meetings have yet been called. When I concluded my remarks in the House on Friday, I indicated that the Premier, the Attorney General (Mr. McMurtry) and I had supper with Jean Chretien last Wednesday. That was his first meeting. He was then going out west.

He went out the next day and met the Premier of Manitoba. He met the Attorney General of Saskatchewan—I guess Mr. Blake-ney was probably away. He did meet the Premier of Alberta and he met the Premier of British Columbia. He then went to the east and met Mr. Buchanan, Mr. Hatfield, Mr. Peckford and the Premier of Prince Edward Island, Angus MacLean. He met these people and has not yet had a meeting with the Quebec people, who declined for the present.

Mr. Chretien was to then go back and talk to the Prime Minister of Canada about what kinds of positions he had heard from the various Premiers and see when the Prime Minister could then call a first ministers' conference. I think that meeting is taking place either today or tomorrow. I understand the Prime Minister of Canada has a fairly busy day with the President of Mexico today, and probably tomorrow will be dealing with this matter and making some statement.

Once the statement is made, we will find out when the first meeting will occur and the type of meeting it will be. However, the general feeling I got was towards a rather quick meeting of a more informal nature, rather than the more structured, large federal-provincial conference at this time—in other words, as a quick follow-up.

Until we find out when the meeting is and the nature of it, we cannot really answer some of the questions the honourable member has raised, such as what would be the role of the opposition, would the opposition parties be on the delegations, would they be there sitting close, where would they be and what contribution would they be making.

Likewise, we hope to bring into this House the motion to set up the select committee and name the personnel this week. The select committee of this House will be organizing itself in the next few weeks and preparing to meet and carry on discussions. I am sure the work of that select committee will mesh in well with the positions that will be put forward by this province.

One of the honourable member's questions, I think, was whether I saw the select committee actually being at the conference and

putting forward positions as part of the delegation. My personal opinion is no, I do not see that as the kind of role the select committee would be playing. I think the select committee's role will be within the purview of this House and the ministry and the Premier and the government and the Legislature. Then we will have to decide what are the mechanisms and the kinds of delegations that meet at the meetings when we know the kind of meetings that are to be held.

It is really a little hard to lay out exactly how all these things will fall into place until we know a few more details. But I think the aim is to get this thing going fairly quickly.

The other big, unanswered question is what is the federal government going to do? I think that, to a degree, will set the tone of the way the delegations are made up. Is the federal delegation going to be made up of the government and the opposition parties and are they going to play a role in it? I think we will have to wait and see what their position is too.

Mr. Deputy Chairman: Does the member for York South have a follow-up on the same matter?

Mr. MacDonald: Yes, Mr. Chairman, if I may. I got drawn out of the House right at the time when I wanted to get into this. Let me pick up on what my colleague has asked and the minister's reply.

I take it the scenario which the minister envisaged in his statement a week or two ago—that there might be a meeting of inter-governmental ministers to sort of lay the groundwork in preparation for a first ministers' conference—is perhaps going to be replaced by a so-called informal meeting of first ministers in order to map out the whole program. This would then be pursued in detail by the intergovernmental ministers and such other groups as may be drawn into the picture. The minister nods affirmatively.

Hon. Mr. Wells: At the moment that looks closer to what the scenario will be than the other way around, which is the way I thought it might have been a few weeks ago.

Mr. MacDonald: I noted the minister's comment that it would be difficult for the government to decide exactly how and to what extent all parties might be involved in delegations until we have a clear picture of exactly what conference scenarios there are. Let me emphasize, however, that I hope that in the most involved and intensive fashion possible—and I acknowledge that when one gets into negotiations with, periodically, private meetings legitimately being held, perhaps everybody cannot be involved—to the

extent that it is possible, of all issues, I think the working out of a new constitution is one in which all the people of Canada should be involved.

One way of getting the people involved is to have all parties involved. I don't want to be provocative in reminding the minister that this government, as with most governments across this country, didn't have the support of the majority of the people in the last election. They likely had 40 to 45 per cent; sometimes even less than that. So an involvement of opposition parties to the greatest extent possible at least provides some opportunity for those people who enjoyed the support of the majority of the electorate in the last election to become part of this critically important creation of a new constitution for the future generations.

However, during the course of the mini-debate, or whatever you want to call it, we had last week replying to the Premier's statement on the Quebec referendum, I raised with the Premier, and under those circumstances wasn't able to get a reply, something I find quite fascinating and quite important. There was a news account a week or so ago, hopefully accurate, which in effect credited the Premier with saying that Ontario was now putting the finishing touches on a package of constitutional reforms.

I would like to ask the minister whether Ontario has moved in these new circumstances to a more comprehensive package rather than a collection of ad hoc reforms which might be picked upon one at a time to give proof to the public that we are moving with vigour and making something of a breakthrough in an impasse which has existed now for about a decade? I would like to contend with the minister that the new circumstances we face in the province at the present time would legitimize the idea of a comprehensive package.

Ontario is going into these constitutional reform conventions in a totally different kind of situation than it has traditionally enjoyed. As I stated last week in response to the Premier's statement, Ontario's position has been that of the honest broker in Confederation. We were the major beneficiary of Confederation. There are some analysts, some historians who will say that Confederation was created for the benefit of central Canada and it was opening up the hinterland which could be exploited in a colonial fashion to meet the needs of the industrial complex that was developing in central Canada.

4:10 p.m.

I don't need to spell out in much detail how quickly that pattern is changing. As economic and corporate development is swinging to the west, it is creating problems for Ontario. Calgary is now becoming a financial centre which at some point may well exceed Montreal and be challenging the city of Toronto. All this kind of development, combined with Ontario's energy situation and combined with the problem Ontario is now going to have to compete with a secondary industrial development in western Canada with its resource development, means we have now got to get into the battle, so to speak, to protect Ontario's interests in precisely the way that western Canada or the maritime provinces have always had to battle for their interests. We are not sitting up on a pedestal as the automatic beneficiary of the Confederation setup.

Therefore, it seems to me there is need for us to clarify what exactly are Ontario's needs and how best those needs can be met, all of course within the context of bearing in mind that we are in a set of negotiations which will ultimately be seeking to meet the needs of the nation as a whole and that we are all going to have to make sacrifices in order to establish the necessary unity and strength of the nation as a whole.

Has Ontario got a package? Is the government putting the finishing touches to it? Let me proceed from there at the same time so that the minister can respond to both of these points when he rises. If Ontario has a more detailed package in response to the government's perception of Ontario's needs looking down the road to future generations, is it the government's intention to place that package before the select committee?

It seems to me, as I envisage how the select committee will be operating, there are two alternatives. In one the committee is presented with a package which is the product of the considered thought of all the very competent and experienced civil service backup that the minister and the government as a whole have.

If one presents the product of that thought to the select committee, the select committee then can react to it. There can be a broader input. There may be certain witnesses who will come who can help to create that broader input. It can be modified, added to or subtracted from what the government has already concluded. Out of it will come much more quickly possibly an all-party agreement on an Ontario package.

The only alternative scenario, it would seem to me, for the select committee's

operation is that it starts from scratch. It maybe lists the five, six, seven or eight different areas that are important for Ontario's purposes or the national purposes in terms of building a constitution to meet our national needs. It then begins to accumulate the material to discuss the various views that have been expressed on each of these different areas. That will be a longer process. I do not know that it will be quite as fruitful a process as responding to what the government has come up with in a package on which it is now putting the final touches or changes.

May I ask the minister whether there is such a package and, if so, does he propose to present it to the select committee so that it will have something to sink its teeth into from day one, or is he going to let it move out *ab initio* in tackling this whole broad topic?

I want to raise a third area with the minister which I grant is a bit of a flyer because I recognize the limitations any one government can have on other governments. One of the ironies of the situation, in which it has been alleged, not without some measure of validity, that Ontario was not particularly enthusiastic about constitutional reform traditionally but now has committed itself to comprehensive and fundamental constitutional reform, is that at least in terms of our work within this Legislature we are a step ahead of every other province.

I am not aware that any other province has set up a constitution committee within the framework of its legislature to provide an opportunity for all-party working-out of that province's needs and that province's presentations with reference to constitutional reform. I am wondering if the minister, quietly or openly, at the earlier conferences cannot encourage the establishment of such a committee in each one of the other legislatures.

One of the aspects of constitutional reform that some experts have many times raised is the fact that at some stage along the way, in order to involve as broad a cross-section of the people beyond the politicians and beyond the governments, there should be an estates general or a constitutional convention, a sort of national town meeting in which everybody could have an opportunity to have an input and to discuss these topics.

It has occurred to me that if every province had a legislative committee with representation from all the parties in that legislature, a meeting of all those provincial

legislative committees would be a very useful form of constitutional convention or estates general, if you will. I acknowledge that it would not automatically and directly involve native peoples and many of our new ethnic groups who are anxious to have a say in terms of reshaping the constitution, but at least it would become a forum with representation from all parties in all provinces.

Even if one does not look down the road that far, I think every province has its particular needs and, therefore, the desirability of working out that province's particular approach to constitutional reform. In this context, legitimately all parties within the House have an opportunity, or should be provided with an opportunity. Therefore, the establishment of the kind of committee we are going to establish formally here this week in every one of the legislatures would provide an underpinning to the kind of superstructure that inevitably is going to emerge at the federal level or at the inter-provincial level later.

So I raise with the minister three questions. First, what is this package to which the finishing touches have been put? Second, is it his intention to present that package, or some alternative to it, to the committee so that it does not have to start from scratch in terms of formulating an Ontario position as an approach to constitutional reform? Third, what is the minister's thinking—perhaps I should go no further than that at the moment—on the desirability and the possibility of getting a comparable committee in all other legislatures for the kind of inter-provincial co-ordination and working out of each province's position?

Hon. Mr. Wells: Mr. Chairman, I assume my friend from York South is referring to the statement the Premier made in his remarks on referendum night. Would that be the statement you are referring to: "My government will immediately commence our final detailed preparation for presenting Ontario's position on the necessary reforms of our national constitution"?

Mr. MacDonald: One of the news accounts attributed to the minister the statement that they were putting finishing touches to a package of constitutional reform. Whether that was the origin of it, or whether it was a comment in a press conference afterwards or in an interview, I have no idea.

Hon. Mr. Wells: This is probably the statement referred to. As I recall, there was an exchange with the Premier and someone in question period about this. If you were under

the impression that somehow there were final finishing touches being put on a document such as Claude Ryan's beige paper or something of that nature, that is not so. There is no advanced detailed document on a complete package.

4:20 p.m.

What this really means is that the co-called packages of items, which were really represented in the principles in the Premier's statement to the Legislature last Thursday, are the ones being worked on for presentation at a meeting. It is not a large document that is finally done and that a committee could start to work through. It has to do with the various items in the 10 principles the Premier outlined.

I would see no reason why those aren't the kinds of things the select committee could get to work on right away. By the time the select committee has its first meeting it is more than likely the meeting of the first ministers will have been held, so the idea of what will make up packages and what will be the kinds of items we should be looking at will be much clearer to all of us, not only from ourselves, but from the other governments.

I don't know if that answers your question sufficiently, but if you mean do we have a book like this ready to go to the printer, no we don't. The reference here was to the necessary materials on these general points of principle the Premier mentioned in his statement. We are doing the backup work for them so if the meeting is held within the next three, four or five weeks we will be ready to go to that meeting with some background.

I answered your question about the select committee. Certainly, the principles that are there and whatever materials we can supply will be available to the select committee.

The next question was if we would encourage other provinces to have select committees. I would certainly be happy to mention that to my colleagues at the first opportunity we have to exchange views. I think it would be a good idea. However, as you realize, legislatures are very independent bodies. The fact that Ontario has a select committee will probably cut no ice in British Columbia. In fact, it might even encourage them to do something different. You are probably aware that British Columbia has already put out, in 10 beautiful coloured volumes, positions on everything concerning the constitution. It comes in a nice handy little package of booklets.

It is an interesting exercise. Sometimes we are criticized in Ontario because we don't have a book like this or a statement of our posi-

tion completely committed to print. Yet, sometimes when a province does that, unfortunately it then does not want to deviate one iota from that position. We found through the exercise we went through a year and a half ago, rather than discussing and negotiating as you might do at a meeting, it was almost like a church where the Bible is open at a certain passage and they say, "There, that is our position." If you asked about something, British Columbia would open their book and say, "That is our position." If asked: "Well, wouldn't you change it?", they answer "That is our position." In other words, they became wedded to what they spent a year or so developing and putting down as their position.

We run into the same thing with Alberta. We run into a lot of problems with Alberta from time to time. I don't believe they have ever had a select committee of the House, but they have passed motions from time to time in their House. One of them was on the amending formula. Once those motions have been passed there has to be unanimity to change the distribution of power section. That was the position of the province of Alberta passed by the House.

I guess for all the Conservative members, plus whatever their opposition is, six other members, that was the position and no matter what came up they had to say, "Well, we are bound by a motion of our Legislature which says that is the way it is to be. The only amending formula we could accept is one that says you have to have unanimity if you are going to change the division of powers." That is really inhibiting when you are trying to discuss working out an amending formula with a little flexibility around the conference table.

Nova Scotia, I understand, does have a select committee and Quebec has a standing committee of the House that discussed these matters before the referendum. But it's a good point and I will be glad to take it up with my colleagues in the other provinces when we meet.

Mr. MacDonald: Mr. Chairman, I don't want to pursue this much further, but just let me make one comment if I might.

I agree with the minister that there is a danger in this that if you set down a statement you become locked into it. The reason I agree with the minister's concerns in that respect is that when you get into the kind of negotiating that must take place across this country with its variety of 10 provinces and regions ultimately one will have to forsake

some of the original positions that were taken.

One of the interesting points made at the Queen's seminar that your deputy can confirm with you privately, if he hasn't already, was that you are going to have sawoffs and tradeoffs in the final stages of reaching an agreement. Western Canada will say fine, we will accept this that you want, if you will accept something else that western Canada is wanting. Inevitably that's part of the process of negotiation.

Therefore, whatever one does by way of stating a position of the province should be in terms of working papers, in tentative positions or positions for discussion purposes, call them what you will. They are not something that a province should be locked into. You may find to your own embarrassment that later you have to forsake that in order to get the necessary overall agreement—and forsaking it, you will be less embarrassed if you aren't locked into it so tightly.

So I agree with the minister, at this point it is necessary to keep the position as fluid as possible. However, having said that, there are going to be certain things that Ontario, as undoubtedly western Canada, Quebec and the Maritimes, will dig in their heels pretty fiercely on because they view them as critically important for their future welfare.

Hon. Mr. Wells: Could I just make one other comment on this, because I think it's relevant here too?

You talked about the different mechanisms that were available for developing a new constitution. One is this conference of representatives of elected governments, whether they involve just governments alone or members of all the parties in the legislatures and the federal Parliament and so forth.

Then there is the other idea of a constitutional conference, unrelated to the legislatures necessarily, called especially to develop a new constitution. This is something that doesn't have too many champions in the Canadian situation. I haven't heard too many people saying that's the way we should go. In fact, I haven't heard it mentioned at all.

I think the way it will be done is through the representatives of elected people. But I think we should also keep in mind—and our select committee will perhaps want to look at this; it was mentioned in a speech by a federal minister again this weekend—the idea of using a referendum for the constitution is certainly in the minds of the federal government.

As my friend knows, there is a referendum bill in the House which was not passed. It

was never passed, but they did have a referendum bill in the House which would have allowed the federal government to conduct referendums on the constitution in Canada. I have heard several ministers talk about this over the last couple of weeks, so that has to be seen as another technique that may be used.

I find it a little difficult to see exactly how this would be used. In other words, I don't see how a detailed constitution with all the intricacies involved in it could be put on a ballot. To ask people to approve that would be a very difficult thing. But it's probably the ultimate in participation of the total electorate. It's probably not exactly the kind of thing that we see as followers of the British parliamentary system. Yet we read from different countries in the world that they have submitted their new constitution to the electorate and it has been approved by 99 per cent. One was approved by 99 per cent the other day in Egypt and Anwar Sadat was guaranteed a job for life.

Mr. Conway: The last guy to get that guarantee was the Shah of Iran.

4:30 p.m.

Hon. Mr. Wells: It was just drawn to my attention that was another place this had happened. The use of the referendum somewhere in this constitutional picture is certainly on people's minds in Ottawa. I do not know how that will be used and the ramifications of it.

Mr. MacDonald: It would provide national power to override the dissidents.

Hon. Mr. Wells: I suppose it could be used as a chance for all the people to talk and give their opinions, even if the political leaders of the country couldn't agree after a certain length of time. I am sure that is something the select committee will want to look at.

Mr. Epp: Speaking about the constitution, Mr. Chairman, I certainly endorse the thoughts that have been expressed that there should be some kind of representation of the other political parties with the provincial government when it goes to Ottawa to discuss this very important document and its amending procedure.

I would think it would depend very largely on Mr. Levesque whether he will permit Mr. Ryan to be part of that delegation. If Mr. Levesque were to veto any suggestion that Mr. Ryan and some of the other federalists in the National Assembly in Quebec should participate, then I would think Ottawa would not be amenable to that nor would the government of Ontario and the other provincial

legislatures. On the other hand, if the Ontario government and the others were to express a strong desire to have such representation it might put some kind of pressure on Mr. Levesque and on Ottawa to have that.

In addition to the representation from other political parties, as the minister knows, I asked a question of the Premier on Friday whether there would be some kind of municipal representation. I realize the PMLC is now somewhat split. As the minister indicated earlier, the Association of Municipalities of Ontario is not being represented on the PMLC. The PMLC has not met as an Ontario body since last August or September. It would be helpful if the provincial government were to give some kind of recognition to the municipal governments of this province and have someone on that delegation, such as Mr. Beath or Mr. Clark Mason of Ajax as the president of the largest municipal organization.

I would hope the Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs would endorse that proposal and take it to the Premier to get his acceptance of something of that nature. When one considers that Toronto with almost two million people is larger than most of the provinces as far as population is concerned, it would be appropriate to have someone from the municipalities represented on that delegation. I think they would have a lot to offer and some very constructive suggestions to make.

The minister made reference earlier to Mr. Illingworth and his work. The Background paper that is put out on an almost weekly basis is very helpful from the standpoint of keeping municipalities and those of us in the Legislature acquainted with the goings on of the government and the various facets of various ministries. I know there is often information there we are not aware of, which helps us to keep a better handle on the tremendous amount of information that comes out from the government.

I had a question I would like to put to the minister and I think it falls very appropriately under vote 601, item 1. It has to do with public opinion polls. I would like to know whether there have been any public opinion polls taken by the ministry within the last three years, since June 9, 1977. All of us probably remember the significance of that date. If so, what has been the cost of those polls? When and if the ministry decides to commission any further polls, will the minister give assurance to this House that the information will be tabled in the House within a week of his

ministry receiving that information? I would appreciate comments on that.

Hon. Mr. Wells: Mr. Chairman, to the best of my knowledge the only poll that has been taken in the period mentioned by my friend is the poll which has been tabled in this House. I can't remember the cost of it. It was somewhere around \$12,000. That was the one on the Quebec referendum for inter-provincial affairs. I think the member has seen that one.

At the present time we're not conducting any others that I know about. I assume none of the staff of the ministry is conducting any at the present time.

I think the member realizes there are several different categories of polls which this government has used over the past little while. Some of them are used as part of the day-to-day tools of operation. We don't use any like that, but I think the Ministry of Transportation and Communications uses them to get rider preferences and whether people like the way the highways are being laid out, things like that, which is not an unjust thing to be doing. It's done all the time in ordinary business.

Mr. Conway: When is that bottleneck in Scarborough on Highway 401 going to be cleared up? That is what I want to know.

Hon. Mr. Wells: It will be cleared up very soon. Just write to the local member.

Since I do not foresee that we will be taking any polls in the near future, an answer to the member's other question is really unnecessary.

Mr. Epp: If the minister were to take a poll I'm sure he wouldn't have any reluctance in giving his assurance to the House that he would table the information with the House within a week of his ministry receiving it. I'm sure he wouldn't have any difficulty in giving us that assurance.

Hon. Mr. Wells: I would give the member my assurance that at some point it would be tabled. Whether it would be tabled within a week of our receiving it, I'm not prepared to say.

Mr. Conway: What is the expression—in the fullness of time?

Hon. Mr. Wells: It certainly would be tabled. The irony of this whole thing is that everybody was concerned about the polls that weren't tabled. There have been numerous polls done by this government over the years that have been made public, and they sit in the library and nobody has ever even taken the trouble to look at them.

Mr. Epp: Not even the government.

Hon. Mr. Wells: The government has looked at them. When I was with the Ministry of Education a number of polls were done on attitudes towards education that were made public and a number were done as research studies and they sit up in the library at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education and nobody has ever even bothered to take a look at them.

Mr. Epp: As the minister knows, the principle was that the government was using public money to get this information. We felt, and I think rightly so, that this information should be made available to the public since it was public money. If a party chooses to conduct a poll it can keep the information confidential, and it usually does, unless it is convenient to make the information public.

Hon. Mr. Wells: Mr. Chairman, I don't disagree with the basic premise the member has stated. I think the government has accepted through its decision to table those polls that members are entitled to see the polls. Whether they are entitled to see them at the exact minute they are made, is a question I'm not prepared to give the member an affirmative answer to. Governments at all times get advice and get opinions in a number of ways. We use consultants, we use people who come and talk to us about things and do studies. We have people who do polling and so forth. It is all part of the modern techniques of doing business, be it either the government or the private sector.

4:40 p.m.

I am sure you read the story in the *Globe* and *Mail* about Martin Goldfarb who runs Goldfarb Consultants. I thought it was an excellent story. They certainly did not find too much to criticize about Mr. Goldfarb. As Mr. Goldfarb said, this is the modern age. You do not run things like you used to do in the horse and buggy age. You use things like polls and so forth. It is all part of the computer age. Anybody doing business does that. I am sure the federal government does it too. I have not seen any polls they have done tabled recently.

Mr. Conway: One minute you are kneeling at the high altar of the British parliamentary tradition and at the very next you are groveling before modern technology.

Hon. Mr. Wells: My friend, it can all be melded together.

All I am really saying is that I think polls are necessary. They should be used and at some point they should be available for all to see, but not necessarily right within the

minute, hour or week they are received by us.

Just so I do not leave you under any wrong impression, as I said, we are not engaged in any specific polling on behalf of this ministry. We are part of a number of people taking part in an annual poll being conducted by the Goldfarb organization called the Goldfarb Report. It is a massive study being done once a year in Canada on views and opinions across Canada.

This government is one of a number of participants. I think there are 25, including the federal government, other provinces and the private sector. What the techniques of making that public are going to be I do not know at this time. It has just been completed in its first year. It belongs to 25 people. It is not up to us to make it public. We will have to work out some kind of technique so that others can share in it. I am sure there will be no problem with that.

Mr. Isaacs: Mr. Chairman, just before we move away from this matter of the upcoming constitutional conference, I must say I found the minister's remarks about where Jean Chretien went after he left here to be very interesting, but they did not help us deal with the concern I have, and many of my colleagues have, to get an understanding of the way this government thinks things ought to be happening. I realize the minister will say that his meeting with Jean Chretien was a private meeting, but surely this government must have suggested to the federal government that things should be done this way.

For example, did the government say, "Do everything you can to keep those opposition people out of it." Or did you say, "On behalf of the government of Ontario we would be delighted to have opposition members of the Legislature join us around the conference table." Did you say the conference should deal with every issue in the constitution? Or did you say you would like to see the conference focus on specific, important issues that will enable us to repatriate the constitution? That is a term I do not like because we are really building a new one, we are not repatriating anything. We are putting in place something that does not presently exist.

Did you express to Jean Chretien a view on behalf of the Ontario government as to how the Ontario government would like to see things handled, bearing in mind there have to be negotiations, there have to be discussions, there has to be a consensus across Canada? I wonder if you could respond to that?

Hon. Mr. Wells: I really cannot respond in complete detail. We certainly expressed a variety of opinions about different techniques and ways things could be handled, but no decisions were made. It is very difficult to say, "Did you forcefully say, 'Do this if you are going to do this'?" and so forth, because we did not get down to that kind of discussion. It was all very preliminary. Those kinds of discussions that would necessitate the kind of opinions you talked about will come in the next phase, so I can assure you that the kind of opinions you want us to put forward on that will come in the next phase.

This was all a very preliminary type of meeting, the results of which will probably be indicated when Mr. Chretien or Mr. Trudeau has something to say in the next day about what the next phase is. Then we can all put forward our positions very forcefully.

I want the honourable member to know there was one position I did put forward very forcefully, and it has been missed in all the discussions, but it is that no matter what we do with the constitution as we build the constitution, and so forth, Ontario's position is still very firm that the monarch, the Queen, should stay the head of state of this country. We wanted to be sure no one forgot that point in all our other talks about different things that were happening, because there has not been much discussion recently about that. However, that position was put forward and it was agreed to.

I also want to remind my friend that we have had along, as part of the Ontario delegation, the chairman of the Municipal Liaison Committee at several of our constitutional meetings that were held in late 1978 and early 1979. I think Ed Mitchelson was the chairman at that time. I don't think we have had any meetings since Walter Beath has been chairman, but Ed Mitchelson was certainly at one, if not two of the meetings, and has attended various of our work-up and briefing sessions and so forth, so that the municipalities, as represented by the chairman of the MLC, were involved.

Items 1 to 3, inclusive, agreed to.

Vote 601 agreed to.

Vote 602 agreed to.

On vote 603, local government affairs program; item 1, local government:

Mr. Isaacs: Mr. Chairman, the minister indicated previously that we would be getting into some of these areas at some later stage, and I am thinking specifically of property taxes at the moment. One of the prob-

lems with these estimates is that the headings on the allocation of funds do not necessarily correspond to the things the ministry is doing. I wonder if the minister could indicate where he would prefer to deal with the matter of property taxes and other local government issues.

Hon. Mr. Wells: Mr. Chairman, vote 603 is the local government vote and probably the best way for us to do it, if it is agreeable to you, sir, is to start under the first vote and let this be the general item for everything concerning local government.

Mr. Isaacs: I felt, myself, that that might be the appropriate way to deal with it as well.

I was interested in the minister's comments this afternoon that he has had fewer complaints this year about property taxes than in most previous years. Obviously I cannot express that viewpoint from experience, but I know from talking to my colleagues, members of municipal councils and property taxpayers that there is certainly a very great deal of concern this year about property taxes, and obviously some of that is focused in municipalities that experienced the section 86 reassessment for 1980.

4.50 p.m.

Nevertheless, the concern is much broader than that and is a general concern about the direction in which we are headed. As I indicated in my remarks on Friday, the Association of Municipalities of Ontario is urging the minister to proceed with full implementation of market value assessment. The minister may well respond that is something which is being looked after by the Ministry of Revenue. If that is the approach he wants to take, then so be it. But I am getting the impression, one which I hope is the case because I think it is a good move, that municipal councils are funnelling more and more of their comments about the provincial government through the Ministry of Intergovernmental Affairs. The Ministry of Intergovernmental Affairs is now becoming the co-ordinating ministry for all municipal operations it was set up to be.

In the past there have been some problems in that regard; planning has been in the Ministry of Housing, sewers, water and garbage disposal have been in the Ministry of the Environment and money has been in Treasury and Economics and so on. But, with the move of the financial branch to the Ministry of Intergovernmental Affairs and with some of the ongoing discussions that are happening, it seems to me that the Min-

istry of Intergovernmental Affairs is now the lead ministry for all functions that affect municipal government.

I hope, then, the minister will see it as appropriate that we discuss the broad issue of property tax reform, assessment reform and municipal grants at this time because, to put it quite frankly, I think the Minister of Revenue (Mr. Maeck) sees his function as being administrative to deal with the programs that the government has put in place. It is the Ministry of Intergovernmental Affairs that is the ministry which ultimately will initiate new proposals in this entire area.

I was intrigued by the minister taking what I would consider to be a fairly extreme example in terms of the problems of property taxes and suggesting that the government does not want to tell people what kind of house they should own, or what kind of home they should own or rent. Of course, we would agree that the matter of free choice and, to some degree, of market force has to be permitted.

On the other hand, we can look at a situation where an individual can buy a car that is valued at perhaps \$20,000 or \$25,000 and when he purchases that car he pays a sales tax. As he uses it, he pays a tax on the gasoline he buys for it, he pays tax on the parts he buys for it and he pays an annual licence plate fee. It's that annual licence plate fee which is surely the closest we have to property taxes. Yet in the case of a car the annual licence plate fee is a very small figure, whereas in the case of a home the annual property taxes are a very large figure. Indeed, a home is the only part of our consumer society where the owner or the tenant or family who occupy that home are directly or indirectly paying taxes year after year to a very large percentage of their income.

I was interested, as well, to learn that the minister's taxes in 1980 will be \$1,472. I believe property taxes on the home which my wife and I own will be about \$500. Surely that is one of the problems of the property tax system we have, in that the services available to me are not that much different from the services available to the minister. We have schools available in the town of Stoney Creek. We have garbage collection once a week, not twice a week, but that is adequate. We have sewers, water, street lights and sidewalks in most parts of the town. You can't link property taxes to the services you get and say that \$1,472 is a reasonable amount to pay for what we get. That is not an issue.

If we wish to move in that direction, if the minister is suggesting that people should pay for the services they get, then let us immediately see a move to substantially reduce the property taxes for home owners and tenants who do not benefit from municipal services because they live in the rural parts of our province.

If we want to make that link then let us immediately say that families or individuals who do not have children or who for one reason or another may never have children, should not be liable for the education portion of property taxes. That is not a direction I support. I support a society where everybody helps each other and where society works together to build a better society for all of us. But if we insist on saying that one gets good value for the property taxes one pays, then let's make sure that everybody gets good value for the property taxes they pay and that there are not many residents of our province who are paying far more in property taxes than they will ever receive in services.

I believe property taxes should be more related to ability to pay. I recognize there is a difference in philosophy between myself and the minister on this issue and I don't want to prolong it too much. But if we want to go in the direction of making property taxes more based on the ability to pay, then let's ensure that the people who own property they acquired in the late 1940s or early 1950s under the Veterans Land Act, when they were told they had to have a minimum lot size of two acres, are not taxed as if they were developers holding the land for speculative purposes.

Let us ensure that people who own homes that for one reason or another are on larger-than-average urban lots are not being taxed unfairly because of artificially inflated values. They have never paid these, they can probably never receive them, but they are reflected in the market value assessment of their property.

Let us also ensure that tenants in high-rise buildings are not paying property taxes at twice the rate of single-family home owners. Let us face it, if one moves to a market value system, the way things are set up at the moment, and if we allowed a 50 per cent discount for single-family homes as against multiple-residential accommodation, then there would be a subsidy from tenants in high-rise buildings to single-family home owners. But that is not necessarily the right direction for the subsidy and 50 per cent is not necessarily the right figure for that split.

The same goes for industry. Industry is inevitably located in premises that are worth far less in terms of the gross income of the industry than the homes in which we live. It goes without saying that most people live in a home that is worth somewhere between one and three times their annual income. There is a great deal of personal choice. Some people live in homes that are worth well more than three times their annual income whereas others have to make do, or choose to make do, with homes that are worth the same as their annual income or less. That is the general ball park for most individuals and most families.

But if a business were to occupy premises that are worth even one time its annual income, then we would see a dramatic inflation in the price of industrial land and in the price of industrial premises. It just does not work that way and we cannot employ the same standards.

Again, the figure of 50 per cent as a discount has been suggested but it is not necessarily the right figure to use and it is arbitrary. The AMO, as I said on Friday, is talking about section 86 as being a first step towards the implementation of full market value, but it has no commitment that it is a first step. The government has not indicated what the future holds. I don't believe we can continue with this matter of cleaning up problems by inventing new grants or giving special allowances that relieve the burden that a community or municipality is feeling at any given time because of the operation of the property tax system. We just can't keep doing it on the basis of one fudge after another.

5 p.m.

We need a system that is understood, that is clear, that is fair to everybody—business and families—in our communities. We need a system which will work for everybody so that people can see what it is they are paying for and can understand whether the municipal council they elect is spending money to provide gold-plated services or is forced to make do with second-rate services because the tax base isn't there in the municipality.

One of the problems with the system we have now is that the financial accountability of the local council is being completely lost in a grant system that is understood by no one, and that incudes, quite sincerely, most members of the municipal council. They are told what grants they get by their treasurer and they adjust their budget to fit those grants, but most municipal elected people

don't understand how the grants they get arise.

They don't understand what equalization factors are doing for them. Many of them don't even seem to understand the backbone of the section 86 program. I think that is unfortunate, but it is a fact of life in a situation where Ministry of Revenue officials are trying to sell that section 86 program and there is no one else on the other side saying, "Don't do it because it will cause these various problems."

It comes back to the matter of information. I just don't think the information is there. I am very serious when I suggest to the minister that while things may look all right to him, I am going to a meeting tonight that is not in my riding to meet with a large group of people who are irate about property taxes. I am going to another one on Wednesday night in my riding to meet with another group of people who are irate about property taxes. People are irate about property taxes, but because of the system, because the Ministry of Revenue has succeeded in making the section 86 program appear to be at the request of the municipality and because we have no overall direction, no one knows who to complain to. Everyone is blaming everybody else, and there is no program in place to say where we are going with our property tax problems. It can't continue.

I am sure the minister realizes that at some point the government is going to have to do something. The government is going to have to implement full market value everywhere and live with it, or it is going to have to bring in a new program that levies property taxes on a different base. I don't disagree with the fact that we can't abolish property taxes overnight; we have to have them.

I am glad too that the minister avoided the use of the word "progressive," and talked about regressive and nonregressive. I prefer to talk about fair and unfair, because I think when one gets into talking about regressivity of taxes things are getting a little bit confused for the average person's thinking. What people like to know is that the amount of tax they are having to pay is fair for what they are getting and for their ability to pay that tax. The feeling everywhere at the moment is that property taxes are not a fair way of levying taxes. I would claim they are not progressive.

We have to have change and direction. I have been phoning around the municipalities talking to elected people and to treasurers, saying, "What is going on in this area?" No one seems to know. There do not seem to

be committees that involve municipal people studying the problem. Who is looking at it? Surely the Ministry of Intergovernmental Affairs should be the lead ministry in a study of property taxes and municipal finance. If it is, I would like to hear about it. I would like to hear too as to what committees are sitting, what they are talking about and where we might be headed, because those are very serious problems that will become a crisis somewhere in the future.

I have to say I have the feeling the minister is trying to put these things off until after a provincial election. I really hope that is not the case. I hope the ministry is looking at things now and would not be inhibited about bringing in property tax reform, or at least presenting proposals for property tax reform at this time, so that everybody concerned knows where the government is headed.

Hon. Mr. Wells: I would like to respond. Of course, we are not putting it off for some future date after an election. Who knows when there will be an election. The problem is here and we are facing it.

I have stated several times what has been and is our position on the matter. The Ministry of Revenue is called upon by legislation to bring in the new equalization factors and gazette them each July, now that they are unfrozen. They will be gazetting another new set of equalization factors this July. Those equalization factors are used for computation in various ways. I am not going to get into the details because, as my friend said, the grant system is a terribly complicated thing. I would love it if it wasn't nearly as complicated; it would be much easier, I am sure, on all of us. But it is complicated.

In some manner those equalization factors are used first for educational grants and development of the grants that the school boards get across the province. They are also used on our side basically for the resource equalization grant. They are then used for apportionment purposes, which has a direct effect on property tax because that is the way a second-tier municipality apportions its charges to the municipalities at the lower tier. Therefore, the amount that has to be paid by each person in that lower tier comes about because of the way the apportionment is handled.

These factors have played an important role in the development of the kind of money that municipalities get from the province and in the way their costs are apportioned within their own areas.

As part of our ongoing study and, I would use this word, reform of the property tax

system, we have been looking at various ways of handling the problem now that the equalization factors have been unfrozen. I would have to say there would have been a disaster last year if we had used the factors in their pure form. Rather than, as some people believed, bring about a greater degree of equity, they would have brought about a kind of equity that would have been unacceptable. They would have brought about the same kind of shifts my friend talked about if we had taken full market value assessment.

I think you used the example of the state of Ohio where the percentage of taxes raised on industrial-commercial went from somewhere in the 60s down to about 52 and residential rose to about 48. In other words, the burden was shifted from industrial-commercial to residential. We would see some of that in full market value assessment in this province and we would see a shift of burden from urban to rural. We would see the urban municipalities getting even larger provincial grants and being relieved of a lot of apportioned costs of upper-level governments, with the rural areas being saddled with greater costs. That would have been the effect of the pure use of the equalization factors.

So we developed a way of handling the grants for this year and also of handling the use of those factors for apportionment. But we said we weren't phasing in those new equalization factors. We weren't suggesting this year a system that would be the system that would be used. This was strictly a procedure for our 1980 grants and apportionments.

5:10 p.m.

This government is adhering to a commitment I gave to announce how the grants and apportionments will work for 1981 when the factors are announced in July. There is a committee set up now that is working on this. The committee has on it people from the Ministry of Education, Jim Martin and Keith Fletcher, from the Ministry of Revenue, Jack Lettner and Gus MacKay, Hank Ploeger and Norm Manara from the Ministry of Treasury and Economics, and Eric Fleming and Larry Close from our ministry.

The Association of Municipalities of Ontario has also requested a meeting to consider the kind of proposals we will develop. I really hope—in fact, I know—this will occur. I wanted to have some of the best brains at the municipal level, and there are some excellent municipal financial people working around this province. One of them is working over in your own region and there are others around the province. I want them involved

with our people before we announce anything and before we finalize what we want to do, because it is those people out there at the municipal level who sometimes see the problem and see the solutions in a slightly different light than we do. They identify problems and areas we have overlooked. Those people will be involved with this group before we come up with the final announcement in July.

That is not going to be a completely new system. It is not going to be a final approach to property tax reform, but I am hopeful that with this group and with the involvement of the local people we will be starting down the road to some of the things that can be broadly put into the area of property tax reform. Until I get some report from the group, which has been meeting now very diligently over the last couple of months, I do not know what avenues it has been looking at. I am sure they are approaching the problem and will come up with something effective.

Mr. Isaacs: Mr. Chairman, if I might just comment, I am disturbed that the minister is saying we are starting down the road, because surely we started down the road in 1969 when the province took over assessment and when we began this whole shift towards market value. I am no further ahead in my understanding of whether we are throwing away everything that has been done, whether all the experience that has been gained is now deemed to be irrelevant. We are now looking at how the grant system and the equalization factors will be fudged for 1981, but that does not tell us anything about assessment in 1982, in 1983 or anywhere in the future.

We are not going anywhere, and it seems to me about time that someone came to grips with this and said we are going to have a change and this is how it's going to be. It's going to be a change that will be more fair. Otherwise, I suggest this government throws in the towel and admits an inability to come to grips with the problems of property taxes, and I don't know where we go then.

Mr. Epp: Mr. Chairman, I want to say a few words about the assessment. The government has been wrestling with this problem for some years now. As all of us know, there were committees established to study committees to study committees to study more committees.

Finally, on January 4, 1978 we reached a climax and we were going to have one more committee that Mr. McKeough announced at that time. They came up with a report in March 1978 and, as we all know,

that was shelved the day after Proposition 13 was passed in California. I am not sure whether it had any connection. I know the Treasurer at that time vehemently denied it had any connection but it certainly was a great coincidence that it happened the day after Proposition 13 was passed in California and subsequently in some of the other states.

I would hope the government would give some kind of direction with respect to assessment and property tax reform in this province. The minister mentions that they haven't had a lot of complaints this year and I can understand why they wouldn't have complaints. I think people have become extremely frustrated with bringing complaints to the attention of the government and not having those resolved. I know there are more and more municipalities which are going the route of section 86 to try to equalize assessment within classes.

With respect to section 86, and I don't disagree with the fact that they're implementing it, I think it's one step towards formalization and correcting many of the inequalities that are particularly evident in regionalized municipalities. This was evident in probably the major case, that of Cambridge in the regional municipality of Waterloo, where you had property taxes of \$600 or \$700 being paid by one property owner whose property was assessed for about \$60,000 and someone else, whose property was assessed for \$60,000 in another part of that municipality was paying twice as much, somewhere around \$1,400 or \$1,600, in that neighbourhood.

By invoking section 86, as the Minister of Revenue did at that time, that problem was partially corrected. I guess they're both paying \$1,200 now. The person who had a lower assessment was upset, and the person who had the higher assessment was upset by the fact that he had been paying too much tax over a good number of years.

That's one of the problems the government always faces when trying to correct the tax problem, because you're damned if you do and you're damned if you don't. People who get lower taxes all of a sudden say, "Well, darn it, why have I been paying too much tax?" and the person paying more, all of a sudden, says, "Well, you know, my taxes have risen by 50 per cent," or whatever the case may be.

I really think there should be some kind of timetable, some kind of schedule. The minister may have it in his mind or may have it on paper in his office or something of this nature. The government may have it, but certainly the public is not aware of the government's plans. I'm sure it has nothing to

do with the election coming up in the next year or two. I'm sure the government is going to go ahead full blast and make all these tough decisions and come forward with the suggestions that have to be put forth.

Certainly, it would have nothing to do with Mr. Ed Goodman's comments after the 1975 election that this government is going to reform itself out of office. Surely to goodness, all the tremendous reforms that have come forth in the last three years, the legislation we have piled up foot after foot, is indicative of the fact that Premier Davis never heard a word that Mr. Goodman said at that time, that they were going to reform themselves out of office. We have all kinds of proposals that have come to our attention.

Be it as it is, we nevertheless would like to see some definite timetable, some kind of formula proposed whereby the government has some kind of commitment about when it is going to reform property taxation in Ontario. Certainly there are areas that have market value assessment, and I'm not one to oppose market value assessment because I think it's probably the fairest kind of assessment we could have.

If I understand correctly, and the minister could correct me if I'm wrong, I think the other nine provinces in Canada have market value assessment. We're the only ones who are lacking that form of assessment on a provincial basis. As I've indicated, we have it in some areas.

5:20 p.m.

One other area on which I'd like to get some kind of response from the minister has to do with the Ontario Municipal Management Development Board that was established and to which we are giving \$75,000.

I know the executive director of this particular management board is an excellent person and I am sure she is managing very well. But I was a little surprised that instead of setting up a separate board the government would not give the money on condition that this would be part of AMO responsibility or directly under the Provincial-Municipal Liaison Committee, rather than establish another board and fragment that a little more.

I would have hoped some kind of direction would have been given to try to unify these various bodies, rather than try to break them up. At the same time, I want to say I am fully in sympathy with what the municipalities want to do in joining together under the leadership of Michael Smither, who is chairing this committee to try to bring the various organizations together under a single umbrella. I failed to mention

that earlier, so I thought I would mention it at this time.

You're a very tolerant person, Mr. Chairman. Even if that isn't directly under this particular vote, nevertheless it is related to it.

Hon. Mr. Wells: The member was talking about a board being independent. Which board was that? I missed that.

Mr. Epp: The Ontario Municipal Management Development Board. Correct me if I'm wrong.

Hon. Mr. Wells: The Ontario Municipal Management Development Board was brought forward by the PMLC. It was part of a total package. It is a group that is developing management skills in the municipal area.

It was a proposal we supported and that is completely supported, as I understand, by all municipal organizations. It came forward from them. They decided the way to set it up was with this board. Cy Armstrong and Ed Mitchelson were involved. It was all municipal people. It was on the agenda of the PMLC for about five different meetings, as we worked through the different proposals.

In other words, it isn't a fragmenting type of thing. It was something we really accepted, and they devised the kind of way it should be set up. We gave them \$75,000 to help offset the costs. They wanted a little more, but that was as far as we could go.

Mr. Epp: I would have hoped it would have been under the AMO, since it is the largest municipal organization. Rather than having a separate organization, it might have been one of their committees or directly under their leadership. I will leave it at that.

Hon. Mr. Wells: I don't disagree with you. All I'm saying is we didn't insist that it be set up in any particular way. They set this up themselves. This is the way the municipalities wanted it. I think they wanted it as a separate board that was going to conduct educational programs, seminars and a whole variety of things to increase the management skills of municipal employees.

Mr. Isaacs: Mr. Chairman, just before we leave the area of grants and property taxes, I have two other fairly specific questions.

The first relates to the prepayment of 1980 unconditional grants to municipalities. The suggestion has been made that at least part of the rationale for that was that it enabled the province to make its final books for 1979-80 look a bit better than they might

otherwise have done because of the unexpected surplus in that financial year.

I wonder if the minister has information on the number of municipalities that would have been in debt had those grants not been advanced, what the savings to those municipalities have been and what the cost to the province has been of prepaying that money so that we can give the taxpayers of this province an indication of what it has cost them to prepay municipal grants as well as the attempt that has been made to indicate to them the savings. I am particularly concerned because the savings to an individual property taxpayer are likely a matter of cents, whereas the cost to this province of prepaying that amount of money, in terms of lost interest, could well be quite substantial.

I wonder too whether this is seen as a precedent for future years; whether, indeed, there will be a change in the system of paying unconditional grants so that municipalities can expect their money earlier, or whether this was literally a one-shot deal in order to deal with specific problems that the province faced with its budget for 1979-80.

The second question I have relates to the minister's news release dated April 22, 1980, in which he announced an additional \$8.5 million in grants to municipalities for 1980. Given that on April 22, the estimates for 1980 were in the hands of the opposition and in the hands of the public, and given that there has been no proposal from the minister as yet for an amendment to those, I wonder how the minister can justify saying this is an additional \$8.5 million. Where is the money coming from? Is it not an announcement of money that would have found its way into municipal treasuries anyway, and the impact was that the minister wanted to appear to be giving money but, because the money is not coming from anywhere, it would have been given to municipalities in any case? How can you announce money without putting it in the budget in order to give it to the municipalities?

Hon. Mr. Wells: The answer is that it is money they will be getting and not money that they would have been getting anyway. It is additional money that is being put into the grant system. In this case it is going in as additional grants to municipalities in order to fulfil the new criteria that we put in in regard to apportionments.

Of course, it was too late to change the estimates, and the amounts in the estimates for the resource equalization grants and the special grants to compensate for the equalization factors are set in there; that is quite

right. We will not know until we get further into the budget year whether there was or was not some money in a couple of the other accounts in here, such as transitional accounts, that might cover it but would not necessarily have gone to the municipalities or to the same municipalities, or whether we will have to have some type of supplementary estimate for those grants further on down in this year.

I think you realize that in budgets of the size of this budget, sometimes a surplus develops as the year goes on, but that surplus does not develop in the grant moneys that are earmarked under specific grants to municipalities. It would be under those areas where there is a degree of flexibility or where allotments have been made that may not be taken up, or something of that nature.

I don't know whether that is absolutely clear to you, but what it really means in simple terms is that \$8.5 million more has been put into actual grant money to municipalities to cover cost burdens that were coming because of apportionments made under the old five per cent leeway arrangement. That has been eliminated. That extra money is now in, they have been informed of that and, in their calculations, that is now taking place and those grants are being paid. Whether we will have to come along with a supplementary estimate for all or part of that \$8.5 million is something we will not know at this time, but at the present time we may be able to accommodate it all in the budget.

Mr. Isaacs: I have one further point, Mr. Chairman. Will the prepayment of grants become a regular thing in the future? Where are we heading?

5:30 p.m.

Hon. Mr. Wells: No, I would say not. That is really something you should ask the Treasurer (Mr. F. S. Miller) in his estimates. He is the one who, to a degree, says the money is available here and we want to repay the grants before the end of a fiscal year rather than after the close of another year. I have seen it happen in my previous ministry, in Education, from time to time, but certainly not as a regular occurrence. I can almost guarantee it won't occur every year.

Mr. Isaacs: Does the ministry have the information on what the actual savings have been and how many municipalities would otherwise have been in debt to a substantial extent, et cetera?

Hon. Mr. Wells: It would be too early for us to have that information for you. I think we can note it would be handy information to have and we will try to get it. As you are aware, it takes quite a while to get completed financial statements and so forth in from municipalities. It may be very difficult to get that for every municipality, but maybe what we could do—and I think it is a legitimate request—is take a representative selection of municipalities and try to do a study to see how much it saved them by getting the grant X number of weeks earlier than they normally would have. We could measure that and maybe project it for the whole province.

Mr. T. P. Reid: I would like to bring to the minister's attention a concern many municipalities have regarding policing costs. I don't know whether the minister is aware or not, but in the public accounts meeting of Thursday, May 1, the Deputy Solicitor General was before the committee when we were discussing matters relating to policing costs that were raised in last year's auditor's report. At that time Mr. Hilton indicated there was a committee under Intergovernmental Affairs, or at least with the participation of Intergovernmental Affairs, that was looking at this problem.

There are now a range of grants and subsidies available to the local municipalities that have a rather large range. In some cases some areas and regions get free policing—particularly the regional municipalities, as I understand it—in others the per capita grant to the municipality is \$10 per capita and in other cases it is \$15 per capita.

I wonder if the minister could indicate four things: First, is he moving towards a rationalization of paying a grant for policing costs to municipalities across the board that would be fair and equitable to everyone so that you don't have some getting free policing and others having to pay considerable sums at the local level to provide policing? Second, could he bring us up to date on this interministerial committee that I understand was supposed to be, or is, in existence?

Third, can he indicate what happened to the submission that was made by the Solicitor General or Deputy Solicitor General to cabinet in December 1979 on this matter? Fourth, can he indicate who are members of the interministerial committee on policing costs?

Hon. Mr. Wells: We are talking with the Solicitor General about this matter. There is no change in the policing grants for this

year. There is probably a misunderstanding about policing and this is a good case in point about conditional/unconditional grants.

The policing grant is dependent upon you having a police force. It is \$10 per capita for lower tiers, and it is \$15 if you have a regional police force. Beyond that it is identified as a police grant but it is really an unconditional grant to the municipalities. It is not in any way related particularly to the cost to the police department.

It is a good example of the kind of thing that happens when you deconditionalize grants. There are X number of dollars that we pass on to the municipalities each year and they get it through a per capita grant identified as policing and another per capita grant identified as general. We could put all that money together and say you get it as general.

In other words, what we are really talking about is, do you get more money to carry out the services you have to provide as a municipality. We are not, in any way—although I agree, my friend the Solicitor General and his deputy would probably disagree—paying a percentage of the cost of policing or anything like that. All we are doing is passing on to the municipalities money to help offset some of their costs. We are not changing those grants this year for next year. They are under consideration. We are looking at the whole question of whether there should be a differential grant, whether it should be \$10 for one or \$15 for the other and we are looking at the matter of some of them that have free policing from the Ontario Provincial Police. They would not get the grant in that case. There are some inequities. If you get free policing from the provincial police you don't get the grant.

Mr. T. P. Reid: But you said that is not under the total.

Hon. Mr. Wells: Yes, it is to a degree. Don't look for total consistency in everything. Some places pay for provincial police; some places contract and buy the provincial police services. They would get the grant.

We want to get the whole business of the apportionment, how we are going to handle things next year, and the unconditional grant business straightened out in July and then we are going to look at the police grant.

The bottom line of the whole thing really boils down to how much money we have to distribute. If there are to be increases in the unconditional grants we can put them in various areas. One of the areas would be to increase the per capita portion that we identify as police. I tell you we don't base

that grant on what the costs are for policing in the municipality.

The general support grant plus the northern Ontario support grant pays 24 per cent of the levy in northern Ontario and includes the police expenditure.

Mr. T. P. Reid: Obviously the minister agrees that there should be some rationalization of it. I appreciate what he is saying although we went through this with the Minister of Community and Social Services (Mr. Norton). He said under the family benefits there is a portion that is for shelter but it is not really consistent with what shelter costs. I suppose somewhere over on those benches that makes a certain amount of sense to somebody.

Can I just reiterate the other questions? One, I gather you are looking for some rationalization of this within your whole grant structure, but second, is there a committee looking at this matter because Mr. Hilton, the Deputy Solicitor General, indicated there was an interministerial committee looking at this? I see a lot of blank faces under the press gallery but that's not unusual. They are usually on the Treasury benches.

Is there an interministerial committee? Mr. Hilton uses words like "mind-boggling, hotchpotch." He just can't believe that his ministry has some input into this committee. I, as chairman of public accounts, indicated I would bring this to the minister's attention among others. Is there a committee? Who is on the committee? Is anybody from the Solicitor General's ministry on that committee?

5:40 p.m.

Hon. Mr. Wells: A couple of fellows from our ministry, Ron Farrow and Larry Close, and Mr. Rintoul from the Solicitor General have been working on this general problem.

I just want to say, though, that my philosophy on this—and it may differ, I don't know, because the Solicitor General and I have not talked about this too much recently—is that we are not looking to moving these police grants to be more related to the cost of policing and making them a kind of a conditional thing in the police area.

We hear a lot of talk around here about property tax reform and grants reform and everything. One of the major areas that everyone sees as a reform, including the Association of Municipalities of Ontario, is deconditionalizing grants. Darn it all, we have the grants deconditionalized to a great degree in the police area and I do not see

us as moving back to making them more conditional on police, even though the Solicitor General's department may feel that would be a better way to have it.

The municipalities have a policing function and come after us for the money for increased grants generally, but I would not like to see us move to a conditionalized police grant now that gets all tied up like our grants from the ministries of Community and Social Services, Transportation and Communications and Environment and so forth. Much as we would like to move to deconditionalize grants, I can say that it is just not happening because we were not making any headway. On the grants to highways, it is very difficult to get anybody to agree we should give those grants without very definite strings attached. It is very hard to get at library grants. We have agreed the library grants still go to library boards and so forth.

While we are trying to rationalize the thing to a degree, we are not looking to move perhaps in the kind of direction that the Solicitor General's people might be looking at—that is, to try to have special grants for policing, period.

Mr. T. P. Reid: That certainly was a point that Mr. Hilton made. He thought there should be some requirement of level of performance and competence before these grants would be handed over, as apparently there is in Great Britain where, if a local constabulary does not reach certain standards, it does not get the grant.

I do not want to dwell on this, but, while the minister says the police grants per se are only part of a package and not directly related to the cost of the police force, would he not agree with me that there is something inequitable about the fact that I believe, for instance, Sudbury does not receive a grant for policing so that it comes out of the community tax base? Others might have an OPP detachment in the area for which they do not pay any local taxes other than, obviously, the provincial taxes payable; there is no municipal tax required for the upkeep of that, whatever the cost is. There are other communities where they get either \$10 or \$15.

While the minister may feel that that is not pegged to the actual cost of policing, surely there is something in the cause of equity there that should say everybody gets some kind of equitable distribution. If Fort Frances gets \$10 a head then Thunder Bay should get \$10 a head or whatever it happens to be.

As a matter of fact, if I recall, in Thunder Bay I don't think the cities got any grant when they amalgamated because they did not become a region. The two cities amalgamated and did not form a region, like the regional municipality of Sudbury, for instance, or whatever it happens to be, so they did not receive any grant at all. Surely there is a large measure of inequity in that kind of situation? That is my primary point.

Hon. Mr. Wells: I don't disagree that there are some inequities and anomalies in the thing and that is what we are trying to straighten out. I was just putting forth some other ideas about relating the grants sort of directly to the service that the police force gives. We really don't see moving there, or at least I don't see moving in that direction. I think that if that is a requirement, and certainly a very justifiable one, that the Solicitor General wants, I think he has to put in mechanisms for requiring that without tying it to the moneys we give to the municipalities. I am informed Sudbury does get the regional police grant; it gets the \$15.

Mr. T. P. Reid: What does Thunder Bay get?

Hon. Mr. Wells: Only Ottawa-Carleton doesn't get the regional one. Thunder Bay gets \$10. Thunder Bay isn't a region. We don't count Thunder Bay in our list of regional municipalities in this province. It is just a great city.

Mr. T. P. Reid: I realize that but is there not some inequity there?

Hon. Mr. Wells: There may be an inequity. The reason that the \$15 was put in was that it was recognized that there were likely to be some increased costs in developing a region. So regions got grants a little above.

Mr. T. P. Reid: Was it a carrot to get them in?

Mr. Acting Chairman: Order.

Hon. Mr. Wells: You are right. I think it was probably a carrot not only to get them into the region, but to get them to have a regional police force.

Mr. Philip: Mr. Chairman, I would like to discuss with the minister a problem my municipality is facing and ask him whether as the chief policy minister he has monitored this problem and done any thinking about how it may be solved. The problem concerns the matter of the phoney condominiums that have been created by certain individuals. In particular, a lawyer by the name of Von Teichman managed to merchandise a technique of convincing certain people that an end run could be done around the condomin-

ium consumers by selling a percentage interest in a building with an allocation of an apartment or a unit.

The problem that has resulted is that the municipalities have not been able to enforce their condominium conversion bylaws and force such things as bringing a building up to standard before the building was sold. With the passing of amendments to the Condominium Act under the section I had requested some time ago, when it was first found they were merchandising a building called 10 Garfella and another one later on Arcot Boulevard and Tandridge Crescent, we made it illegal any longer to sell in this way. That was what was badly needed. It should have been done before these people had an opportunity to merchandise a number of units.

At the time of the passing of the amendments to the Condominium Act, I pointed out to the Minister of Consumer and Commercial Relations (Mr. Drea) we would have a problem with those people who had purchased an interest in the building with an allocation of an apartment. Once the sale then was stopped on those particular buildings, they would find themselves in a minority interest position.

In the case of Arcot in my riding, the municipality has had a number of problems because there is now a building where the individual percentage unit owners do not have any hope of ever having the building completely sold to individuals like themselves. Because the management firm is firmly in the control of the major interest holders, we have had major problems of the building deteriorating, of the gas bill not being paid or the municipality having to be constantly up there to enforce its standards. All of these are problems that result when there is a group of people who are supposedly owners in the same building where a large percentage of renters are.

I had a meeting last night with the solicitor, Mr. Geoff Pacey.

Mr. Acting Chairman: I wonder if I could interrupt the member. I am trying to find out what condominiums have to do with the estimates of the Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs.

5:50 p.m.

Mr. Philip: In his chief role as the senior policy minister, I am sure the chairman should recognize he is concerned with municipal problems. This is a municipal problem, a problem being faced by our municipality. I would think, since the Minister of Consumer and Commercial Relations hasn't been

able to solve the problem under the Condominium Act and hasn't been able to protect the consumers, he might at least address himself to what the municipalities can do and to what he and his ministry can do, or what policy might be developed to handle this problem where you have something which is not under the control of the municipality, and where the aldermen know of no remedy to the problem. I would assume the chairman might recognize that argument or rule it in order.

Mr. Acting Chairman: I am having a little trouble, I must say. However, maybe you can get to the point.

Mr. Philip: I am sure the minister understands the problem now that I have explained it to him, and I will be interested in obtaining his views on it. The municipalities are in a heck of a position. When Mr. Von Teichman was called in and asked whether he wanted to go through with a condominium conversion now that it is illegal to do this end run around what the municipality had wanted because the Condominium Act stops that, and they told him to what standards he had to bring the buildings up to have a legitimate condominium conversion, he suddenly no longer met with them.

We have buildings that are deteriorating and the people are tired of paying maintenance fees for buildings which are simply not being maintained. They have no control over the budget of these buildings and the municipality is faced with the problem of what do they do? They constantly spend time up there having their bylaw enforcement officers lay charges against the landlord, but then who is the landlord? In the case of one building 40 parts of the total interest are held by individuals who are not even shareholders: they are interest holders who happen to live in the building.

There is this conflict that exists in the municipality. There is no way of dealing with this thing that is neither oranges nor apples. I wonder if the minister has thought through what to do with it? We had a meeting with Mr. Drea. I believe that subsequent to that, Scarborough was able to pass a bylaw that grandfathered in one of the buildings in that municipality. I understand Mr. Drea provided the borough of Etobicoke with copies of that bylaw. However, if you have a landlord who does not see fit to bring that building up to condominium standards, then he simply won't do it and you are left with a project that, of course, is not a condominium, and is not a rental building and the

local municipality doesn't know how to cope with it.

One possibility, of course, is if the building goes into enough disrepair and if the people who have bought percentage interests in the building don't pay their interest, their maintenance fees, then the principal owners, the nonresident owners, if you want, may in fact default on the mortgage in which case the mortgage companies take over. Then what have they got? We are going to have a real problem in two years' time when mortgages come due because I don't think an average mortgage holder would want to issue another mortgage for a building where they really don't know the status of the building.

We are in for some really hard times in these buildings, particularly in the next two years when the mortgage comes due, if something isn't done to deal with this problem. One possibility would be some form of takeover of the building, of expropriation, I guess. Then they could sell it back to either a private developer or bring it up to standard and turn it into a co-operative or some such thing.

As long as the original landlord won't move, the municipality is in a real bind and some action has to be taken either by this ministry or the Ministry of Consumer and Commercial Relations to deal with the problem.

Hon. Mr. Wells: Mr. Chairman, I have heard nothing from the borough of Etobicoke, certainly nothing I can recall coming across my desk, on this particular problem. I heard my friend say that my colleague the Minister of Consumer and Commercial Relations hadn't been able to take care of this matter. I have never seen any matter in this House that's been raised in his purview that he hasn't been able to take care of. I can't believe that, since he is responsible for the Condominium Act, he hasn't been able to come up with something to assist in this particular area.

The best I can do for you at the minute is tell you I will take a look at what you have raised and see what the municipal implications of it are—not the implications vis-à-vis the Condominium Act, because that isn't within the jurisdiction of our ministry—but I will take a look at what the municipal implications might be. It's just about six o'clock, and when we resume on Thursday night, maybe I can give you some helpful information that would be in the purview of our ministry.

I do recall we had some problems with conversions in the borough of Scarborough

and Scarborough brought in certain restrictions. I can't recall all the details, but my impression was they got the matter of conversions under control in Scarborough. I certainly haven't had any complaints in my riding, and there were some there at one point in time. I haven't had any recently from anyone complaining about this particular problem.

Mr. Philip: As I recall, the original problem started in Scarborough. It wasn't the present Minister of Consumer and Commercial Relations but his colleague before him, or perhaps before him, who had to deal with it. I believe it was Mr. Handelman who had to deal with it. None the less it was a Scarborough problem. They had found an end run around condominium conversion by-laws, and if it had been dealt with then, Von Teichman and his gang wouldn't have been able to merchandise the technique and go into other areas, such as my riding, and be able to get this off the ground.

Indeed, if the ministry had responded promptly when I first brought it up—because it started with 10 Garfella—and said the Condominium Act is not yet ready but we will introduce at least an interim act saying you are not allowed to do this, it would at least have stopped that building at that time. It would have completely obliterated the Arcot project because they hadn't even contemplated starting that one, but when they got away with 10 Garfella they—

Mr. Acting Chairman: Order, please. The member is talking about the Minister of Consumer and Commercial Relations and problems in his area. I think we are really straying considerably from the estimates here now.

Mr. Philip: The minister said he would deal with the Minister of Consumer and Commercial Relations. He also said the Minister of Consumer and Commercial Relations always had matters in hand.

Mr. Acting Chairman: I realize that the minister said those things.

Mr. Philip: I am trying to point out to the minister the error of his ways in assuming that the Minister of Consumer and Commercial Relations had it in hand.

Mr. Acting Chairman: I would suggest the member could contact the Minister of Consumer and Commercial Relations, because I can't see this really is involved in the subject.

Mr. Philip: I'm sorry, Mr. Chairman. If you had been listening—

Mr. Acting Chairman: I am listening very hard.

Mr. Philip: If you had, then you would have heard I have been dealing with the Minister—

Mr. Acting Chairman: If the member wants to insist, I would ask him to sit down and deal with the estimates we have been dealing with.

Mr. Philip: I have been dealing with the Minister of Consumer and Commercial Relations, as I pointed out, for a couple of years and the thing—

Mr. Acting Chairman: That has nothing to do with me. I order the member to sit down. I am not dealing with the Minister of Consumer and Commercial Relations. We are on vote 603 and we have one minute to go.

Mr. B. Newman: Mr. Chairman, I would rather have the House adjourn at this time and I will bring my points up the next day we sit.

On motion by Mr. Epp, the committee of supply reported certain resolutions.

The House adjourned at 6 p.m.

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SPEAKERS IN THIS ISSUE

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Baetz, Hon. R. C.; Minister of Culture and Recreation (Ottawa West PC)
Bradley, J. (St. Catharines L)
Breaugh, M. (Oshawa NDP)
Breithaupt, J. R. (Kitchener L)
Campbell, M. (St. George L)
Charlton, B. (Hamilton Mountain NDP)
Conway, S. (Renfrew North L)
Di Santo, O. (Downsview NDP)
Elgie, Hon. R.; Minister of Labour (York East PC)
Epp, H. (Waterloo North L)
Gaunt, M. (Huron-Bruce L)
Isaacs, C. (Wentworth NDP)
Johnston, R. F. (Scarborough West NDP)
Laughren, F. (Nickel Belt NDP)
Lawlor, P. D. (Lakeshore NDP)
MacBeth, J. P.; Deputy Chairman (Humber PC)
MacDonald, D. C. (York South NDP)
McClellan, R. (Bellwoods NDP)
McMurtry, Hon. R.; Attorney General and Solicitor General (Eglinton PC)
Miller, Hon. F. S.; Treasurer, Minister of Economics (Muskoka PC)
Newman, B. (Windsor-Walkerville L)
Norton, Hon. K.; Minister of Community and Social Services (Kingston and the Islands PC)
Parrott, Hon. H. C.; Minister of the Environment (Oxford PC)
Peterson, D. (London Centre L)
Philip, E. (Etobicoke NDP)
Reid, T. P. (Rainy River L)
Ruston, R. F.; Acting Chairman (Essex North L)
Smith, S.; Leader of the Opposition (Hamilton West L)
Stokes, Hon. J. E.; Speaker (Lake Nipigon NDP)
Wells, Hon. T. L.; Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs (Scarborough North PC)
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